

**STRATEGIC WAR RHETORIC: A CRITICAL
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NETANYAHU'S EFFORTS
TO CONSOLIDATE THE ISRAEL-U.S. ALLIANCE
THROUGH THE CONGRESS
THESIS**



**BY:
HAYU ANINDYA AZZAHRA
03020321059**

**ENGLISH LITERATURE DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF ADAB AND HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI SUNAN AMPEL
SURABAYA
2025**

DECLARATION

I am the undersigned below:

Name : Hayu Anindya Azzahra
NIM : 03020321059
Department : English Literature
Faculty : Adab and Humanities
University : UIN Sunan Ampel

declare that the thesis entitled:

**Strategic War Rhetoric: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Netanyahu's
Efforts to Consolidate the Israel-U.S. Alliance through the Congress**
is my own work, and not a plagiarism/fabrication in part or in whole.

If in the future it is proven that this thesis results from plagiarism/fabrication, either in part or whole, then I am willing to accept sanctions for such actions in accordance with the applicable provisions.

Surabaya, 10th June 2025

H. 

Reg. Number. 03020321059

APPROVAL SHEET

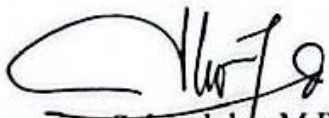
STRATEGIC WAR RHETORIC: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NETANYAHU'S EFFORTS TO CONSOLIDATE THE ISRAEL-U.S. ALLIANCE THROUGH THE CONGRESS

by
Hayu Anindya Azzahra
03020321059

approved to be examined by the board of examiners of English Literature
Department, Faculty of Adab and Humanities, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya

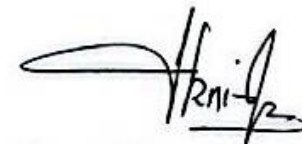
Surabaya, 10th June 2025

Advisor 1



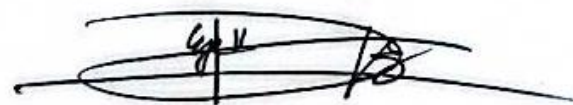
Suhandoko, M.Pd.
NIP. 198905282018011002

Advisor 2



Murni Fidiyanti, M.A.
NIP. 198305302011012011

Acknowledged by
The Head of the English Literature Department



Dr. Endratno Pili Swasono, S.Pd., M.Pd
NIP. 197106072003121001

EXAMINER SHEET

This is to certify that the *Sarjana* thesis of Hayu Anindya Azzahra (03020321059) entitled **Strategic War Rhetoric: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Netanyahu's Efforts to Consolidate the Israel-U.S. Alliance through the Congress** has been approved and accepted by the board of examiners for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra (S.S.)*, English Literature Department, Faculty of Adab and Humanities, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya.

Surabaya, 18th June 2025

Board of Examiners:

Examiner 1



Suhandoko, M.Pd.
NIP. 198905282018011002

Examiner 2



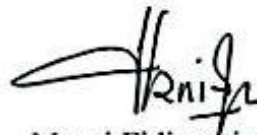
Prof. Dr. A. Dzo'ul Milal, M.Pd.
NIP. 196005152000031002

Examiner 3



Dr. Endratno Pilih Swasono, S.Pd., M.Pd.
NIP. 197106072003121001

Examiner 4



Murni Fidiyanti, M.A.
NIP. 198305302011012011

Acknowledged by:

The Dean of Faculty of Adab and Humanities
Sunan Ampel Surabaya



Prof. Dr. M. Ikhsan Zuhri, MA
NIP. 197005121995031002



KEMENTERIAN AGAMA
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI SUNAN AMPEL SURABAYA
PERPUSTAKAAN

Jl. Jend. A. Yani 117 Surabaya 60237 Telp. 031-8431972 Fax. 031-8413300
E-Mail: perpus@uinsby.ac.id

LEMBAR PERNYATAAN PERSETUJUAN PUBLIKASI
KARYA ILMIAH UNTUK KEPENTINGAN AKADEMIS

Sebagai sivitas akademika UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, yang bertanda tangan di bawah ini, saya:

Nama : Hayu Anindya Azzahra
NIM : 03020321059
Fakultas/Jurusan : Adab dan Humniora/ Sastra Inggris
E-mail address : hanindya.azzahra@gmail.com

Demi pengembangan ilmu pengetahuan, menyetujui untuk memberikan kepada Perpustakaan UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Hak Bebas Royalti Non-Eksklusif atas karya ilmiah :

☒ Sekripsi ☐ Tesis ☐ Desertasi ☐ Lain-lain (.....)
yang berjudul :

Strategic War Rhetoric: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Netanyahu's Efforts to Consolidate the Israel-U.S. Alliance through the Congress

beserta perangkat yang diperlukan (bila ada). Dengan Hak Bebas Royalti Non-Eksklusif ini Perpustakaan UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya berhak menyimpan, mengalih-media/format-kan, mengelolanya dalam bentuk pangkalan data (database), mendistribusikannya, dan menampilkan/mempublikasikannya di Internet atau media lain secara **fulltext** untuk kepentingan akademis tanpa perlu meminta ijin dari saya selama tetap mencantumkan nama saya sebagai penulis/pencipta dan atau penerbit yang bersangkutan.

Saya bersedia untuk menanggung secara pribadi, tanpa melibatkan pihak Perpustakaan UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, segala bentuk tuntutan hukum yang timbul atas pelanggaran Hak Cipta dalam karya ilmiah saya ini.

Demikian pernyataan ini yang saya buat dengan sebenarnya.

Surabaya, 25 Juni 2025

Penulis

(Hayu Anindya Azzahra)
nama terang dan tanda tangan

ABSTRACT

Azzahra, H. A. (2025). *Strategic War Rhetoric: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Netanyahu's Efforts to Consolidate the Israel-U.S. Alliance through the Congress*. English Literature Department, Faculty of Adab and Humanities, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya. Advisors: (I) Suhandoko, M.Pd., (II) Murni Fidiyanti, M.A.

This study aims to analyze the political discourse strategies used by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in his 2024 speech before the United States Congress. The speech was given during rising military tensions between Israel and Hamas, coupled with growing international criticism of Israel's actions in Gaza. The primary objective of this research is to uncover how Netanyahu constructs political legitimacy, secures support from the United States, and reproduces ideological dominance through political discourse.

The research data consists of words, phrases, and sentences from the transcript of Benjamin Netanyahu's speech, obtained from the official website of the Israeli government. This study employs a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach based on Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model, which includes textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice. The research uses a qualitative method focusing on linguistic features, rhetorical strategies, and ideological positioning embedded in the discourse.

Textual analysis reveals that Netanyahu's speech is grounded in a strong ideological framing through three main layers. Initially, a moral dichotomy was established, portraying Israel as a civilized and morally upright entity, while its opposition was depicted as an illegitimate, extremist threat. Second, relational and solidarity strategies are enacted through the use of warm addresses, "we/you" pronouns, rhetorical questions, persuasive modality, and euphemisms that normalize violence. Third, on the expressive level, Netanyahu positions himself as a protective and morally heroic leader, the U.S. audience as ethical allies, and opponents as negatively stigmatized actors.

At the level of discursive practice, Netanyahu exploits fragmentation within Congress and public opinion to bolster support from traditional pro-Israel group while suppressing criticism from progressive groups and pro-Palestinian communities. On the social level, the speech functions to preserve power relations and affirm Israel's position within the framework of Western ideology, which prioritizes democracy, freedom, and anti-terrorism. This discourse contributes to the normalization of hegemonic narratives and deepens global political polarization.

The findings of this study indicate that Netanyahu's speech constructs political legitimacy and ideological dominance by employing moral narratives and Western values to secure support and maintain power relations within the dynamics of global politics.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Benjamin Netanyahu, U.S. Congress, Political Speech, Political Discourse

ABSTRAK

Azzahra, H. A. 2025. *Retorika Perang Strategis: Analisis Wacana Kritis atas Upaya Netanyahu untuk Memperkuat Aliansi Israel-AS melalui Pidato di Kongres*. Program Studi Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Adab dan Humaniora, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya. Pembimbing: (I) Suhandoko, M.Pd., (II) Murni Fidiyanti, M.A.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis strategi wacana politik yang digunakan oleh Perdana Menteri Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu, dalam pidatonya di hadapan Kongres Amerika Serikat pada tahun 2024. Pidato tersebut disampaikan di tengah meningkatnya konflik militer antara Israel dan Hamas serta tekanan internasional terhadap tindakan Israel di Gaza. Tujuan utama penelitian ini adalah untuk mengungkap bagaimana Netanyahu membangun legitimasi politik, mengamankan dukungan dari Amerika Serikat, dan mereproduksi dominasi ideologis melalui konstruksi wacana politik.

Data penelitian berupa kata, frasa, dan kalimat dalam transkrip pidato Benjamin Netanyahu, yang diperoleh dari sumber website resmi pemerintah Israel. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan Analisis Wacana Kritis (Critical Discourse Analysis) dengan mengacu pada model tiga dimensi dari Norman Fairclough, yang mencakup analisis teks, praktik diskursif, dan praktik sosial. Metode penelitian bersifat kualitatif dengan fokus pada unsur linguistik, strategi retorik, dan posisi ideologis yang dibentuk dalam wacana.

Hasil analisis tekstual menunjukkan bahwa pidato Netanyahu dibangun di atas bingkai ideologis yang kuat melalui tiga lapisan utama. Pertama, framing moral dikotomis menampilkan Israel sebagai entitas yang beradab dan bermoral, sementara oposisi digambarkan sebagai ancaman ekstrem yang tidak sah. Kedua, strategi relasional dan solidaritas dilakukan dengan penggunaan sapaan hangat, pronomina “we/you”, pertanyaan retorik, modalitas persuasif, serta eufemisme yang menormalkan kekerasan. Ketiga, dalam lapisan ekspresif, Netanyahu memposisikan dirinya sebagai pemimpin pelindung dan pahlawan moral, sementara audiens AS diposisikan sebagai sekutu etis, dan lawan digambarkan dengan stigmatisasi negatif.

Di tingkat praktik diskursif, Netanyahu memanfaatkan fragmentasi di Kongres dan opini publik untuk memperkuat dukungan dari kelompok pro-Israel, terutama Partai Republik, sambil menekan kritik dari kelompok progresif dan masyarakat pro-Palestina. Sementara itu, di tingkat sosial, pidato ini berfungsi untuk mempertahankan relasi kekuasaan dan menegaskan posisi Israel dalam kerangka ideologi Barat, yang mengedepankan demokrasi, kebebasan, dan anti-terorisme. Wacana ini berkontribusi pada normalisasi narasi hegemonik dan memperdalam polarisasi politik global.

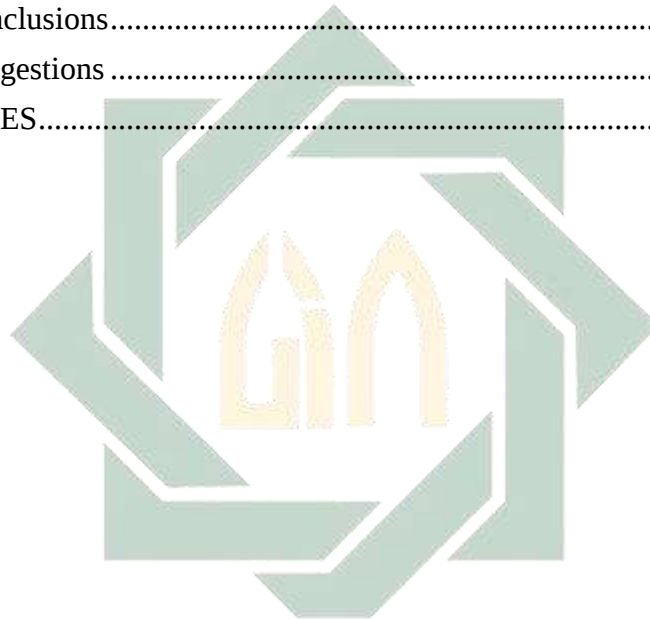
Hasil studi ini menunjukkan bahwa pidato Netanyahu membangun legitimasi politik dan dominasi ideologis dengan memanfaatkan narasi moral serta nilai-nilai Barat untuk mengamankan dukungan dan mempertahankan relasi kekuasaan dalam dinamika politik global.

Kata Kunci: Analisa Wacana Kritis, Benjamin Netanyahu, U.S. Congress, Pidato Politik, Wacana Politik.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INSIDE COVER	i
APPROVAL SHEET	ii
EXAMINER SHEET	iii
DECLARATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	v
ABSTRACT	vii
ABSTRAK	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xi
CHAPTER I	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Problems of the Study	7
1.3 Objectives of the Study	7
1.4 Significances of the Study	8
1.5 Scope and Delimitations	8
1.6 Definition of Key Terms	9
CHAPTER II	10
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	10
2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis	10
2.2 Fairclough's Model of Critical Discourse Analysis	11
2.2.1 Textual Analysis	12
2.2.2 Discursive Practice	15
2.2.3 Sociocultural	20
2.3 Political Discourse	22
2.4 Political Speech	23
2.5 Netanyahu' Speech to the U.S. Congress	24
CHAPTER III	26
RESEARCH METHOD	26
3.1 Research Design	26
3.2 Data Collection	27
3.2.1 Research Data	27
3.2.2 Data Source	27
3.3 Data Analysis Technique	29

CHAPTER IV	31
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	31
4.1 Findings.....	31
4.1.1 Ideological Framing in Netanyahu Speech	31
4.1.2 Discursive Practice (Production, Circulation, and Interpretation).....	86
4.1.3 Sociocultural Practice and Power Structures	95
4.2 Discussion	98
CHAPTER V.....	107
CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.....	107
5.1 Conclusions.....	107
5.2 Suggestions	109
REFERENCES.....	111



UIN SUNAN AMPEL
S U R A B A Y A

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2. 1 Vocabulary as Textual Analysis Indicators.....	13
Table 2.2 Grammar as Textual Analysis Indicators	14



UIN SUNAN AMPEL
S U R A B A Y A

REFERENCES

- Al Jazeera. (2024, May 31). Top US lawmakers invite Israel's Netanyahu to Congress amid Gaza war | Israel-Palestine conflict news. Retrieved January 22, 2025, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/5/31/top-us-lawmakers-invite-israels-netanyahu-to-congress-amid-gaza-war>
- Albanese, F. (2024, October 1). Genocide as colonial erasure. UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Retrieved May 4, 2025, from <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/genocide-as-colonial-erasure-report-francesca-albanese-01oct24/>
- Amnesty international. (2024, October 5). Amnesty concludes Israel is committing genocide in Gaza. Amnesty International. Retrieved May 2, 2025, from https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/12/amnesty-international-concludes-israel-is-committing-genocide-against-palestinians-in-gaza/?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- American Jewish Committee. (n.d.). Translate hate “from the river to the sea”. American Jewish Committee (AJC). Retrieved June 2, 2025, from <https://www.ajc.org/translatehate/From-the-River-to-the-Sea>
- Ansari, A., & Aarabi, K. (2019). Ideology and Iran's revolution: How 1979 changed the world. Institute for Global Change. Retrieved May 11, 2025, from <https://institute.global/insights/geopolitics-and-security/ideology-and-irans-revolution-how-1979-changed-world>
- Ashraf, K., Nayab, D., & Tahir, S. (2022). Making sense of leadership language: An analysis of Mr. Imran Khan's spoken political discourse. *Review of Education, Administration & Law*, 5(1), 39–48. <https://doi.org/10.47067/real.v5i1.213>
- Avan, E. A. (2018). Europeanization of Turkey's foreign policy: The case of Turkey's mediation in the Israel–Palestine conflict. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 21(6), 678–695. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2018.1506294>
- Bloor, M., & Bloor, T. (2007). The practice of critical discourse analysis: An introduction. In *The Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis: An Introduction*. Hodder Education. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203775660>
- Brandon, E. (2024). “Hopeless, starving, and besieged.” *Human Rights Watch*, 6(2), 107–124. <https://doi.org/10.18261/ISSN.2387-3299-2019-02-03>
- Britannica. (2025, April 25). Iran hostage crisis. Britannica. Retrieved May 12, 2025, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Iran-hostage-crisis>

- Cambridge. (n.d.). Deradicalization definition. Retrieved May 3, 2025, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english-chinese-traditional/deradicalization>
- Charteris-Black, J. (2011). *Politicians and rhetoric: The persuasive power of metaphor* (2nd editio). PALGRAVE MACMILLAN.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230319899>
- Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing political discourse: Theory and practice* (1st Editio). routledge. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203561218>
- Cordall, S. S., & Humaid, M. (2024). Gaza's 2024: A year of war and misery. Al Jazeera. Retrieved May 4, 2025, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/12/31/gazas-2024-a-year-of-war-and-misery>
- Council on American-Islamic Relations. (2024). CAIR calls on DNI director to clarify 'vague, potentially dangerous' claim about Iranian influence operations, share info on Israeli campaign. Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR). Retrieved May 12, 2025, from https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-calls-on-dni-director-to-clarify-vague-potentially-dangerous-claim-about-iranian-influence-operations-share-info-on-israeli-campaign/
- Council on Foreign Relation. (2024). Israeli-Palestinian conflict | Global Conflict Tracker. Retrieved September 2, 2024, from <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/israeli-palestinian-conflict>
- Daghrir, W. (2013). Binary discourse in U.S. presidential speeches from FDR to Bush II. *IOSR Journal of Applied Physics*, 5(2), 25–36.
<https://doi.org/10.9790/4861-0522536>
- Danfulani, W. A., Leawat, J. J., & Dinshak, L. D. (2021). Israeli / Palestinian conflict : A review of the past and the present. *Journal of Business and Social Science Review*, 2(September), 25–35.
<https://doi.org/10.48150/jbssr.v2no9.2021.a2>
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language* (Vol. 19, Issue 5). Longman Publishing.
- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Language and power* (second edi). Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and social change. In *contemporary sociology* (Vol. 22, Issue 5). <https://doi.org/10.2307/2074659>
- Frey, A. (1998). Middle Eastern views on the embassy bombings: On the record. Washington Institute.

- Goudkova, K. V., & Tretyakova, T. P. (2010). Binary oppositions in media argumentation. *International Society for the Study of Argumentation (ISSA)*, 275–277.
- Grodahl, J. R. (2015). What makes a good ted talk? *CMC Senior Theses*, 11. http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cmc_theses/1164
- Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1981). *Effective evaluation* (1st ed, Vol. 1). Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Gudergan, S. P. (2007). The blackwell encyclopedia of sociology. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, 1998, 1992–1994. <https://doi.org/10.1111/b.9781405124331.2007.x>
- Hasson, N., & Rozovsky, L. (2023, December 4). Hamas committed documented atrocities. but a few false stories feed the deniers. Haaretz. Retrieved May 11, 2025, from <https://archive.ph/20231220010209/https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2023-12-04/ty-article-magazine/.premium/hamas-committed-documented-atrocities-but-a-few-false-stories-feed-the-deniers/0000018c-34f3-da74-afce-b5fbe24f0000>
- Human Rights Watch. (2024, October 19). Israel's crime of extermination, acts of genocide in Gaza. Human Rights Watch. Retrieved May 3, 2025, from https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/12/19/israels-crime-extermination-acts-genocide-gaza?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- Human Rights Watch, & Oxfam. (2024, March 19). Israeli forces' conduct in Gaza. Retrieved May 17, 2025, from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/03/19/israeli-forces-conduct-gaza>
- Insiadah, D. (2024). Critical discourse analysis of Prabowo's speech in the dialogue forum of the 20th Asean Summit regarding proposals for Russian-Ukraine peace. 94.
- International Court justice (ICJ). (2024). Legal consequences arising from the policies and practices of Israel in the occupied Palestinian territory, including East Jerusalem. *July*.
- Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2024). PM Netanyahu addresses a joint meeting of the US Congress. Retrieved September 2, 2024, from <https://www.gov.il/en/pages/pm-netanyahu-addresses-a-joint-meeting-of-the-us-congress-24-jul-2024>
- Jones, K. T. (2015, June 1). Instructor's corner #2: What presidential speeches can teach us about audience analysis. National Communication Association (NCA). Retrieved April 22, 2025, from <https://www.natcom.org/publications-library/instructors-corner-2-what->

presidential-speeches-can-teach-us-about-audience/

- Kamarck, E., Heetderks, A., & Rusting, E. (2024, June 27). How deep is the divide among Democrats over Israel? Brookings. Retrieved June 1, 2025, from <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/how-deep-is-the-divide-among-democrats-over-israel/>
- Kattan, V. (2021). The UN partition plan for Palestine and international law. Oxford Bibliographies. <https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199796953-0221>
- Kotenko, O., Kosharna, N., Chepurna, M., Trebyk, O., & Bakhov, I. (2023). Linguistic and stylistic features of english public speeches. *World Journal of English Language*, 13(4), 56–60. <https://doi.org/10.5430/wjel.v13n4p56>
- Krisch, N. (2005). International law in times of hegemony: Unequal power and the shaping of the international legal order. *European Journal of International Law*, 16(3), 369–408. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chi123>
- Landau, M. J., Meier, B. P., & Keefer, L. A. (2010). A metaphor-enriched social cognition. *Psychological Bulletin*, 136(6), 1045–1067. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0020970>
- Lavalette, M. (2023). Palestinian resistance to mandate rule. Counterfire. Retrieved June 9, 2025, from <https://www.counterfire.org/article/palestinian-resistance-to-mandate-rule/>
- Legal Information Institute (LII). (2022). Settler colonialism. Cornell Law School. Retrieved June 2, 2025, from https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/settler_colonialism
- Little, A., & Rogers, J. (2017, May 3). Whataboutery: When trauma trumps politics in conflictual societies . London School of Economic and Political Science. Retrieved May 13, 2025, from <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/whataboutery-when-trauma-trumps-the-political-in-conflictual-societies/>
- Liu, B. (2018). U.S. involvement in the 1980s Iran-Iraq war: America's haphazard extension of gulf insecurity. *Yale's Undergraduate Global Affairs Journal*. Retrieved May 12, 2025, from <https://yris.yira.org/column/u-s-involvement-in-the-1980s-iran-iraq-war-americas-haphazard-extension-of-gulf-insecurity/>
- Lonteng, R. P. (2022). The identity and power reflected in Joe Biden's speech to the U.S. Congress: A critical discourse analysis thesis.
- LSD Law Dictionary. (n.d.). Demilitarization definition. LSD. Retrieved May 3, 2025, from <https://www.lsd.law/define/demilitarization>

- Marsi, F. (2023, November 2). 'From the river to the sea': What does the palestinian slogan really mean? Al Jazeera. Retrieved June 2, 2025, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/2/from-the-river-to-the-sea-what-does-the-palestinian-slogan-really-mean>
- Masters, J. (2017, March 2). U.S. foreign policy powers: Congress and the president . Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved May 30, 2025, from <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-foreign-policy-powers-congress-and-president>
- Mekt, G., Getahun, A., & Meseret, T. (2024). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) of a political speech of Mr. Christian Tadele speech in the parliament. 1(2), 56–62.
- Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Rhetoric definition & meaning. Retrieved June 19, 2025, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/rhetoric>
- Middle East Eye. (2017, May 2). Hamas in 2017: The document in full. Middle East Eye. Retrieved May 3, 2025, from <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/hamas-2017-document-full>
- Middle East Media Research Institute. (2008, February 29). Hamas MP Fathi Hammad: We used women and children as human shields. Retrieved May 5, 2025, from <https://www.memri.org/tv/hamas-mp-fathi-hammad-we-used-women-and-children-human-shields>
- Middle East Media Research Institute. (2024). Hizbullah foreign relations chief: Our real war is with US. Retrieved May 5, 2025, from <https://www.memri.org/tv/hizbullah-foreign-relations-chief-khalil-rizk-real-war-america-not-israel>
- Palestinian Negotiations Affairs Department. (2017, October 24). A century of injustice: Q and A on Palestine and the Balfour Declaration. Retrieved June 9, 2025, from <https://www.nad.ps/en/publication-resources/faqs/century-injustice-q-and-palestine-and-balfour-declaration>
- Parsons, C. (2007, August 10). US forces in Iraq say found more Iran-made weapons. Reuters. Retrieved May 12, 2025, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-iran-weapons/u-s-forces-in-iraq-say-found-more-iran-made-weapons-idUSIBO63677520070226/>
- Pence, G. (2025, May 6). The beginning of the end of unshakeable support: Why US public opinion is turning away from Israel – Middle East Monitor. Middle East Monitor. Retrieved June 1, 2025, from <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20250506-the-beginning-of-the-end-of-unshakeable-support-why-us-public-opinion-is-turning-away-from-israel/>

- Prasetya, R. (2024). Analyzing political discourse: Linguistic and semiotic perspectives. *Journal of political sciences & public affairs* 12(1), 1–2. <https://doi.org/10.35248/2332-0761.24.12.044>
- Rafferty, J. P., & Rodriguez, E. (2025, March 13). Axis of evil. Britannica. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/axis-of-evil>
- Raz, I. G. (2024). China's new mediating role and the Palestinian- Israeli conflict. *Israel Affairs*, 00(00), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537121.2024.2394320>
- Robinson, K. (2023, July 12). What is U.S. policy on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved May 5, 2025, from <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-us-policy-israeli-palestinian-conflict>
- Sanders, L. (2024, October 30). Poll finds Democrats and Republicans split on Israel's responsibility for war's escalation. PBS News. Retrieved January 22, 2025, from <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/poll-finds-democrats-and-republicans-split-on-israels-responsibility-for-wars-escalation>
- Sanders, R. (2024, March 21). October 7: Forensic analysis shows Hamas abuses, many false Israeli claims. Al Jazeera. Retrieved May 11, 2025, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/3/21/october-7-forensic-analysis-shows-hamas-abuses-many-false-israeli-claims>
- Sawhney, S. (2024). Distinguishing between idealism and realism in international relations. Effective Altruism Forum. Retrieved December 5, 2024, from <https://forum.effectivealtruism.org/posts/KiaD8FuQRJKLxRCui/distinguishing-between-idealism-and-realism-in-international>
- Smith, H. (2011). Idealist vs. realist foreign policy. American Diplomacy. Retrieved December 5, 2024, from <https://americandiplomacy.web.unc.edu/2011/04/idealist-vs-realist-foreign-policy/>
- Sotirović, V. B. (2023). The historical background of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (up to 1914). 7.
- Sumner, B. T. (2004). Territorial disputes at the international court of justice. *Duke Law Journal*, 53(6), 1779–1812.
- U.S. Department of State. (2023). West Bank and Gaza 2023 human rights report. 1–148. <https://id.usembassy.gov/id/our-relationship-id/official-reports-id/laporan-hak-asasi-manusia-2020/>
- U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. (2024, August 20). Risch: Democrats continue to turn their backs on Israel. Retrieved January 22, 2025, from <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/press/rep/release/risch-democrats-continue-to-turn-their-backs-on-israel>

- UN General Assembly. (1946). The crime of genocide. United Nations.
- UN General Assembly. (2024). Economic costs of the Israeli occupation for the Palestinian people: The economic impact of the Israeli military operation in Gaza from October 2023 to May 2024. 16305.
- UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2024). Thematic report - indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks during the conflict in Gaza (October – December 2023). United Nations. Retrieved May 4, 2025, from <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/reports/thematic-report-indiscriminate-and-disproportionate-attacks-during-conflict-gaza>
- UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2024, December 30). Israel's assault on the foundations of international law must have consequences. Retrieved May 17, 2025, from <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/12/israels-assault-foundations-international-law-must-have-consequences-un>
- UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2025, March 18). A/HRC/58/73: Israeli settlements in the occupied Palestinian territory, including East Jerusalem, and in the occupied Syrian Golan. United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Retrieved May 4, 2025, from https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/country-reports/ahrc5873-israeli-settlements-occupied-palestinian-territory-including?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2023). Humanitarian response plan opt humanitarian programme cycle 2023. *January*. www.ochaopt.org
- UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2023). UN has documented 645 Israeli movement obstacles within the West Bank. Retrieved May 4, 2025, from https://www.un.org/unispal/document/un-has-documented-645-israeli-movement-obstacles-within-the-west-bank-ocha-press-release/?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- United Nations. (1978). Origins and evolution of the Palestine problem: 1917-1947 (Part I). *Http://Un.Org, Part I*. https://www.google.com/search?q=balfour+declaration&sca_esv=88d83dfd64468dbe&sxsrf=ADLYWIKmvMN0QF4zR9-Lkm0BtvqlHZrB8A%3A1719564638142&ei=Xnl-ZqyjCO3XseMP9v2iQA&oq=balfour&gs_lp=Egxnd3Mtd2l6LXNlcuAiB2JhbGZvdXIqAggAMgsQABiABBiRAhiKBTIKEAAYgAQYQxiKBTIKEAAYgA
- United Nations. (2017, December 14). Security Council presidential statement says Libyan political agreement 'only viable framework' to end crisis,

finalize political transition. Retrieved May 22, 2025, from <https://press.un.org/en/2017/sc13120.doc.htm>

United Nations. (2019). Security Council members regret decision by United States to recognize Israel's sovereignty over occupied Syrian Golan. Retrieved May 22, 2025, from <https://press.un.org/en/2019/sc13753.doc.htm>

United Nations. (2023). History & background. Retrieved September 2, 2024, from <https://www.un.org/en/situation-in-occupied-palestine-and-israel/history>

United Nations. (2024, November 14). UN special committee finds Israel's warfare methods in Gaza consistent with genocide, including use of starvation as weapon of war. United Nations. Retrieved May 3, 2025, from https://www.un.org/unispal/document/un-special-committee-press-release-14nov24/?utm_source=chatgpt.com

United States Department of Justice. (2024). Justice department announces murder-for-hire and related charges against IRGC asset and two local operatives. Retrieved May 12, 2025, from <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/justice-department-announces-murder-hire-and-related-charges-against-irgc-asset-and-two>

United States Department of State. (2022). The United States-Israel relationship. Retrieved September 2, 2024, from <https://www.state.gov/the-united-states-israel-relationship/>

Van Dijk, T. A. (2008). War rhetoric of a little ally: Political implicatures and Aznar's legitimization of the war in Iraq. *Discourse and Power*, 1(2005), 185–210. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-07299-3_8

Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249–283. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006>

Van Dijk, T. A. (2002). Political discourse and political cognition. In Paul Chilton & Christina Schäffner (Ed.), *Politics as Text and Talk: Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse* (p. 208). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2003). *Political discourse and ideology*. 1. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31921/doxacom.n1a12>

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). Methods of critical discourse analysis. In *SAGE Publications*. SAGE Publications Ltd.

Yaari, M. (2020). Israel and Qatar: Relations nurtured by the Palestinian issue. *March*.