

# **A Critical Discourse Analysis of Netanyahu's Speech to U.S Congress**

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## **Abstract**

This paper sheds light on the significant role of politically and socially driven language ideologies in the process of manipulating and dominating the public persona. Case in point is the racist discourse of politicians, namely the Israeli Prime Minister, Netanyahu, that takes the form of language wars to demolish the target through the power and control of speech. The study adopts a critical discourse analysis to scrutinize selected texts from Netanyahu's 2015 speech to the American Congress. Indeed, the aim of the study is two folded, where on the one hand the paper seeks to critically analyse the role of the elites in the reproduction of racism, manipulation, domination, and inequality in their discourse structures. While on the other hand, it seeks to pinpoint the different argumentative strategies that are utilized by Netanyahu to express his pseudo-argument and ideo-political point of views against Islam and Iran. Significantly, the critical discourse analysis of selected political speeches proved that politicians, namely Netanyahu, are equipped with key language strategies, which

help in enforcing power and domination upon others. Such strategies include the use of a broad range of discursive structures and devices such as topoi of argumentation and rhetoric that are regarded as linguistic weapons for enforcing racism and manipulation. Notably, the study observes the excessive use of hyperbole and metaphor as veils for Netanyahu's racist ideology, which seeks to denigrate the image of the Muslim World and spread Islamophobia. Such findings prove the researches hypotheses correct, namely the adoption of ideological techniques as strategies to demonize enemies, then legitimize and justify taking action against them.

**Keywords:** critical discourse analysis; ideology; power; domination; Netanyahu

## **1. Introduction**

It is a well-known fact that top political leaders, such as the Israeli Prime Minister, have the ability to control, change and manipulate people's mind and ideologies in their reproduction of racism and manipulation in the large scale of public opinion because they have preferential access and control to various forms of public discourse. This study adopts an antiracist perspective - a Critical Discourse Analysis - to analyse Netanyahu's 2015 Speech to the American Congress in order to help withdraw the United States from the nuclear deal with Iran and re-impose further economic sanctions that had been lifted under the agreement.

Thus, the study is an initial attempt to accomplish the following aims: (i) analysing critically the discourse of the 2015 Netanyahu's Speech to Congress to investigate the role of the elites in the reproduction of racism, manipulation, domination, double standards, blaming the victims and inequality in their discourse structures; (ii) pinpointing the different argumentative strategies that are utilized by Netanyahu to express his pseudo-argument and ideo-political point of views against Islam and Iran .

To fulfil the aims of this study, it is hypothesized that: (i) The speaker adopts the ideological technique as a strategy to demonize enemies, then legitimize and justify taking action against them within the overall strategy of ideological square; emphasizing in-group's good things and out-group's bad things, and de-emphasizing (mitigates, hides,) in-group's bad things and out-group's good things. (ii) His scheme of pseudo-argument can lead to a victim-victimizer reversal.

To investigate these, the researcher adopts an eclectic model proposed by Wodak's (2001) and Van Dijk's (2006a). Twenty-four argumentative topoi have been selected within the overall strategies of the Van Dijk's ideological square according to the aims and hypotheses of this study since all the list of topoi in Wodak (2001) can be formulated by 'ideological square' Van Dijk's (2006a). The categories are of three levels of discourse structure: the argumentation, and the rhetoric. They have shown effective criteria for detecting the most disguised systems of racism and manipulation.

It is worth noting that the present study is of several values to linguistics in particular and other related sciences in general. For one, it is valuable for readers and critical discourse analysts, as well as for journalists and students of journalism to reach the ultimate goal of improving their critical thinking skills and boosting their knowledge against political propaganda and manipulation. Moreover, this study might be utilized for textbook writers and material designers to include critical thinking drills in their school textbooks.

Generally, words tend to have the power of manipulating, convincing, and changing audience's position and, more specifically, US key policy makers. Because of his long political experience and career, Netanyahu knows exactly the influence of the speech, and how the manipulated words, at the right time, delivered at the right place, have the ability to control people's mind and ideologies. Politic is always related to activities that influence the action and

policies in the government or society. Such activities will increase the ability to control people, which is in line with his purpose to win law makers' hearts. Netanyahu's political speech strategies succeeded to win over many supports that may later on offer new insight on Iran, in order to reject the agreement being negotiated with Iran by the United States and five other major powers to constrain Iran's nuclear program.

## **2. Literature Review**

This chapter presents background information and insightful views about the dominant concepts and main approach adopted in the present study. Obviously, the main focus will be on critical discourse analysis and its related terminology

### **2.1. Discourse and Racism**

Assuredly, Van Dijk (2002:145) highlights the importance of discourse as the mirror of the racist's mind. He states that "although discourse may seem just "words" (and therefore cannot break your bones, as do sticks and stones), text and talk play a vital role in the reproduction of contemporary racism".

This is especially true for the most effective and harmful forms of modern racism, specifically, those of the elites who control the most crucial dimensions and decisions of the everyday lives of any country such as political debates, media, educational, and scholarly institutions. Racism may be encoded largely in their oral or written discourse, for instance; in cabinet meetings and parliamentary debates, in job interviews, news reports, advertising, lessons, textbooks, scholarly articles, movies or talk shows, among many other forms of elite discourse (Van Dijk ,2002:145).

He (ibid: 146) argues that discourse also has a significant role for the cognitive dimension of racism since it is not innate, and does not develop spontaneously in ethnic interactions. Racism and prejudice are acquired and learnt usually via communication means throughout text and talk, and vice versa. Such racist

mental representations are typically expressed, formulated, defended, and legitimated in the discourse of the dominant group.

This means that the analysis of elite discourse offers a particularly relevant perspective and right decision to detect how racism is reproduced in society by elite white people who are participating daily in communication about ethnic minorities and race relations in society (Van Dijk, 1997:31). These findings lead Van Dijk to discover that the ethnic out-groups are ideologically topicalized in racist negative terms and how they look differently and expose threat in their habits, language, religion, or values; whereas information about in-groups that could be negative (such as colonialism) used to be ignored, concealed, or at least euphemized (Van Dijk, 2002 :150). These forms of racist mental representations are typically legitimated, expressed, and, defended the discourse of the dominant group.

According to Fairclough (2003: 9), when people represent themselves positively and others negatively, they imply hierarchical power relations and enhance a sense of superiority over others, and the discourse they produce can serve to sustain in-group or change out-group ideologies.

## **2.2. Power**

Fairclough (1995: 1), following Foucault (1986) defines power not only as unbalanced authority that exists among individuals who exercise relations of power in the same discursive event, but also in terms of how specific people have different abilities to access and control as well as how discourses are produced, distributed and inspired. Van Dijk (1996: 84) argues that these influential and powerful people always have exclusive privilege and access to the public minds and a specific social domain through different forms of discourse such as, media, employment, and education to sustain, conceal and normalized power, inequality and ideology (ibid: 85).

Furthermore, Weiss and Wodak state (2003:14). That “language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it”. This leads to the facts that the world is racially hierarchically shaped. European white-race takes the peak of global racial hierarchy and overwhelmingly takes the lead as dominant global race. Not because superficial theories about the innate superiority of the white- skinned men, but because they control the switches of the local or international institutional wealth and power, such as the UN Security Council or the International Bank. Meanwhile, Black, Hispanic, Muslims or, Asian minorities are dominated group, consequently, cannot be said to be racist even if they have prejudicial feelings against others (Van Dijk, 2006d: 39).

### **2.3. Domination**

According to Van Dijk (2006b: 359), “there are a number of crucial notions in CDA that require special attention because they imply discursive power”. Notably, manipulation is the central one of these notions, because it “not only involves power, but specifically abuse of power, that is, domination” (ibid: 360).

This is usually the case when a speaker distorts reality by (e.g. a prime minister) practicing manipulative control over other people’s minds, who lack the knowledge of counter manipulation techniques, against their will or against their best interests. This is a more influential form of illegitimate abuse of power (or domination).

Basically, Van Dijk (1993a:254) states that “the modern and often more effective domination is mostly cognitive, and enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to change the mind of others in one's own interests.”

### **2.4. Manipulation**

It should be noted that according to Van Dijk (1993b: 97), manipulation is not only illegitimate because it violates Grice’s (1975) conversational maxims of

truthiness, relevance and completion, but also it is illegitimate, because it (re) produces domination and inequality in society (Van Dijk, 2006b: 363).

Since manipulation “is usually discursive, and involve power abuse”, therefore “it should be studied by Critical Discourse Analysis” (Van Dijk , 2005: 86) . This can be also concluded from Wodak's famous definition of CDA as “fundamentally interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (Wodak, 1995: 204).

## **2.5. Ideology**

The concept of ideology is also crucially bonded to the question of power, domination, and discourse, since these concepts are almost always collocated in CDA investigations. Perennially, discourse is the most projecting way that ideologies are re/produced, maintained, and resisted. Ideology is strongly tied to political discourse in particular, because “more than any other kind of discourse, political discourse is eminently ideological” (Van Dijk, 2000a:208).

The negative notion of 'ideology' has also become the central element in the common sense, social sciences, and political uses of the term, namely as a system of false, misguided or misleading beliefs as opposite to truth of scientific knowledge (Van Dijk, 2006d: 7).

Consequently, Van Dijk (2006c) describes elaborately that the notion of ideology is mostly operationalized implicitly or explicitly in political language. He (ibid: 732) argues that “discourses make ideologies ‘observable’ in the sense that it is only in discourse that they may be explicitly ‘expressed’ and ‘formulated’ . Other political practices only implicitly show or experience ideologies”.

Furthermore, Van Dijk (1991:25) has historically argued, “European ideology of racial superiority was often used to motivate, explain, or legitimate the

exploitation, oppression, or extermination of non-European peoples of other ‘races’”. Traditionally for sustaining group dominance in Western countries, more polarization, differentiation, and conceptualization of language, religion, race, and national identity are required between dominant in-group and dominated out-groups.

## **2.6. Prejudice**

Carlos (1998: 29) shows the generality of the notion of prejudice when he states that “we all have our prejudices, and we can be prejudiced about things, ideas, or people. Hence, anyone, irrespective of colour, can hide prejudicial, even hatefully prejudicial feelings about any race”. However, to be guilty of racism, one must operationalize his prejudice with power, and power of a special sort. Racism is prejudice plus power leveraged at an institutional level to maintain the privileges of the dominant social group (ibid). He indicates to "racism formula" as " $R = P + P$ " meaning *Racism equals Prejudice plus Power*.

## **2.7. Islamophobia**

Significantly, anti-Muslim and Arabs racism has recently been spread widely in non-Muslim societies especially in the US and Europe. There are huge numbers of terms and phrases that depict Muslims and Arabs negatively and increase hostility against them. The well-known one in English is “Islamophobia” appears firstly in an article by Said (1979); he brought into focus the derogating identity of Muslims and Arabs in his work “Orientalism”. Orientalism is “a Western style dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient”. Hence, Orientalism embodies unbalanced dominated power, identity, social and cultural superiority of America and Europe against dominated Orient ones (Said, 1979: 3).

Accordingly, Said (1978: 20) notes that these colonized countries intend to draw the East in a very denigrating, negative, treating and distorted image in order to

present a positive, peaceful and, civilized image of the Western societies. Furthermore, Trust (2002:4) notes that Islamophobia as “unfounded hostility towards Islam” opens the door for unfair discrimination against Muslim individuals and communities, and to the exclusion of Muslims from mainstream political and social affairs

The stereotypical negative depiction of the Orient or more specifically Islam and Muslims have been portrayed as a great threat, which are going to destroy “Western civilization” and take over the entire world. This dehumanising perspective has reached its climax in Orientalist writings, such as in Samuel P. Huntington’s (1993) article “A Clash of Civilizations?”

Generally, Muslims (and Arabs) are often depicted in the instinctive negative characteristics as exotics, inferiors, irrationals, religious zealots, hyper-sexually abusers of women, jihadists, extremists, terrorists, They are systematically differentiated from the superior, rational, virtuous, active, and civilized white-race westerner. (Baker and Ellece, 2011:83). The Orientalist and islamophobic ideologies that are manifested in different types of socio-political discourse and practice have shifted dramatically from the Black, the Hispanic, and the Asian to the Muslim peoples and become key tools of contemporary racism since the attacks on the World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001 (Runnymede Trust, 2002:4).

Therefore, Van Dijk (2002:145) shows that all these strategies of racist discourse are included in the ideological square which “generally emphasizes speakers’ good things and 'their' bad things, and de-emphasizes (mitigates, hides) speakers’ bad things and 'their' good things” (ibid:148). Hence, politicians can manipulate their voters; professors can manipulate their students because of their political and academic institutional position, and authority.

### **3. Model and Analysis**

Notably, the eclectic model adopted in this paper is mostly proposed by Wodak's (2001) The discourse-historical approach and Van Dijk's (2006a) Ideology and Discourse. The analysis aims at showing how racist ideologies, discrimination, exclusion, manipulations, or preferential actions are reflected in various kinds of Strategies of argumentation, (topoi) and Rhetorical ones within the structures of elite discourse.

Noteworthy of mentioning, topoi are centered in the middle area of semantics and rhetoric, but they are typically studied within argumentation itself since they have become intellectualized and publicized. Within argumentation theory, topoi or loci can be describe as parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory ,either overt or covert premises .They are the content-related warrant or 'conclusion rules' which connect the argument or arguments with conclusion, the claim .As such , they justify the transition from the argument or arguments with the conclusion (Kienpointner, 1992 :194). They may be used commonly as 'ready-mades' or standard reasoning for specific issues in argumentation. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) define topoi as 'conclusion rules' which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion or standpoint. Less formally, topoi can be described as reservoirs of generalized key ideas from which specific statements or arguments can be generated (Ivie, 1980, cited in Richardson, 2004: 230).

According to Van Dijk's (2006a) theoretical framework, all the list of topoi in Wodak (2001) can be formulated by 'ideological square'. Positive self-representation (or in-group favoritism) is a semantic macro- strategy used for the purpose of 'face-keeping' or 'impression management' .Negative other-representation is another semantic macro-strategy serves to derogate out-groups, these macro-strategies show in-group and out-group distinction, polarization and differentiation such as 'good' vs. 'bad', 'superior' vs. 'inferior', 'us' (i.e. the West) and 'them'(i.e., the East). Ideological discourse in general and racist elite discourse in particular, is usually loaded with such topoi. Different types of topoi

may be found as standard arguments and the most typical elements of the argumentative and persuasive nature of political speech against immigration, Muslim communities, societies, and nations. (Van Dijk, 2006a: 53).

Frequently, the use of topoi enables speakers to share with the audience a lot stereotyped and orientalist information that derogates out-group representation such and hides or mitigates in-group representation through quasi-rational arguments (westerners are linked with ‘progress’, ‘modernity’, ‘tolerance’, ‘democracy’, ‘moderateness’, ‘initiative’, ‘leadership’, etc. Oppositely, ‘they’ and ‘them’ that represent ‘Arabs’, ‘terrorists’, ‘jihadists’, ‘Muslim’ ‘fundamentalists’, or non-whites in general tend to be associated with ‘barbarism’, ‘dictatorship’, lack of initiative, and so forth) (Richardson and Wodak, 2009).

Briefly summarized from Wodak (2001: 74-77) the list of topoi could be described as follows.

Table 1: List of topoi adopted from Wodak (2001:74)

1. Danger and threat	9. Finances
2. Definition, name-interpretation	10. Reality
3. Responsibility	11. Humanitarianism
4. Numbers	12. Law and right
5. Usefulness, advantage	13. Justice
6. Uselessness, disadvantage	14. Culture
7. History	15. Abuse
8. Burdening, weighting	16. Authority

It should be noted that the topos of danger or topos of threat is based on the following conditional: *if a political action or decision embodied specific dangerous, dire consequences, one should not perform it and should be encountered.* Here, only one of them is mentioned, namely the topos of threat of

racism, which goes as follows: *if the Iranian peaceful nuclear program bears threat to Israel or to the entire world, Israel backed by the United States must act against Iran*. This argument scheme can lead to a victim-victimizer reversal. The victims, thus, are made responsible for being under harsh economic sanctions and military attack directed against them.

1. *My friends, I've come here today because, as prime minister of Israel, I feel a profound obligation to speak to you about an issue that could well threaten the survival of my country and the future of my people: Iran's quest for nuclear weapons.*
2. *I'll say it one more time — the greatest dangers facing our world are the marriage of militant Islam with nuclear weapons.*
3. *Iran's regime poses a grave threat, not only to Israel, but also the peace of the entire world.*
4. *That concession creates a real danger that Iran could get to the bomb by violating the deal.*

The above four extracts, clearly show how the speaker builds his arguments on the serious issues of “*threaten the survival of my country and the future of my people*”, “*the greatest dangers facing our world*” and “*a real danger*” which profoundly obliges international community to stand consensually to challenge “*the greatest dangers facing our world*”. Within the overall strategy of ideological square of positive self-presentation, the speaker depicts himself as the Middle East and world population protector and peace lover “*for the security of the Middle East and the peace of the world, the peace, we all desire*”. At the same time, he hyperbolically derogates other by portraying them as “*the greatest danger facing our world*”, who must be eradicated for national and global safety. Not surprisingly, Israel is always describing itself as a victim of Iranian nuclear threat. Thus, it is entirely a case of victim-victimizer reverse.

5. *Back by Iran, Houthis are seizing control of Yemen, threatening the strategic straits at the mouth of the Red Sea.*
6. *For those who believe that Iran threatens the Jewish state, but not the Jewish people, listen to Hassan Nasrallah, the leader of Hezbollah, Iran's chief terrorist proxy.*

7. *Iran's goons in Gaza, its lackeys in Lebanon, its revolutionary guards on the Golan Heights are clutching Israel with three tentacles of terror. Backed by Iran, Assad is slaughtering Syrians. Back by Iran, Shiite militias are rampaging through Iraq. Back by Iran, Houthis are seizing control of Yemen, threatening the strategic straits at the mouth of the Red Sea. Along with the Straits of Hormuz, that would give Iran a second choke-point on the world's oil supply*

Ideo-politically, Iran's being on the U.S. State Department list of terrorist nations, it is not because its alleged terrorist activities, but, because of Tehran's leading role in supporting legitimate national resistance movements, such as Hamas, Hezbollah, Houthis and Iraqi counter-terrorism Mobilization Forces.

Notably, the Israeli Prime Minister deemphasizes negative self-representation and hides the reality that Israeli government directly involve in recruiting, training, financing and arming of foreign mercenaries of what is alleged to be part of "forces of moderation", "militant Islam" such as Al-Qaeda affiliated organization, namely, Al-Nusrah Front, who committed genocide massacres against the innocent people in Syria, Iraq, and Yemen. They are on the U.S. State Department list of the terrorist organizations. The researcher finds, and according to the 2001 U.S. Patriot Act, persons, organizations, or nations, which support terrorist groups are considered as terrorists' or, 'state-sponsors of terrorism'. Therefore, and according to the United States' law, Israel is state-sponsors of terrorism.

Indeed, throughout history, the successful rhetorical technique to mobilize a reluctant population has been the warning of an imminent threat from an evil enemy, dedicated to its destruction. In (5), (6) and (7) the speaker repeatedly expresses Iran as "*the threat*" to warn the worldwide audience against the Iranian gravest threats to world peace in general and to Israel in particular.

The topos of definition or topos of name-interpretation can be traced back to the following conclusion rule: *if an action, a thing or a person (group of persons) is named/ designated (as) X, the action, thing or person (group of persons) carries*

*or should carry the qualities/traits/attributes contained in the (literal) meaning of X.* This topos is employed if immigrant workers in Austria or Germany are euphemistically called 'Gastarbeiter' ('guest workers'). The term implies that, because they are 'only guests', they will or they must return to the countries they came from. The naturalising reference 'flood of immigrants' implicitly carries at least two conclusion rules. If something is a flood, it is dangerous and threatening. If something is dangerous and threatening, one should do something against it. The phrase 'economic refugee' finally contains the conclusion rules: if somebody is a refugee, she or he leaves her or his country for reasons of persecution. If somebody abandons her or his country for economic reasons, she or he is not a victim of persecution. If somebody is not persecuted, she or he is not a real refugee. If somebody is not a real refugee, she or he should not enjoy the rights of a refugee (in simple terms: she or he should not be taken in and granted asylum) (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:76).

Accordingly, Fowler and Kress (1979:200) state that "the different possibilities of naming signify different assessments by the speaker/writer of his or her relationship with the person referred to or spoken to, and of the formality or intimacy of the situation". Examples of ideologically driven lexical naming choices such as "*radical regime*" "*militant Islam*" or "*murderous Islamic regimes*" are going to be taken for account. Politicians tend to use name-interpretation in their different genres, so as to identify "different ideological affiliations" (Sykes, 1985: 87). Throughout his discourse, the speakers examined different positive/negative lexicalizations as ways to emphasize in-group positive self-presentation and out-group negative-other-presentation, alienation and derogation. The following are some examples:

8. *Now, this shouldn't be surprising, because the ideology of Iran's revolutionary regime is deeply rooted in militant Islam, and that's why this regime will always be an enemy of America.*
9. *Iran and ISIS are competing for the crown of militant Islam.*

**10.** *In this deadly game of thrones, there's no place for America or for Israel, no peace for Christians, Jews or Muslims who don't share the Islamist medieval creed, no rights for women, no freedom for anyone.*

In the above extracts, the speaker takes special care of being part of anti-Islam and Muslims movement that depicts Islam and Islamic nations primarily as the major source of violence, fundamentalism, and terrorism especially when it is associated with “*religious zealots, militant Islam, the Islamist medieval creed*”. Israeli media and political discourse play a central role in reproduction of Islamophobia globally. The owners and investors of Islamophobia industry have been spending millions of dollars to spread fear and hatred of Muslims and more than third of Muslims were victims of hate crimes incidents in the U.S on the basis of being identified as Muslims. (Council of American Islamic Relation, 2016: v). Simultaneously, they represent the U.S., Israel and the all-Western world as a target of such Islamic threat. Blaming others for their own negative behaviour is a subtle form of manipulation and propaganda. The speaker manipulates the situation emotionally so they can be perceived as the victim. He hides behind the guise of being weak and vulnerable in order to gain considerable sympathy, political support and military power from the U.S. Congress to maintain his nation domination.

The speaker also uses the ideological rhetoric strategy of warning to justify racist practices against Iranian Muslims to intensify and institutionalize audience's fear and anti-Muslim hostility as a natural self-defence reaction against what's called Islamic terrorist and nuclear threat.

**11.** *But I can guarantee you this, the days when the Jewish people remained passive in the face of genocidal enemies, those days are over*

In the above extract, Netanyahu exaggeratedly highlights the negative characteristics of U.S. and Israel's enemy “Iran, Hezbollah, Houthis, Shiite militias and Hamas” by using very negative choice of lexical expressions “genocidal enemies” . The speaker implies illogically, that useful applications of

peaceful nuclear technology of Iran and a few homemade and short ranged-rockets with very limited power of destruction in the hands of national resistance movements are going to murder the whole race of Jewish people. Hence, he persuades the U.S. Congress to be given the green light to take preemptive action against Iran and its allies to eradicate or quarantine such assumed genocidal threat by using unconventional nuclear or non- nuclear weapons as first strike to destroy hundreds of major strategic targets including deeply underground uranium facilities.

These policy doctrines are needed because Israel always looks for creating enemies for gaining more gigantic sympathy and unconditional military support from the U.S. Congress to pursue its full domination of the Middle East. The speaker deliberately conceals and ignores the worst examples of negative self-presentation of Israeli state terrorism and its genocidal military campaigns in Lebanon and Palestine including the brutal invasion of Lebanon, murdering 25,000 innocent people, 1,400 armless civilians in Sabra and Shatila Refugee Camps and the Jenin massacre

**12.** *They were hijacked by religious zealots — religious zealots who imposed on them immediately a dark and brutal dictatorship.*

One of the hidden facts is the speaker's metaphoric use of the verb “ hijacked” to imply that the alleged enemy “ religious zealots” is kidnapping all of the Iranian people and the enemy is everywhere and attacking anywhere. The only solution is to reuse the Israeli doctrine of launching “total war” against Iran to give Israeli forces an excuse of “shoot down the plane” killing countless number of Iranian civilians and destructing homes, buildings, and infrastructures under the humanitarian pretext of trying to save “hijacked people” since it is hard to distinguish between hijackers and passengers.

In this extract, Netanyahu portrays the Iranian political leadership by mentioning them very negatively as “religious zealots” instead of democratically elected

“government” to imply to the U.S. Congressmen that such government is formed by radical religious hardliners rather than qualified politicians with whom American can keep on negotiating. There are many different religion-based governments worldwide such as the Vatican and Israel itself, but nobody names their leadership as priests or rabbis. The Israeli prime minister ideologically presents non-allied nations as “brutal dictatorship” to derogate out-group and implies that Israel comply with universal values of democracy and justice- where Arabs have been discriminately treated as second- class citizens for decades in Israel.

- 13. If Iran wants to be treated like a normal country, let it act like a normal country*
- 14. Keep the restrictions on Iran’s nuclear program in place until Iran’s aggression ends.*
- 15. If Iran’s aggression is left unchecked, more will surely follow*
- 16. Iran will become even more aggressive and sponsor even more terrorism when its economy is unshackled*
- 17. Iran does three things. First, stop its aggression against its neighbors in the Middle East*

If we zoom Netanyahu’s speech in a discourse-historical analysis as counter pseudo-arguments attempt, we can find that he repeatedly expresses Iran as “the aggressor” to manipulate his audience by blaming the victims of more than a half century of Israeli’s aggressions, occupations, ethnic cleansing, invading, and war “against its neighbors” in 1967, 1973, 1982, Gaza, Lebanon 2006; and ongoing military threats against Iran and Syria from 2001 to the present 2019. Netanyahu inverts manipulatively and ideologically in-group aggressor as a victim and out-group victim as a threat and aggressor.

- 18. A better deal that won’t give Iran an easy path to the bomb*
- 19. It’s been given a clear path to the bomb*
- 20. That’s why this deal is so bad. It doesn’t block Iran’s path to the bomb.*

The speaker's metaphoric use of “ path to the bomb” visualises Iran in (18,19,20) as a tangible approaching object moving through road. The underlying metaphor

here, then, could be expressed as ‘Iran is a walking animate ’ presupposes that Iran has already started “walking into” producing high nuclear enrichment and it inevitably reaches the end of the path of making the nuclear bomb. To de-emphasize negative self-presentation, the speaker disguises that U.S. produces and develops hundreds of nuclear weapons; moreover, it is the first nation that uses them against the Japanese population in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. To de-emphasize positive other-presentation, he never mentions the announcement of Mohammed El-Baradei, director of the IAEA, who has inspected Iran for several years that the IAEA has found no evidence of Iran’s seeking to have nuclear weapons.

This comes to intensifying the audience's fear under the manipulative and the hyperbolic assumption that Iran “the foremost sponsor of global terrorism” is going to produce nuclear weapons. Therefore, it becomes rhetorically accepted to devote perhaps billions of dollars to develop Israel's nuclear capability to attack Iran under a pretext of “the right to defend themselves against their enemies”. One of the Israeli racist ideo-political strategies is blaming its victims for what it actually does to serve disclaiming its leading role in sponsoring world terrorism to derogate and exterminate its enemies.

Israel is always described itself as a victim of Iranian nuclear threat; hence, they reiterate their commitment to curb Iran by harsh sanctions in favour of Israel.

- 21. Would Iran fund less terrorism when it has mountains of cash with which to fund more terrorism*
- 22. Iran will become even more aggressive and sponsor even more terrorism when its economy is unshackled.*
- 23. Iran attacks America and its allies through its global terror network*
- 24. Iran’s march of conquest, subjugation and terror.*
- 25. The foremost sponsor of global terrorism could be weeks away from having enough enriched uranium for an entire arsenal of nuclear weapons and this with full international legitimacy*

Israeli politicians, the master manipulators, use exaggerations and lies to gain more support, power, and control over their adversary's. They are used to stigmatizing and denigrating their victim's reputation. By spreading rumours they have no hesitation in portraying millions of their victims as "more aggressive and sponsor even more terrorism"—this serves mainly to legalize their invasion, terrorization and victimization for others.

The quantitative analysis demonstrates the speaker is referring to Iran in a negative way such as, "*nuclear threat*" or "*sponsor of global terrorism*" with the highest repetition. Meanwhile, North Korean genuine nuclear threat is underemphasized when Netanyahu only euphemistically mentions it.

A third argumentation scheme closely related to the two topoi just mentioned is the topos of responsibility. It can be summarized by the conditional formula: *because a state or a group of persons is responsible for the emergence of specific problems, it or they should act in order to find solutions to these problems.* for example in cases where a government is held responsible for unemployment and required to reduce the quota of immigrants as they are falsely considered to be the cause of unemployment.

**26.***Iran took dozens of Americans hostage in Tehran, murdered hundreds of American soldiers, Marines, in Beirut, and was responsible for killing and maiming thousands of American service men and women in Iraq and Afghanistan*

Netanyahu uses the standard argument of topos of responsibility "We all have a responsibility to consider what will happen when Iran's nuclear capabilities are virtually unrestricted".

The topos of responsibility is used by the speaker since allegedly "*Tehran... was responsible for killing and maiming thousands of American.*" Therefore, in-group should act in order to find solutions to these problems by legitimizing and justify imposing tough economic sanctions and/or to waging a military action against Iran in favour of Israeli military nuclear arsenal superiority in the region.

He does not give any details about the U.S. and his own government's responsibility of an unimaginable human catastrophe in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon because of the U.S. and Israeli illegal occupation of those nations.

The topos of numbers may be subsumed under the conclusion rule: *if the numbers prove a specific topos, a specific action should be performed or not be carried out*. This topos can become fallacious if it is related to incorrectly presumed majorities which are not verified empirically.

*27. Iran's Supreme Leader says that openly. He says, Iran plans to have 190,000 centrifuges, not 6,000 or even the 19,000 that Iran has today, but 10 times that amount — 190,000 centrifuges enriching uranium. With this massive capacity, Iran could make the fuel for an entire nuclear arsenal and this in a matter of weeks, once it makes that decision.*

Speaker's falsification is focalized in hiding positive other-representation that the "190,000 centrifuges" are low-capacity devices monitored by IAEA to produce low enriched uranium at approximately the 5% to 20% levels (for alternative energy and medical purposes), which are unable to make the fuel nuclear bomb while atomic bomb requires 90% level of uranium enrichment. At the same time, he excludes that the Israel has spent billions of dollar to sustain and update its "100 war heads", each one has twenty times more destructing scale than the American atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki that caused 100,000 civilians casualties. Hence, these are the actual threat to life existence on the earth.

The prime minister of Israel hides that his nation has spent billions of dollar to develop hundreds of nuclear warheads missiles each one has the capacity of twenty-five times more destructing scale than the American atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki that caused 100,000 human casualties. Hence, these are the real threat to life existence on the earth. He also conceals his

government unprecedented supporting in-group weaponry nuclear-nations (Pakistan, India and Gulf States) economically, strategically, and militarily.

Hence, the speaker hides (deemphasizes negative self-presentation) the facts that the current Iranian nuclear facilities were established and inaugurated by the U.S. government during the authoritarian pro-American regime of the Shah in the 1960s and the program was halted directly after the revolution (Howard, 2004: 98).

The topos of uselessness, disadvantage can be paraphrased by means of the following conditional: *if an action will be disadvantageous for us, then the action has to be prevented and the decision has to be rejected even it may be useful for others.*

- 28.** *This deal won't change Iran for the better; it will only change the Middle East for the worse. A deal that's supposed to prevent nuclear proliferation would instead spark a nuclear arms race in the most dangerous part of the planet.*
- 29.** *That's why this deal is so bad. It doesn't block Iran's path to the bomb; it paves Iran's path to the bomb*
- 30.** *The foremost sponsor of global terrorism could be weeks away from having enough enriched uranium for an entire arsenal of nuclear weapons and this with full international legitimacy.*

Speaker's argument falsification of topos of uselessness lies in hiding the reality that this deal is not bad and will not be disadvantageous and “spark a nuclear arms race” but will be so good for the whole region and complied with the Non-Proliferation Treaty. According to Shin Bet, Garmi Gillon, the former chief of domestic security agency, who says the nuclear agreement, would help “*make the region, and the world, a safer place*”. Negative other presentation and characteristics are highlighted by metaphorical exaggerated expression such as “*could be weeks away from*” having nuclear bombs. However, these arguments are refuted by the chair of the Israeli Space Agency and military scientist, Isaac Ben-Israel who announces, “*The agreement prevents an atom bomb for 15 years*”.

According to agreement, Iran dismantled all significant parts of its nuclear program. This action permanently blocks Iran's pathway to nuclear weapons. The speaker's ideological and manipulative use of noun phrase "*nuclear proliferation*" implies that Israel is a member of the Non-Proliferation Treaty but it is not since it always defies non-proliferation policy by producing and developing hundreds of nuclear bombs and refuses the access of International Atomic Energy Agency's inspectors to any of its nuclear sites. As positive- other presentation, the speaker intentionally conceal the fact that all Iranian nuclear sites are under 24-hour surveillance by IAEA's inspectors. Iranian national decision to advance to processing enriched uranium for medical and electric civil purposes complies with the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The topos of history can be described as follows: *because history teaches that specific actions have specific consequences, one should perform or omit a specific action in a specific situation (allegedly) comparable with the historical example referred to.*

- 31.** *My friend, standing up to Iran is not easy. Standing up to dark and murderous regimes never is. With us today is Holocaust survivor and Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel. And I wish I could promise you, Elie, that the lessons of history have been learned. I can only urge the leaders of the world not to repeat the mistakes of the past.*
- 32.** *We'll read of a powerful Persian viceroy named Haman, who plotted to destroy the Jewish people some 2,500 years ago. But a courageous Jewish woman, Queen Esther, exposed the plot and gave for the Jewish people the right to defend themselves against their enemies.*

In an earlier speech, the candidate, Netanyahu, brings up the tragic memory of the Jews massacre; he invokes the audience's episodic memory in which the personal, autobiographic, and subjective information is imprinted. The speaker's use of the agonizing term of 'Holocaust' are indicatives of this manner of representing the events and the others negatively. The purpose, of course, is to secure public consent to Israeli and the U.S. and Zionist crimes against humanity

by implying their actions as legitimate “*defensive*” or “*for survival of Jewish people*” tactics of even as they unleash another Holocaust against Muslim populations in Palestine , Lebanon, Iran or Iraq for what happened to the Jews in Europe. One “*lesson of history*” has been learned that the Holocaust was an entirely Christian and European catastrophe in which the Arabs and Iranian people played no part at all. The picture that emerges here entirely reverses the conventional orthodoxy about victims and victimizers.

*33. Iran’s attacks against the United States have been anything but mock. And the targets have been all too real.*

*34. Iran attacks America and its allies through its global terror network. It blew up the Jewish community center and the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires.*

The speaker’s use of the present tense of the verb “*attacks,*” implies that the United States and Israel are represented as a victim of Iranian imminent and inevitable nuclear threat or by its alleged global terror network. Hence, the U.S. support for the Israeli long record of violence, aggression, and lawlessness are implied as legitimate ‘defensive’ actions. This gives justification to Washington’s aggression on Iran as self and allies defending, rather than attacking it. Netanyahu inverts manipulatively and ideologically in-group aggressor as a victim and out-group victim as a threat and attacker.

*35. ...for the security of the Middle East and the peace of the world, the peace, we all desire*

The speakers hide the facts that the current Iranian nuclear facilities were established and inaugurated by the U.S. government during the authoritarian pro-American regime of the Shah in the 1960s and the program was halted directly after the revolution (Howard, 2004: 98).

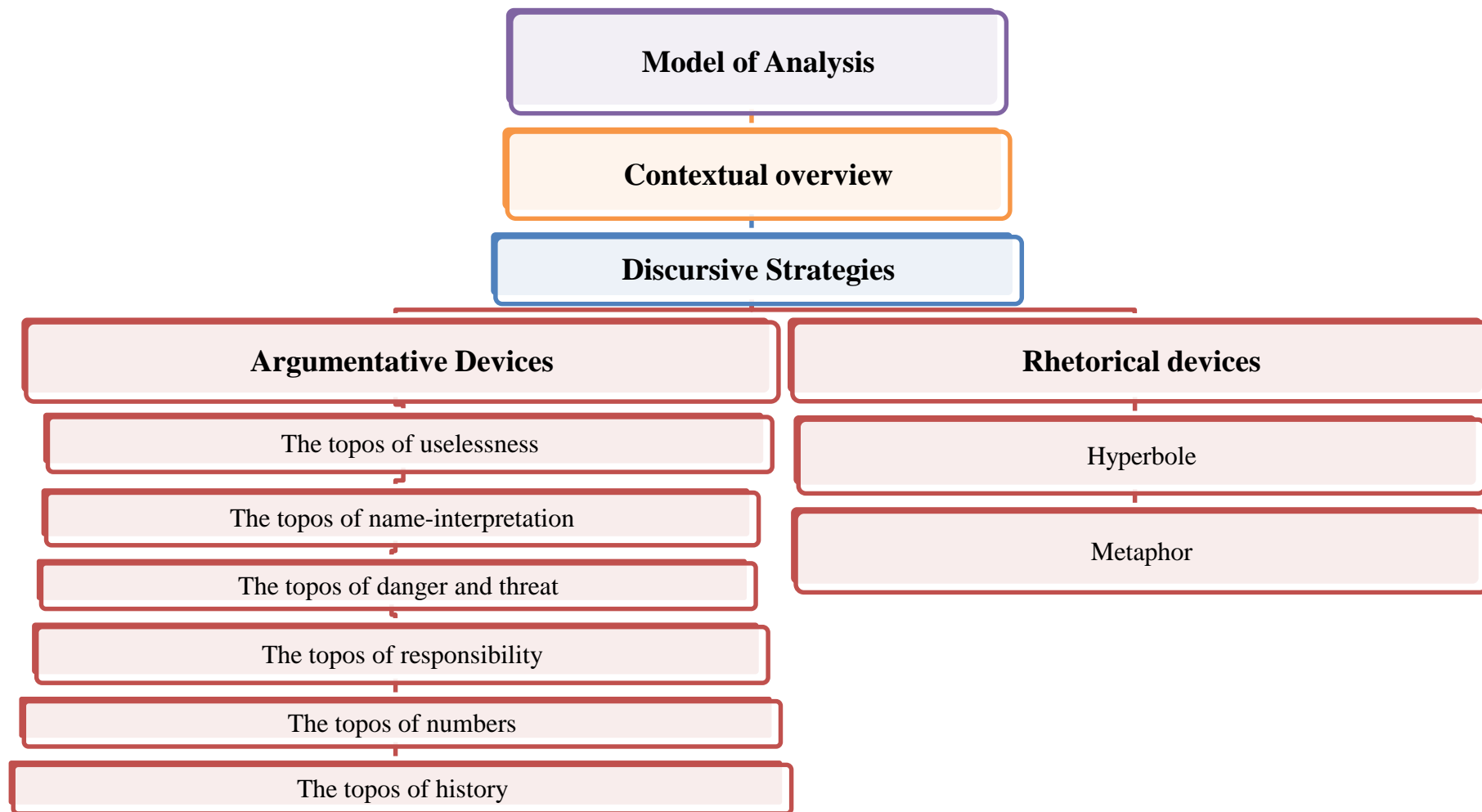
- **Use of Metaphor**

Significantly, metaphor is regarded as one of the semantic persuasive devices that are based on implicit association of the two categories by understanding one abstract domain in terms of another with extended meaning. Quirk (1962:55) adds argumentative dimension to metaphor when he considers it as “fallacious argument”. Griffiths (2006:78) believes “metaphors tend to provoke thought and feeling to a greater extent than more literal descriptions do” Finch (1998:150) states, “metaphors provide an essential means of articulating what would otherwise remain inarticulate”. However, political metaphors are different since they are mostly pseudo, negative, and “thus fall under the overall ideological strategy of negative other-description” (Van Dijk, 2006d: 78).

- **Hyperbole**

A semantic rhetorical device that is used for extremely increasing, overstating, and exaggerating meaning to increase impact or to attract attention (Van Dijk, 2006d: 73), for instance, describing “*Iranian useful applications of peaceful nuclear technology*” as “*the greatest danger facing our world*” (Van Dijk, 1995b: 154)

The figure below illustrates the eclectic model of analysis adopted in this research in conducting a critical discourse analysis of Netanyahu’s political speeches in the US Congress. First, the speeches under scrutiny are subjected to a contextual overview in order to determine their political context. Then, the speeches are analysed for the presence of argumentative devices and rhetorical devices with the general aim of exposing the hidden ideologies and racist language use.



#### **4. Findings and Conclusions**

Based on the results of the analysis, it can be concluded that the elite discourses of top political figures contribute to the reproduction of domination, Orientalism, and Islamophobia. This can be applied to the two levels of discourse structures by focusing on the ideological polarized structures of positive self-presentation of 'us' (civilized and peaceful); and negative other-presentation of 'them' (the greatest dangers facing our world) as means of mind controlling and manipulating the audience. To sabotage the deal, the speaker has propagandist arguments of emphasizing the illegitimacy of Iran's nuclear program and describes his country as a victim of Iranian nuclear threat. This is entirely victim-victimizer reverse. He manipulates the situation emotionally so they can be perceived as the victim. He hides behind the guise of being weak and vulnerable in order to gain considerable sympathy, political support and military power from the U.S. Congress to maintain his nation domination.

To sum up, it can be concluded that:

1. The analysis shows that the speaker uses a broad range of discursive structures and devices such as topoi of argumentation, and rhetoric to be within the framework of the ideological square. Its main purpose is to emphasize the racist polarization and differentiation between positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation as a means of controlling the minds of others, hence, to maintain the misuse of power, manipulation, inequality, and exclusion.
2. Netanyahu's Speech records the highest percentages of using racist ideological categories and strategies, such as negative choice of naming these are more distinguished in the analyzed data and explicitly denigrate the image of the Muslim World. He depicts Islam and Islamic nations primarily as the major source of violence, fundamentalism, and terrorism especially

when it is associated with “ *religious zealots, militant Islam, the Islamist medieval creed*”. To take a leading role in reproduction of Islamphobia globally.

3. To sabotages the deal, the speaker has propagandist arguments of emphasizing the illegitimacy of Iran’s nuclear program and describes his country as a victim of Iranian nuclear threat.

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