CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN’S RUSSOPHOBIA RHETORICAL REMARKS PRIOR TO THE 77TH UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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Abstract  
This study investigates the extent to which President Joe Biden's speech before the 77th session of the UN General Assembly reflects US foreign policy towards Russia and Ukraine. The sample of this study was sourced from manuscripts of President Joe Biden's speeches obtained through the official US state website (www.whitehouse.com), then elaborated with referential sources such as website articles, online news, and journal articles accessed via Scopus and Google Scholar. The study uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze President Biden's speech, delivered on September 21, 2022. The speech was transcribed and analyzed using the VOS Viewer and NVivo 12 Plus applications. The findings reveal that President Biden's speech emphasized the importance of the Sovereign Equality principle and criticized the inconsistent use of the Veto Right by Russia and the US in the UN Security Council. The speech also discouraged Russophobia and implied a willingness to engage in diplomatic negotiations with Russia. This research contributes to the literature on US foreign policy towards Russia and Ukraine by providing a detailed analysis of President Biden's speech. The findings suggest that the US is committed to upholding the Sovereign Equality principle and engaging in constructive diplomacy with Russia.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Joe Biden, Democracy, Peace, Russia, Russophobia, United States, Ukraine.

Introduction  
The commotion caused by Russia's military invasion of Ukraine led to US responsive action, one of the veto rights holders in the UN Security Council. The importance of US influence over Russia regarding global security is also considered one factor behind this response. Through President Joe Biden, the US seeks to represent a peace campaign based on democratic principles. This research discusses the analysis of President Joe Biden's speech before the 77th session of the UN General Assembly using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) techniques. On September 21, 2022, President Joe Biden gave his views before members of the United Nations entitled "Remarks by President Biden Before the 77th Session of the United Nations General Assembly." Biden's speech became crucial because the United States owns veto rights in the UN Security Council, which all UN member states consider important. Quoting Melissa and McLean, CDA is a social constructivist approach that believes world representations are linguistically discursive, meaning that social interaction creates history and knowledge (Johnson and McLean 2020). For example, QS Al Isra: 53 says, "And say to my servants: Let them speak better (correct) words. In fact, the devil causes discord among them. The devil is a real enemy to man." It then makes a word that is strung into a sentence that will provide simple suggestions for those who
say it to be responded to by the listener, which in the end, is manifested into actions and actions that will have an impact. According to Teun A. van Dijk, this study involves critical analysis, critical theory, and various applications. Therefore, this study involves a multidisciplinary approach and aims to demystify ideologies and interests frozen in language or discourse (Dijk 1977).

Simple cognitive and social applications related to discourse can be found in the teaching and learning process. A lecturer must be able to create positive and interesting conditions by providing material with various learning models so that students are sparked by their imagination. Quoting Yanuardianto, the social cognitive theory emphasizes that most human learning occurs in a social environment. By observing others, humans acquire knowledge, rules, skills, strategies, beliefs and attitudes (Yanuardianto 2019). Bandura stated that experience and physiological influences often cannot be separated easily. Therefore, it is more useful to analyze the determinants of behavior rather than trying to categorize which proportion of behavior is learned and which is hereditary (Bandura 1986). The most fundamental human nature is the ability to think and reason.

Thoughts are a psychoneural process. An example is a positive thinking process that will make the vision process an object of observation which then evolves into a collection of ideas. By focusing on knowledge of psychology, we can ask questions such as how best to create a belief system and personal competence (Rustiana 2011). In this study, Biden's speech indicated that he was discussing his views on framing the US foreign policy posture towards Russia with efforts to discredit and discriminate against Russia for its heinous treatment in Ukraine. Besides, in his speech, the US used the G7 to spread democratic ideology by jointly upholding equal sovereign rights for Ukraine and building solidarity to fight against Russian aggression. At least it will be interesting to discuss the US and its goals under Biden's leadership this time by groping through speeches.

This article analyzes the speech of US President Joseph Robinette Biden Jr, better known as Joe Biden. As a member of the UN Security Council, he believes that his contribution to defending Ukraine results from consistent implementation of the UN charter. So many of his speeches criticized Russia for being inconsistent in upholding peace. Biden was born in Scranton, Pennsylvania, on November 20, 1942. He graduated from Archmere Academy in Claymont in 1961 and then continued his studies at the University of Delaware in Newark in 1965. He briefly attended Syracuse University College of Law, graduating in 1968 (History.com Editors, 2023). Biden is a senior figure in US politics and still serves as the 46th President of the United States after defeating Donald Trump, who was the incumbent. The inauguration marked his presidential career on January 20, 2021 (Reditya 2021).

This article will look at the correlation of actions through discourse in Biden's speech vis-à-vis the US foreign policy's contribution to world peace. CDA is the study of text, speech or speech, and visual images to discover or express shared meanings that contribute to or represent social and ideological structures. The roots of critical discourse analysis lie in rhetoric, linguistic texts, anthropology, philosophy, social psychology, cognitive science, literacy studies, sociolinguistics, and applied and pragmatic linguistics. This research will construct the social problems that occur between US and Russia. It aims to examine how ideology is frozen in language and seeks to thaw the ideology that binds language or words.

The case of Russia's military invasion of Ukraine is considered a violation according to the UN charter and disrupts the UN's main mission to maintain peace and international political stability. This research seeks to see the role of the US as a rival country to Russia which massively criticizes the inconsistency in maintaining joint peace in the UN Security Council. In response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, this research argument leads the reader to the analytical question, why is President Joe Biden so enthusiastic about his country's ideological stance and intervention in his speech, even before the 77th General Assembly forum begins?
Research Gap

As a variable for this study, we try to include the keywords US, Biden, Russia and Ukraine to see previous research involving two countries with Biden as the main research perspective. Then on the same site, we searched with the keywords US, CDA, Russia, and Ukraine. Here we try to examine cases involving these three countries with CDA as the main perspective, representing the three cases that can bridge the three countries.

Referring to Figure 1, an article entitled Middle East Media Rhetoric: Framing Biden's Middle East Policies (Tarish 2022) in Scopus within 2023 was found. Through bibliometric analysis in the Overlay Visualization feature in VOS Viewer, there are 8 items, 1 cluster, and 28 links which include framing theory, culture, us presidential rhetoric, media communication, cda, Biden's inaugural speech, middle east rhetoric, bidden's middle east policies. This article discusses Biden's rhetoric in response to political issues in the Middle East. The key point of this article is to investigate how Biden's Middle East policies are framed through Middle East media rhetoric.
Figures 2 and 3 illustrate the articles entitled *China’s Long, Unfinished Twentieth Century and Its Possible Implications for Africa* (Lötter 2022), "America is Back" or “America First” and the Transatlantic Relationship (Olsen 2022), and *Conclusion: Post-unipolar Triadic Turbulence* (Ali 2022). The articles were found in 2022. Through bibliometric analysis in the Network Visualization feature in VOS Viewer, 18 items, 2 clusters, and 87 links were found, including positive influence, implications, great power ambitions, fuqiang (wealth and power), low Chinese priority, autocratic tendencies, Chinese psyche, Africa, poststructuralism, China, Afghanistan, decision maker, Ukraine, perceptions, nato. The three articles meet on the axis of similarity of the object of research on the weaning of alliances by the US against Russia and China, as well as US efforts to dissolve China’s influence in Africa.

In Figure 3, 2 articles were found in Scopus entitled *Polarization In Media Political Discourse On The War In Ukraine: Critical Discourse Analysis* (Pavlichenko 2022), *Language, Nationalism and Politics in Putin’s Russia* (Villegas Cara 2017). Articles found in the period 2022, when viewed through Density Visualization analysis, have 6 items, 1 cluster, and 15 links, including War in Ukraine, political discourse, linguistic means, discursive strategies of polar, critical discourse analysis, and metaphor. Both articles have research similarities regarding the language metaphors used to narrate the war between Russia and Ukraine.

Figure 3: Density Visualization of Keywords US, CDA, Russia, Ukraine

After presenting 11 previous articles involving the four key actors of the US, Russia, Ukraine, and Biden in the year 2022. Considering that Biden officially became president of the US in 2021, while the research period we are tracking starts in 2015-2023. Researchers did not find an article that showed a study of Russophobic rhetoric on President Joe Biden. This research will be important considering that humans are dynamic and change easily in making decisions in every execution of their lives. So research on CDA will be relevant if it is linked to political figures or leaders to measure the level of accuracy in discourse and action to solve the problems they are facing. In this case, Biden is the main actor in this research so the international stage will be on him. Moreover, the sentiment towards Russia, which is increasingly overflowing, makes Russophobia’s rhetoric interesting to study and deepen as a new object of research.

Of the articles found, one article is close to the same research topic, entitled, *Polarization In*
**Media Political Discourse On The War In Ukraine: Critical Discourse Analysis** (Pavlichenko 2022). Previous studies have discussed the role of the US in regional security, such as in Europe, Africa and Asia. Then, the previous research approach focused on media discourse as a polarizing platform in the war between Russia and Ukraine. Although similar in its analysis to CDA, what distinguishes this research is the discussion that focuses on analyzing President Joe Biden's speech when expressing his views on peace before the 77th General Assembly forum begins. As a novelty of this research, we emphasize that CDA in Biden's speech has never been studied before. At the General Assembly-77 Forum event, as up-to-date research, the setting has also not been included as a research object.

This research hypothesizes the possibility of Biden's efforts to reach a consensus among UN members to intervene in Russia's arbitrary actions over its invasion of Ukraine to maintain hegemonic influence over US membership as a veto holder in the UN Security Council.

**Theoretical Framework**

As an analysis tool, articles need spirit as the direction of their control. It then leads researchers to use it, such as Critical Discourse Analysis and the Copenhagen School Securitization Theory, while the explanation is as follows.

**Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) stems from a critical theory of language that sees language use as a form of social practice (Fairclough 2013). All social practices are bound to a particular historical context and are how existing social relations are reproduced or contested and different interests are served. Of course, it also involves the semiotic technique of language in analyzing a narrative text to determine its intent (Ma’arif, Jatmika, and Marlinda, 2022). How is the text positioned or positioned? Whose interests are served by this positioning? Whose interests are excluded? What are the consequences of this positioning, which links discourse to power relations? Where the analysis seeks to understand how discourse is implicated in power relations, it is called critical discourse analysis (Villegas Cara 2017).

CDA for this research aims to analyze Biden's speech in discussing Russophobic Rhetoric as an effort to maintain dominance of influence in the UN Security Council. Fairclough's CDA model consists of three interrelated analysis processes tied to three interrelated dimensions of discourse. The three dimensions include first, the object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts), second, and third) (Fairclough 2012). Second, The process by which objects are produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects. Third, the socio-historical conditions that govern this process. According to Fairclough, each of these dimensions requires a different analysis: text analysis (description), processing analysis (interpretation), and social analysis (explanation) (Fairclough 2003). We then believe that the CDA can be a solution to dismantle Biden's interests as the US representative at the United Nations through the discourses delivered.

**Securitization Theory of Copenhagen School**

Researchers use this theory because they believe they can bridge US interests over Russia by utilizing UN institutions to dominate influence in their Security Council. This theory was born from the Copenhagen School group such as Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde. Securitization is treating an issue or problem as a problem that poses a high-security threat to a country (Buzan, Waever, and Wilde 1998). According to Caballero and Emmer, there are three stages in the securitization process in an issue: non-politicized, politicized, and securitized (Caballero, Mely, and Emmer 2006). An issue is said to be at a non-political stage if the issue is part of public discussion and has not yet become a discussion at the government level. Meanwhile, the issue will be said to be in the political process if the issue becomes a topic of discussion, negotiation and debate at the government level. Finally, the issue can be securitized when actors, from state or non-state, have agreed on a threat and the need for an emergency measure to overcome the threat (Trihartono, Indriastuti, and Nisya 2020).
In this case, as the US President, Joe Biden has gone through these three stages and represented his views on his defense of Ukraine in his rhetorical speech before the UN General Assembly. Biden used the narrative in his speech as a Speech Act or a tool to construct the issue into a security threat and to convince and warn the public of the danger posed by the threat of Russia's military attack on Ukraine. Speech Act is important in perpetuating US interests because its functions lie as a driver of public opinion and provide space to mobilize US power in shaping regulations at the UN Security Council (Hurd 2007). So far, the Copenhagen School has measured the success of securitization based on the subjective beliefs built by the Referent Object about a threat (Caballero et al. 2004).

Only in the military sector does the referent object remain the state. By 'sectorialising' security, existential threats are not objective but relate to each referent object's characteristics. This technique also highlights the contextual nature of security and threats. Suicide bomb attacks, for example, are a greater source of anxiety for some people today than others. Yet we often hear suicide terrorism framed as a 'global' threat. Securitization shows that it is incorrect to talk about issues such as terrorism as if they concern everyone worldwide equally. By talking about referent objects, we can ask: Security for whom? Security from what? And security by whom? (Eroukhmanoff 2018).

Such assessments occur when cases can be perceived differently by different groups. In this case, the US has an intense rivalry with Russia, and the US has a Russophobic sentiment tool in its society to fight the threat, namely Russia, while it does not apply to others. This time, Biden’s speech aims to discourse Russophobia through UN institutions to perpetuate the ideological discourse of democracy and peace.

**Methodology**

This research was analyzed using qualitative methods with content analysis. The definition of content analysis varies among academics. There are at least three meanings of content analysis based on the point of view of the content and the text itself (Rumata 2017). The first is the definition of content analysis which views content as part of the text (definitions that take content to be inherent in a text). Second is the definition of content analysis, which views content as a source of text (definitions that consider the content property of the source of a text). Third, the definition of content analysis that views content arises from the process as the researcher analyzes the text in a particular context (definitions that take content to emerge in the process of a researcher analyzing a text relative to a particular context) (Monggilo 2020). According to Ma’arif and Maksum, in quoting Sugiyono, they argued that social reality and various phenomena in a society have the aim of the research object so that it can be presented in detail and its characteristics, traits, and models can be known comprehensively (Ma’arif and Maksum 2022).

A qualitative research method is based on the post-positivism philosophy, which examines objects with natural conditions where the researcher is the key instrument (Sugiyono 2015). According to Bogdan and Taylor, quoted by Moleong, qualitative methods are research procedures that produce descriptive data in the form of words, quotes, written and unwritten as well as oral from people and observable behavior, so this approach is directed at the setting and the individual holistically (Moleong 2017). This approach was then able to bridge our research with CDA studies and studies in international relations with various multidisciplinary scientific philosophies.

In its delivery, this article used a descriptive method through analysis by reading the text obtained through the internet and watching it on the YouTube channel. The speech analyzed is titled "Remarks by President Biden Before the 77th Session of the United Nations General Assembly (September 21, 2022)." The researcher sees the uniqueness of this speech, the holistic understanding of President Joe Biden's secretary of state regarding global issues, which successfully integrates with US national

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2 Obtained through YouTube source https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cpj5AyQb8OE.
interests in efforts to seize power influence over Russia by exploiting the conflict in Ukraine. The collected speeches were analyzed using the NVivo 12 Plus application to produce Word Frequency or words President Biden often uses to discuss Russophobia and Peace.

Collecting research data took several research samples from books, e-books, journal articles, and working papers as primary sources, while websites, online news, and newspapers are secondary sources. The analytical tool we use is the VOS Viewer to analyze the bibliometrics of previous research to determine research gaps and novelties. Meanwhile, NVivo 12 Plus analyzes speech-to-text and each word with its translation supported by the WordCloud, Tree-Map, and Text Search Query-Result Preview features. As a detail, President Joe Biden's speech totaled 14 pages and 3720 words when copied in Microsoft Word. Meanwhile, the setting is at the United Nations Headquarters, New York, which was delivered at 11.08 A.M and ended at 11.37 A.M

**Finding and Discussion**

In this finding and discussion, the researchers will try to disassemble the words in the text to analyze the content contained in President Joe Biden's speech. We found the text of the speech through the official US state resource website (www.whitehouse.gov). As for the discussion analysis, we will explain it as follows.

**Analysis of Speech Text Remarks by President Biden Before the 77th Session of the United Nations General Assembly (September 21, 2022)**

Based on Figure 4, the Exact Matches analysis shows that in the speech before the session at the General Assembly, the United Nations showed dominance in the words "United, World and States," followed by the words "Nations, Countries, Security." Through the analysis of the CDA, it indicates that Biden seeks the interests of his country by taking advantage of a crucial moment based on having his privileges in the UN Security Council as one of the countries holding veto rights along with four other countries, namely China, Russia, France and the United Kingdom which is rational, considering that the speech was made before the event at the UN General Assembly began. Biden's foresight in taking advantage of free time before the event begins influences the subconscious of guests and the media to perpetuate his interests. If seen from the elaborative CDA and neuropsychology perspective, a behavior will reflect the human brain and mind, and vice versa. (McCarthy and Warrington 1990). So that from this elaborative view, it will give birth to an understanding that President Biden's words and words will be a natural trigger for agreement among the leaders present.

However, the analysis of Generalizations in Figure 5 shows that the word "States" dominates this speech. Followed by "Status, Act, World, United, Change." It then becomes the benchmark of the US idea in voicing peace by raising the issue of war in the realm of conflict for competition at the global elite level.

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3 Remarks by President Biden Before the 77th Session of the United Nations General Assembly | The White House
Based on the TreeMap in Figure 6, the US is interested in promoting peace. When viewed from the perspective of the CDA, this can be seen when in his speech, the words about togetherness, which include "united", "world", "states", "and nations," are so dominant in the text. In the rhetoric of his speech, which was so passionate and full of enthusiasm, it became a general indicator to cast his impartiality on destroying humanity and peace with indicators found through the words "Russia", "global", "countries", "rights", "war" and "charter." Through his rhetoric, Biden indicated that the US is a country that has the highest position and supremacy in matters of global security. Biden's speech focuses on the issues of partnership, peace, diplomacy, energy and nuclear empowerment, unity and nationality, food crisis, human rights, and handling climate change and diplomacy and partnerships across allies. The choice of these topics also became Biden's foresight in capturing the enthusiasm and sympathy of the country's leaders because some of these issues have also become hot topics in the international community with the dynamics of global problems that are occurring.

When looking at the Result Preview in Figure 7, Biden's speech this time discusses a lot about two core topics, first about peace and second about democratization efforts. Biden's rhetoric invites partner countries that the US has through the UN to support and strengthen the norm of responsibility with state behavior for all forms of attacks in cyberspace to threaten international peace and security. Through the UN, Biden hopes to become a means for improvising conflict resolution, peace, security, and countering the threat of terrorism (VOA Indonesia 2021). The peace that Biden touched on included the contribution of the African Union, which mediated the conflict in Ethiopia. Biden also touched on internal politics in Venezuela, support for a ceasefire in Yemen, and his views on advocating for peace between Israel...
and Palestine. In addition, Biden also loudly voiced lasting peace by calling for tolerance across nations by working together for the benefit of humanity (Muhammad 2022).

In securitization, existential threats can also be generated through language rhetoric known as the Speech Act (Trihartono, Indriastuti, and Nisya 2020). Securitization to understand the Speech Act is carried out through two approaches, namely in the form of internal and external approaches. Internal approach, the Speech Act is characterized by security forms, security grammar, and constructing a series of events that cover these existential threats (Mikhnevich 2015). Meanwhile, the external approach is marked by two main conditions, namely, actors who have the authority to carry out the Speech Act, namely actors who have strong authority as securitization actors and the existence of objects that are used as threats (Hendra 2015). Suppose you look at the Speech Act from the rhetoric of the speech put forward by President Joe Biden. In that case, it states that the US has full power in efforts to protect Ukraine based on humanity and peace with the United Nations to resolve conflicts.

In Figure 8, Biden outlines Russia as a permanent member of the UN Security Council that is negligent for trying to wipe sovereign states off the map by shamelessly violating the core of the UN charter. Biden considered that Putin’s actions were inappropriate when he openly threatened Europe with nukes on Wednesday, 21/9/2022, regarding partial mobilization. Russian President Vladimir Putin announced partial mobilization and threatened retaliation against the West with nuclear weapons in the escalation of the Ukrainian war (Nugrhani and Juliati, 2022). Quoting from The Guardian, quoted by Tribunnews.com, in his speech, President Putin also claimed that the West had tried to turn the Ukrainian people into cannon fodder (Prabawati and Wulandari 2022).

This action shows an abandonment of nuclear non-proliferation responsibilities, and Biden also urged all countries to strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation regime through diplomacy (Kurokawa 2018).
Biden emphasized that all members of the UN should strictly observe the UN Charter. In his view, Ukraine had equal rights with other sovereign states on January 2022. It is Biden's exact position against Russia's military aggression. Biden also illustrated how peace could exist by maintaining and strengthening internal and external democracy, shown when President Joe Biden called the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky, to provide support amid the deteriorating security situation on the border between Ukraine and Russia. (CNBC 2022) Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov later responded to Biden's stance. According to him, when talking about the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity, one of the important documents was the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations among the peoples. Lavrov said Ukraine had deviated from that path since 2014, when a Russian-backed president was ousted in Kyiv and replaced by a pro-Western leader. It prompted Russia to annex Ukraine's Crimea peninsula and support separatist groups in several eastern regions (Sari and Ahdijat, 2022).

Results

As a result of this research, we decided to divide three topics of discussion which include the first Principle of Sovereign Equality Against the Inconsistency of Russia, then the second Biden's Ideological Attitudes and Interventions in Discourse, then the third, Statistical Data for Ukraine Civilian Casualty Update (May 15, 2023). The discussion is as follows:

1. **Principle of Sovereign Equality Against the Inconsistency Russia**

   The text of President Joe Biden's speech indicated a lot that with the presence of the US in global politics, it would try to protect and uphold the value of sovereignty to achieve a common goal, peace. President Biden quoted President Truman's 1945 statement to the UN Charter: “proof that nations, like men, can state their differences, can face them, and then can find common ground on which to stand.” Sovereignty is a fundamental concept in international law. Sovereignty is the supreme and legal authority legally independent of any other sovereignty. Sovereignty is a supreme authority, which on the international plan, means legal authority, which is not dependent on any other earthly authority (Jennings and Watts 1992). Therefore, sovereignty produces equality between them, which is then known in international law as the principle of sovereign equality. In international law, sovereign equality gives all states equal standing in the international community. Thus, states have the same rights, and to guarantee those rights, states have the same ability to carry out their obligations (Higgins et al. 2017).

   Russian armed forces entered the Crimea region with strong ties to Russia on February 27, 2014. The region is a special autonomous region on Ukraine's southern peninsula with an area of 26,100 square kilometers. Russian forces occupied Ukrainian military installations, taking weapons and ammunition, blocking television stations, and helping separatist groups to separate Crimea from Ukraine (Sudiq and Yus titianingtyas 2022). Russia argued that the coup endangered ethnic Russians in Crimea, so Russia protected ethnic Russians in Crimea. In addition, Russia also stated that there was a request for assistance from Viktor Yanukovych, then President of Ukraine, to maintain law and peace in Ukraine (Bebler 2015). At the time, Ukraine's ambassador to the UN, Yurii Sergeyev, protested Russia's actions to the UN, where Draft Resolution S/2014/189 was voted on March 15, 2014. Ultimately, it was narrowed down, and the countries that recognized Crimea’s referendum as legitimate were Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia, and Transnistria (Valiyev 2020). Other than these four countries, no other country has recognized the referendum. Therefore, from the perspective of declarative theory, Crimea can only have relations with these four countries (Simonen 2020).

   In addition, the failure of the Security Council due to Russia's veto resulted in increased tensions between Russia and Ukraine. Russia increased its military forces along the demarcation line. Ukraine also deployed more of its military forces on the border with Crimea (Martel 2020). As a result, Russia has been criticized by the international community and
international organizations of which it is a member, such as the removal of its voting rights by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and its expulsion from the G8 (currently the G7) (Rao 2022). Russia’s use of the veto against draft resolution S/2014/189 has also resulted in a protracted conflict between Ukraine and Russia. This veto also gave Russia the “freedom” to continue intervening against Ukraine and its sovereignty. Evidently, on February 24, 2022, Russia again intervened in Ukraine by launching the largest military offensive in Europe since World War II. This attack sought to seize major cities, especially Kyiv (Danyleiko, 2022).

It is contrary to the principle of sovereign equality, considering Russia as a Veto-wielding country in the UN Security Council because the principle of sovereign equality guarantees equal rights in the eyes of the law for all UN member states and does not give privileges to certain countries. According to Darmansyah, the legal consequence of the veto of Draft Resolution S/189/2014 regarding the Crimea Referendum’s validity is the Security Council’s failure to issue a legally binding resolution. The most necessary legal consequence is the lack of international community recognition of Crimea’s legal status after the referendum and the continuing conflict between Ukraine and Russia until 2022 (Darmansyah, Farida, and Susetyorini, 2022).

In this case, President Joe Biden seeks to maintain consistency in upholding and defending the UN Charter so that the US, in its capacity as a member of the security council, continues to invite all veto holders not to use that right even though the US and Russia have the same portion of these rights in its membership. So that President Joe Biden’s speech delivered at the 77th UN General Assembly had a political tendency that had a strong impact, namely ensuring the credibility and effectiveness of the US space. Ultimately the US has been vocal in supporting an increase in the number of permanent and non-permanent council representatives, including for the permanent seats of countries that the US has long supported, such as countries in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

2. Biden’s Ideological Attitudes and Interventions in Discourse

CDA will uncover information or messages through discourse, either implicitly or explicitly. The message from Biden's Speech is said to be implicit if the information has no form but is part of the overall communication intended by the author. Conversely, if the message is categorized as explicit, that is, when the information is clearly expressed with lexical and grammatical structures (Hardianty 2015). After analyzing the speech, it is worthy of President Joe Biden to voice injustice to fight for Ukraine's right to become a sovereign country. However, when examining the enforcement of peace issues in the US, it is like a boomerang to itself. As we know, there are many Middle East cases in which the US is involved. In this way, the impact given by the US is an attempt to discredit Russia as its political opponent and to dominate the influence of power in the UN Security Council. The glorification of US-style democracy will eventually perpetuate the campaign to uphold peace on the stage of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine so that the long-term impact is the demand for changes in the state system between the two conflicting countries. For example, democratization efforts in the Middle East involving Tunisia, Egypt and Libya collapsed, leading to The Arab Spring (Sahide 2019).

In efforts to discredit the US against Russia on his invasion of Ukraine, in his opening remarks, Biden stated, "Russia has shamelessly violated the core tenets of the United Nations Charter - no more important than the clear prohibition against countries taking the territory of their neighbor by force." The speech came as the Russian-occupied regions of Ukraine in the east and south announced plans to hold a Kremlin-backed referendum in the coming days to determine whether to become part of Russia, given the setbacks it is experiencing. Moscow is in its invasion. Russian President Vladimir Putin, on Wednesday, 09/21/2023, announced a partial mobilization step to field 300,000 reservists and accused Western countries of complicity in nuclear racketeering (VOA Indonesia 2022). There is a paradox in Biden's statement, "Putin claims he had to act because Russia was threatened. But no one threatened
Russia, and no one other than Russia sought conflict." Vladimir Putin emphasized that Russia attacked Ukraine to protect the people who were the target of harassment.

Furthermore, Vladimir Putin also explained that his attack on Ukraine was because he wanted to protect the many people at risk of becoming victims of genocide. The US response or Ukraine's desire to join NATO is seen as escalating Russia's geopolitics (Sabbagh and Rankin, 2023). "In the past, even more, horrifying evidence of Russia's atrocity and war crimes: mass graves uncovered in Izium; bodies, according to those that excavated those bodies, showing signs of torture."

Biden's statement explicitly indicates that Biden is trying to show Russia's ruthlessness and spread of threats, reinforced by this statement, "That's why 141 nations in the General Assembly came together to condemn Russia's war against Ukraine unequivocally." In this statement, the US seeks to capitalize on its strategic role with its partners, consistent with the next statement, "Our allies and partners around the world have stepped up as well. And today, more than 40 countries here have contributed billions of their money and equipment to help Ukraine defend itself." Biden explicitly stated indicators of securitization in this statement.

"We chose liberty. We chose sovereignty. We chose principles to which every party to the United Nations Charter is beholding. We stood with Ukraine. Like you, the United States wants this war to end on just terms, on terms we all signed up for, that you cannot seize a nation's territory by force. The only country standing in the way of that is Russia."

US interests with its ideology explicitly when Biden said, "Because I believe democracy remains humanity's greatest instrument to address the challenges of our time", emphasized again in the next statement, "We're working with the G7 and like-minded countries to prove democracies can deliver for their citizens but also deliver for the rest of the world as well." Biden emphasized the role of democratic ideology by utilizing the UN's institutional position to promote peace by saying, "And the United Nations Charter was not only signed by democracies of the world, it was negotiated among citizens of dozens of nations with vastly different histories and ideologies, united in their commitment to work for peace."

In the middle of his speech, Biden had an inconsistency of action by saying, "I reject the use of violence and war to conquer nations or expand borders through bloodshed."

The US has been heavily involved in efforts to overthrow countries through CIA agents. Call it democratization efforts in the Middle East (Arab Spring) (2010-2012), war in Iraq (2003-2011), military intervention in Haiti (1994-1995), war intervention in the Vietnam War (1959-1975), intervention with war training when Fatah-Hamas in Palestine (2006-2007), and the latest weapons operations in the Saudi Arabian and Yemeni conflicts (2015-present) (Chairil 2018). It was later seen as a paradox in efforts to uphold peace by the US in the Middle East when political intervention led to a protracted civil war with a democratization agenda.

It was arguably lame and paradoxical when Biden said, "To stand against global politics of fear and coercion; to defend the sovereign rights of smaller nations as equal to those of larger ones; to embrace basic principles like freedom of navigation, respect for international law, and arms control — no matter what else we may disagree on, that is the common ground upon which we must stand."

Alluding to the Middle East, the many US interests there and giving an explicit message that the US is the main peacemaker actor impresses in the discourse of Biden's speech this time by saying, "The United States is committed to this vital work. In every region, we pursued new, constructive ways to work with partners to advance shared interests, from elevating the Quad in the Indo-Pacific; to signing the Los Angeles Declaration of Migration and Protection at the Summit of the Americas; to joining a historic meeting of nine Arab leaders to work toward a more peaceful, integrated..."
President Joe Biden should have used this moment to improve the image of the US in the Middle East, which had a bad impression due to various reasons for intervention and factors underlying the US presence there. It must then be implemented with an attitude of alignment with the self-management of the countries in the region.

3. Statistical Data for Ukraine Civilian Casualty Update (May 15, 2023)

The following is statistical data obtained by researchers through the statista.com website, which has collaborated with survey and publication institutions from OHCHR.

![Number of civilian casualties in Ukraine during Russia's invasion verified by OHCHR from February 24, 2022 to May 14, 2023](chart)

Figure 8: Source from Statista.com, entitled "Number of civilian casualties in Ukraine during Russia's invasion verified by OHCHR from February 24, 2022, to May 14, 2023" (Accessed: 2023-05-15) (Statista 2023)

From February 24, 2022, which marked the start of the large-scale armed attack by the Russian Federation, to May 14, 2023, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) recorded 23,821 civilian casualties in the country: 8,836 killed and 14,985 injured, including:

- 19,175 casualties (6,860 killed and 12,315 injured) in territory controlled by the Government when casualties occurred:
  - In Donetsk and Luhansk regions: 9,699 casualties (4,022 killed and 5,677 injured); and
  - In other regions\(^4\): 9,476 casualties (2,838 killed and 6,638 injured).

\(^4\) An increase in figures in this update compared with the previous update (as of 7 May 2023) should not be attributed to civilian casualties that occurred from 8 to 14 May only, as during these days OHCHR also corroborated casualties that occurred on previous days. Similarly, not all civilian casualties that were reported...
• 4,646 casualties (1,976 killed and 2,670 injured) in territory occupied by the Russian Federation when casualties occurred:
  o In Donetsk and Luhansk regions: 3,113 casualties (697 killed and 2,416 injured); and
  o In other regions\(^5\): 1,533 casualties (1,279 killed and 254 injured).

OHCHR believes that the actual figures are considerably higher, as receiving information from some locations where intense hostilities have been going on has been delayed, and many reports are still pending corroboration. This concerns, for example, Mariupol (Donetsk region), Lysychansk, Popasna, and Sievierodonetsk (Luhansk region), with allegations of numerous civilian casualties.

Civilian casualties from 1 to 14 May 2023\(^6\)(individual cases verified by OHCHR)

From 1 to May 14, 2023, OHCHR recorded 424 civilian casualties in Ukraine:

• 93 killed (54 men, 26 women, 2 boys, 1 girl, as well as 10 adults whose sex is not yet known); and
• 331 injured (119 men, 79 women, 9 boys, 6 girls, and 118 adults whose sex is not yet known)
• 79 killed and 282 injured in 102 settlements in territory controlled by the Government when casualties occurred (85 percent of the total); and
• 14 killed and 49 injured in 9 settlements in territory occupied by the Russian Federation when casualties occurred (15 percent of the total)

Per type of weapon/incident:

• Explosive weapons with wide area effects: 83 killed and 307 injured (92 percent);
• Mines and explosive remnants of war: 10 killed and 24 injured (8 percent) (ohchr.org 2023)

Conclusion

Through his speech before the event at the 77th General Assembly that President Biden tried to provide an image of an ideal democratic country and a country that provides peace as a solution. Biden constructed the issue with Russia's inconsistency in upholding the principle of Sovereign Equality in the Crimea Referendum case of 2014. Explicitly and implicitly, Biden's speech contained ideological messages and efforts to commercialize democracy by utilizing the UN as an international institution. So, it is natural that the US often gets negative criticism in voicing peace for various reasons, even though it is a member of the UN Security Council, which incidentally holds veto rights. When the US can manage the trust of members of the UN Security Council to create peace without destructive intervention, its national interests will be more effective. Biden's efforts can be positive if he properly accounts for various US intervention actions in countries of past conflicts. However, if these actions are maintained, they will forever stick with the US. Biden becomes a key actor that produces paradoxical conclusions about peace efforts when he leads the US. The latest data from the OHCHR states that the high number of victims of the Russo-Ukrainian war had not reached absoluteness and will continue to increase, bearing in mind that the conflict was not over when this research was written.

Reference


presidents/joe-biden.


Critical Discourse Analysis Of President Joe Biden’s Russophobia Rhetorical Remarks Prior To The 77th United Nations General Assembly

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