Jordan Journal of Modern Languages and Literatures Vol.18, No. 3, 2026, pp961-979

JJMLL

Framing a Western Adversary: A Discourse Analysis of Anti-NATO Ideology

Haider Katea *

Department of English Language and Literature, University of Thi-Qat, Iraq

Received on: 26-1-2025 **Accepted on: 13-9-2025**

Abstract

Since Ukraine attained independence in 1991, there has been evidence of tensions between that country and Russia. Ukraine has been one of Russia's most powerful satellite states ever since, which ended in February 2022 war. Putin, seen as shaping the narrative surrounding this conflict, is seen to have had a major influence at the start of the conflict by persuading the international world to oppose the Ukrainian and Western objectives, primarily NATO's expansion and the Ukrainians' desire to join NATO. This study aims to find how war can be justified by elite groups through discourse, focusing on the discursive ideological strategies employed by Putin to manipulate the decision-making of the public opinion on the crisis in Ukraine in his speeches. Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis and cognitive linguistics were employed for the analysis of Putin's speeches to uncover his role in constructing pro and anti-NATO ideology within international relations. The analysis follows a multi-level procedure through identifying metaphorical expressions and mapping what concepts are being described (the target) and compared to (the source). These metaphorical expressions are categorized to frame key topics, considering the broader social, cultural, and political context. The focus is on the conceptual metaphor of war and how it influences the perceptions and interactions in war times. The data of this study are free to download transcripts of all Putin's speeches published by the Kremlin website through the Russia-Ukraine war. They are 228 speeches delivered between February and December 2022. The study revealed that Putin's discourse strategies evoked intense emotions by labeling Ukraine as a "neo-Nazi" and "expansion" state, a rhetorical move designed to blur current geopolitical challenges with historical traumas such as World War II, thereby legitimizing his actions and appealing to deep-seated collective memories of sacrifice, patriotism, and existential threat.

Keywords: Political discourse, ideology, war, metaphors, NATO.

Introduction

One of the primary concerns in political discourse studies is the problem of war as, for ages, it impacted the territory and populace, and established authority of nations. Numerous ideas regarding the reasons for wars have been produced by experts in international affairs. Nearly all of the fundamental ideas, including power, balance of

© 2026 JJMLL Publishers/Yarmouk University. All Rights Reserved,
Doi: https://doi.org/ 10.47012/jjmll. 18.3.3
* Corresponding Author: **dr.haider.hussein.vkatea@utq.edu.iq**

power, alliances, deterrence, peace, security, international systems, interdependence, and international regimes, were established in the shadow of the Cold War. Discourse studies form the foundation of the explanation of war in international relations, especially when the elites explain war in terms of politics because war has been understood in Western thought as a tool of political power (Hamilton and Spohr 2019; Mattox and Rachwald 2001). Thus, the Russia-Ukrain War cannot be attributed to a single reason, such as the Russian military occupation of nearly the whole Ukrainian border with Belarus and Russia, the expansion of NATO, the 2022 invasion of Ukraine, the Western support to Ukraine and the unsteady relations between Russia and Poland, Ukrainian weakness, and Ukraine desire to join NATO. However, there are Russia-related reasons, such as Putin's ambitions for as historical achievement as a prerequisite for Russia control- the social and institutional power of Russia (Almaged: 2020). The Russian security strategy is becoming more forceful and militarized, and it is aimed at maintaining Russia's dominance throughout the former USSR (Duszak 2002).

The current study aims at uncovering the escalation of the war between Russia and Ukraine, and the way political elites justify this war, claiming that Russia is retaining control over the military potential and its zone of influence over the politics and economy of this region. The way the Kremlin is waging a contemporary hybrid war articulated through Vladimir Putin's speeches has been an unfulfilled area of analysis in linguistics. The focus is on metaphor as one facet of Putin's political activity, and historical analogies where Russia has never regarded the former USSR's member states as completely sovereign nations. The same holds true for Moldova, Georgia, or Ukraine. To achieve this aim, I draw upon methods of discourse analysis (DA) to decipher the configuration of power, discourse and ideology (Fairclough 1993, 1995; van Dijk 2001, 2002, 2006) through persuasive strategies of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff 1987a, 1993; Johnson 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 2003, Levinson 1993). The purpose is to uncover the Russian experience of power cognitively structured by establishing links between concepts pertaining to different power domains in what is called conceptual metaphor, where metaphor is a tool for constructing meanings for ideological purposes by reinforcing socio-politically ingrained stereotypes and international relations (Bowdle and Gentner 2005; Lakoff, 1993; Koller 2004).

The rationale for conducting a discourse analysis of Vladimir Putin's speeches during the Russia-Ukraine war lies in understanding how language shapes public perception and legitimizes political action. As the main elite driving the Russia's conflict, Putin's speech is essential to develop ideologies that defend the invasion and at the same time construct NATO and Ukraine as existential threats, and rally support from both domestic and foreign audiences. This study reveals the underlying power dynamics and persuasive discursive strategies to influence public memory and moral posture by examining his speeches under the prism of critical discourse analysis. The investigation of Putin's speeches offers insight into how political leaders employ speech to affect public opinion, foreign relations, and wartime identity, especially considering the conflict's worldwide impact. Additionally, this study uncovers how language is used as a tactical instrument in contemporary geopolitical conflicts.

The data of this study comprises speeches delivered through the Russia-Ukraine war by Vladimir Putin from February to December 2022. Putin's speeches are transcripts of all his addresses, statements, meetings and conferences published by the Kremlin website. While Metaphors are used in political discourse just as often as they

are in other discourses and functions, there are several perspectives when it comes to war discourse published on the government website. The metaphor's primary roles remain fluctuating among heuristic, argumentative, and interactive functions to mitigate, or otherwise deteriorate international relations.

1. Power and Ideology in the Russia-Ukraine War

The Russia-Ukraine war is not just a geographical battle; it also encompasses fundamental questions of power and ideology. It began in 2014 when Russia annexed Crimea and continued to grow with a full-scale invasion in February 2022. This war represents more than just geographical conflicts; it embodies Russia's goal for regional domination and Ukraine's fight for sovereignty and democratic self-determination (NATO 2022). It is shaped by geopolitical, historical, and ideological fights. The battle illustrates how international relations are shaped by power struggles and ideological conflicts in a world order that is changing quickly (Chilton, 2004; Fox, 2015). A fight for dominance, both domestically and internationally, is the fundamental cause of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine wherein, War-metaphor, ideologies, and the use of challenging verbs, such as “fight, combat and counter”, maintain power differences and authority (Altamimi 202, 2023).

Russia wants to recover its sphere of influence, especially over the post-Soviet republics, and this is reflected in its military activities. Ukraine is strategically vital to Russia because of its position, size, resources, and cultural connections. For Moscow, losing Ukraine to Western influence would be a huge geopolitical setback. Power is viewed in terms of military force, strategic location, and resource control from a realist perspective on international relations. Under President Vladimir Putin, Russia sees Ukraine's aspirations to join NATO and the European Union, as well as its progressive alignment with the West, as a direct danger to Russian national security. Russia wants to invade Ukraine in order to reclaim its hegemony (NATO 2022), regain control over its former Soviet lands, and stop the West from expanding farther into what it considers to be its sphere of influence. The goal is to show the world—and especially the Russian people—how powerful the country is, particularly in the face of mounting Western criticism and sanctions.

In essence, the conflict for Ukraine is a struggle for independence and self-governance. Ukraine has negotiated Russian and Western influences since gaining independence in 1991, with pro-Western and pro-Russian forces fighting for dominance (Duszak 2002). Ukraine made a clear decision to turn Westward and pursue deeper connections with NATO and the European Union. Thus, Ukraine's struggle against Russian aggression is a war for its right to shape its own political, economic, and ideological destiny as well as for the protection of its boundaries. For Ukraine, power is the capacity to uphold its independence and fend off foreign hegemony

1.1 Ideological Dimensions

The war between Russia and Ukraine has its ideological roots in opposing conceptions of international law, identity, and governance. Putin views the war as a component of a broader ideological conflict between himself and what he considers Western hegemony (Applebaum 2022; Mearsheimer 2014). He has presented the struggle as a struggle between traditional values and the liberal, democratic, and cosmopolitan principles that the West is

pushing. Putin has portrayed the West as morally bankrupt, decadent, and determined to destroy traditional nation-states like Russia in a number of speeches (Tsygankov 2016). This ideological conflict is not exclusive to Ukraine, it is a component of Russia's larger strategy to establish itself as the head of a rival international system to the supremacy of the United States and Europe.

In contrast, Ukraine has rejected Russia's authoritarian impulses and embraced its identity as a modern, democratic, and European country. The struggle of Ukraine is ideological as well, as it aims to uphold its democratic values, stand up to Russian attempts to impose a different political and social structure, and assert its right to self-determination (Mearsheimer 2014). A large portion of the Ukrainian people and administration view the war as a struggle for their nation's future, which they define as democratic, European, and free from Russian meddling.

1.2 Strategic Metaphoric Moves and Power Plays

Drawing a metaphorical connection between power and ideology in the Russia-Ukraine war can help to clarify the fundamental dynamics of the conflict by illuminating the ways in which abstract ideas such as control and power materialize as specific tactics and acts. Metaphors frequently aid in simplifying and illuminating the underlying motivations of convoluted political and military conflicts (Lakoff 1987a).

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine can be compared to a high-stakes game of chess, with power dynamics serving as the pieces on the board. In this metaphor, Ukraine is a key square on the geopolitical chessboard, and Russia is the aggressive player utilizing tactical moves to gain control over it. In an effort to protect its sovereignty, Ukraine plays both a defensive and a strategic game, resisting Russia's attempts to "checkmate" it by siding with the West—represented by the European Union and NATO—which serves as a potent ally.

The story and perception of the Russia-Ukraine war are greatly influenced by the usage of metaphors, especially in the framing and understanding of power and ideology (Hampe 2005). Metaphors serve as ideological and persuasive tools in addition to being language devices. They influence public opinion, diplomatic conversations, and military tactics by adding emotional resonance and comprehensibility to abstract ideas like national identity and power.

In the context of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, the employment, for example, of the "Nazi" metaphor is a crucial propaganda instrument for Russia that is intricately linked to historical narratives and power relations (see Fortuin 2022; Likhachev 2018). This symbolic framing shows how language and ideology can be used as tools of power and has a huge impact on how the conflict is perceived both inside Russia and internationally. Russian officials try to justify their military actions by calling the Ukrainian government "Nazi" or "fascist," disguising their actions as a moral crusade. Russia is portrayed in this story as a defender against the rise of fascism, a sentiment that the Russian people find emotionally compelling considering the historical significance of World War II in shaping national identity. This framing plays a critical role in providing justification for the invasion by presenting it as an essential defensive measure against an existential danger. The "Nazi" metaphor is also crucial in mobilizing public support for the war effort. It stirs up memories of the Soviet Union's victory over Nazism and

inspires feelings of bravery and selflessness. The Kremlin wants to unite the populace against a perceived common enemy by portraying the fight in such extreme moral terms, which will stifle opposition and promote a sense of national cohesion (Tabarovsky 2022). Support for this expensive and contentious military mission depends on this mobilization.

Also, the idea of "expansion" is a potent metaphor that helps explain the processes of ideology and power in the conflict between Russia and Ukraine (Hamilton and Spohr 2019). This metaphor illustrates how expansion functions on a number of levels, including political, cultural, and geographical. It also captures Russia's territorial aspirations and the wider ideological ramifications of such activities (Wolczuk 2019). The physical annexation of Crimea by Russia and its attempts to increase its grip over portions of Eastern Ukraine are the most obvious manifestations of the "expansion" metaphor. Russia's goal to regain its power in a region it has historically considered to be within its sphere is reflected in its territorial expansion, which goes beyond simple land acquisition. The expansion metaphor encompasses ideological dimensions in addition to geographical ones. The conflict represents a confrontation of concepts between authoritarianism and democracy and goes beyond simple territorial struggles (Aarskaug 2011). Putin's Russia has embraced an ideology that rejects liberal Western principles because it sees them as a danger to its stability and sovereignty. Russia responds defensively, using its might to keep a buffer zone in place against perceived threats, while the West's influence is seen to be encroaching, especially through NATO and the EU. Conversely, Ukraine wants to become more like the West; it wants to grow its democratic institutions and join Euro-Atlantic frameworks (Kuzio 2017). With this ideological expansion, Russia's sphere of influence has significantly shifted, and Ukraine is now seen as a beacon of democratic principles in an authoritarian-dominated region. The battle is highlighted by the struggle between these two diametrically opposed philosophies, with each side attempting to enlarge upon its conception of societal order and governance.

2. Methodology and procedure

2.1 Framework

This study draws upon Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for the investigation of NATO representation in Putin’s speeches. CDA principles are instrumental in examining the discursive construction of anti-NATO ideology. The relationship between discourse, power, and ideology contributes to uncover how Putin’s speeches reinforce power dynamics surrounding NATO. Specific discourse choices of negative framing of NATO actions highlight anti-NATO ideologies, portraying the NATO as imperialistic (see for example Li 2016). The interplay of ideology and power helps understand (anti)NATO discourse, when the elite use discourse to manipulate public opinion and shape the NATO as a threat to sovereignty, thereby consolidating their own power by rallying support against perceived external aggression (Altamimi 2024).

The ideology behind military discourse justifies military actions and reinforces the perceptions that the NATO is an existential threats, which can incite fear and resistance in anti-NATO countries, especially when using metaphors. The use of metaphor, e.g., ‘Nazi’, influences the public perception and legitimizing anti-NATO ideology (Fan 2019). Using the term ‘Nazi’ is a powerful metaphor allowing Putin to tap into deep cultural

memories of World War II, when Russia defeated fascism. This metaphor portrays Russia as a saver and Ukraine as an enemy. In discourse, this is a strategy for succeeding the ideological framing and legitimizing military aggression to manipulate public perception and reinforce saver's power and authority. Metaphors are a powerful tool in in analyzing the NATO ideology. They simplify political concepts to align with the speaker's ideological goals. In Putin's speeches, metaphors legalize his stance, particularly considering the NATO an existential threat.

In political discourse, where public understanding is key to gaining support (Plater-Zyberk 2015), metaphors elaborate abstract concepts, making them accessible to a broader audience. For instance, metaphors like 'expansion' in Putin's speeches convey a sense of direction and construction, suggesting progress and development in Russia's geopolitical strategy (Koteyko & Ryazanova-Clarke 2009).

I draw upon (Lakoff 1993; Johnson, 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 2003) for the analysis of metaphor in Putin's speeches. In their book *Metaphors We Live* (2003), George Lakoff and Mark Johnson present a conceptual metaphor model that highlights the importance of metaphors as more than merely language devices; rather, they are central to our way of thinking and seeing the world. Conceptual metaphor explains the understanding of one notion or conceptual area in terms of another. Our thoughts and actions are shaped by this understanding. To grasp the structure of arguments through the perspective of warfare, for example, consider arguments as a form of war ("He attacked my position," "I won the argument"). The authors provide examples of how metaphors are present in common language yet are frequently overlooked. Expressions like "grasping an idea" and "falling in love" are examples of deeper conceptual metaphors that influence how we interpret certain events (see also Bowdle and Gentner 2005; Lakoff 1993; Koller 2004).

The usual syntax for conceptual metaphors is "X is Y," where X is the target domain and Y is the source domain. In the metaphor, e.g., "Time is money", money (the source) is used to understand time (the destination). Lakoff and Johnson (2003) stress how our social interactions and physical experiences shape our conceptual frameworks. This embodiment modifies our language and senses, increasing the frequency of some metaphors in our thoughts. A lot of metaphors are culturally particular, even though some may be universal. The same idea may be conceived in different ways by different cultures depending on their experiences and social mores (Johnson 1987). The authors contend that metaphors have a profound impact on how we perceive the world and behave, going beyond simple language usage. For example, presenting a debate about war as a game can alter participants' perspectives on strategy and warfare. The current study uncovers how metaphor plays a crucial role in the analysis of Putin's rhetoric against NATO. In building his metaphor, Putin illustrates his geopolitical ambitions, showing NATO as an obstacle (Koteyko & Ryazanova-Clarke 2009). At the same time, he presents himself as paternal leader, which indirectly critiques NATO's influence (Ahn 2023). The main purpose behind this metaphorical presentation is to evoke emotional responses and establish a political identity for Russia, shaping the NATO as a threat to the Russian sovereignty (Schoor 2015). Putin also tries to present the NATO as an aggressive entity and external threats to undermine its legitimacy (Balashova 2022).

In a variety of circumstances, disputes, battles, or competitive situations are frequently described using the conceptual metaphor of war (Walton 2004). It emphasizes aggression, strategy, and conquest while framing these

circumstances in terms of battle. This metaphor can appear in language, mental models, and cultural narratives, influencing our perceptions of and interactions with various situations. For example:

The battle against expansion is necessary

This analogy applies the idea of waging war to the fight against expansion. This metaphor personifies expansion as a foe that may be faced and overcome. The word "battle" conjures up ideas of struggle, tactics, and triumph; it implies that combating expansion necessitates work, preparation, and resolve. Metaphors related to war frequently convey a sense of importance and urgency. By presenting the battle against expansion in this way, it highlights the urgency of taking action and the significant risks involved, which strengthens the argument for change. This metaphor suggests that military power should be utilized in the struggle against expansion.

2.2 Data

The data of this study are 228 speeches (n=222.542 words), delivered by Vladimir Putin the current president of Russia during the Russia-Ukraine war. I collected Putin's speeches as transcripts of all his addresses, statements, meetings and conferences published by the Kremlin website under the transcripts of the President section (http://www.en.kremlin.ru). For the purpose of consistency and the aim of the study to uncover (anti)NATO ideology alongside the global issue of the Russia-Ukraine war, the selected speeches spanned from 24 February 2022 the start of the Russia-Ukraine war until 25 December 2022, when enough time was there for the US and Russian presidents to express their NATO-related worries, plans and actions to the public. It should be noted that the analysis was limited to the investigation of NATO-related metaphors in this period, and hence the results are bounded by this limitation.

The rationale behind the selection of presidential speeches as the data of my study is twofold. Firstly, political speeches are rhetorical means to persuade the audience (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012), and to contribute to our understanding of these (discursive) practices per se. Secondly, Putin is a source of authority and can influence public opinions and pass regulations and policies (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012). Therefore, the data selected are suitable for (anti)NATO ideology analysis.

3. Data Analysis and Discussion

3.1. Putin's anti-NATO ideology discourse Neo-Nazi and anti-Russia NATO

Putin tried to emotionally lionise his ideologues to help legitimise his ideology of neo-Nazi Ukraine and NATO as a whole in his public speeches. The analysis of Putin's speeches showed 92 occurrences of (Neo)Nazi (Thank you, this has been addressed in 2.2 Data section above). In 87 of the occurrences (84%), Putin employed the *Nazi* metaphor as anti-Russian, instead of the term's historical root of national socialists and antisemitic. The references to neo-Nazi showed greater military repercussions, where Putin claimed that right-wing and nationalists founded their groups of volunteers to actively take part in the Russia-Ukrain conflict. The use of the term '(neo)Nazi' has been reported all over Putin's speeches, as illustrated in the word plot visualization in Figure 1:

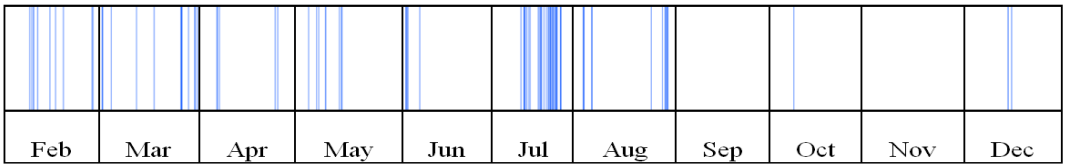

Figure 1: (neo)Nazi occurrence across Putin's speeches across time

Figure 1 illustrates the visual representation of the frequency of the word "Nazi" used by Putin in in the corpus, spanning from February to December 2022. The blue vertical lines in each monthly column represent instances of the term. The density of the lines indicates the frequency of usage. While the Figure is in itself emotionally neutral, the data it represents, particularly in some months, suggests a consistent and potentially alarming pattern of the frequent usage of the word 'Nazi', which carries historically negative connotations. This frequency of use raises questions about the nature of his propaganda and its potential impact on public perception during the war in Ukraine. It may serve to dehumanize the enemy and justify actions

The use 'Nazi' metaphor in Putin's speeches frames Ukraine as an 'anti-Russian' by representing it as a fascist state hostile to Russian identity. This mapping of the abstract idea of Ukraine's identity onto concrete and emotional concept of Nazism is a conceptual metaphor (Skichko et al. 2023). This utilization of the historical trauma of World War II, comparing Ukraine with 'Nazi' ideology is metaphorical in the sense that it justifies the Russian aggression. It frames Ukraine as an unsafe ideological threat to Russia's security. This also explains the political reality that legitimizes the aggression as a "denazification" of a new 'Nazi' Ukraine.

This has also been reported by Preen (2024) and Rossoliński-Liebe and Willems (2022) that invoking parallels to World War II and the Nazi occupation of Ukraine is a discourse strategy to justify the Russian aggression against Ukraine, portraying Russia as a liberator against a resurgence of Ukrainian Nazism.

This thorough use of ' Nazi' is a cue and trigger of negative emotional valence, as what the term does mean and reference. Therefore, using USAS system of semantic preference to uncover the emotional valence was not necessary for Putin's speeches.

Putin's *Nazi* metaphor could be directed to persuade the public of his military measures in Ukraine, and to legitimise the annexation procedures to counter the NATO expansion (see Fortuin 2022; Likhachev 2018). He implied that NATO has been nazifying Ukraine and that war (or special operation as he calls it) is necessary to denazify back Ukraine and protect the region

1. The leading NATO countries are supporting the far-right nationalists and *neo-Nazis* in Ukraine, those who will never forgive the people for freely making a choice to reunite with Russia (Putin, 24 February 2022).

Putin metaphorically implies that those who are defending their country in Ukraine are *neo-Nazis* and they disdain Crimea's and Sevastopol's choice to be annexed to the Russian Federation, hence killing pro-Russia Ukrainian people (Troianovski 2022). Is it cunning to borrow this slur to emotionally prompt the fight in Ukraine or propaganda to prompt the anti-Ukraine front? Either way, linking the Nazi to Ukraine remind us of the Nazists who excluded those they believe racially, biologically, or socially unfit in the society they live in, and withdraw countless lives suffering and millions dead. Consider the following example:

2. We will seek to demilitarise and *denazify* Ukraine, as well as bring to trial those who perpetrated numerous bloody crimes against civilians, including against citizens of the Russian Federation (Putin, 24 February 2022).

Putin's use of denazification draws on the powerful legacy to attack Nazi influence from Germany. This frames the Russia's invasion as a justified mission to save Ukraine from fascism. This metaphor, also, amplifies moral urgency, presenting Ukraine as an illegitimate state, despite the fact that Ukraine's president is Jewish and far-right groups hold marginal influence (Anton 2022). This, also, portrays the Russian power of 'authority' to speak on behalf of Ukraine and as saver of the country (Terisman 2022).

For a closer look at this emotional metaphor, I ran a collocation analysis in LancsBox GraphColl (Brezina, et al., 2018) to uncover the semantic relations Putin drew between Nazis and Ukraine. GraphColl is a corpus analysis software for exploring linguistic collocation networks of semantic relations, developed at Lancaster University. As illustrated in Figure 2, the collocation network shows that 'Neo-Nazi' is one of the frequently significant semantic relations collocated with the seed word 'Ukraine' at the centre of the graph, alongside 'crisis, operation and military'.

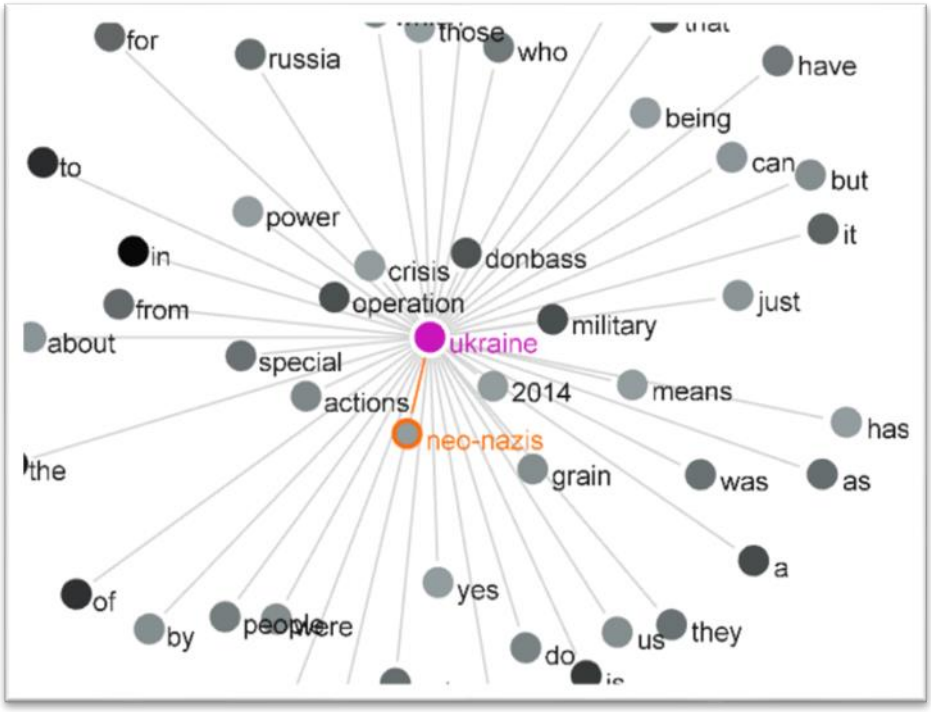

Figure 2: Collocation network of semantic relations of 'Ukraine'

3. They [Ukraine] also started to implement plans to join NATO […] This was a real threat. With foreign technical support, the *pro-Nazi* Kyiv regime would have obtained weapons of mass destruction in the foreseeable future (Putin, 20 March 2022).

Putin's accusation of Ukraine as Western-made Nazi is not novel. It has been part of Russian propaganda for years (see Fortuin 2022; Likhachev 2018). Russia's top lawmakers claimed that the US is responsible for Nazifying Ukraine and that Biden should be tried before a court (Troianovski 2022). They, further, asked for neo-Nuremberg trials[i] against the West.

Putin's insistence on anti-Nazism could be a code to topple the Ukrainian regime and Western countries, and at the same time to echo the Russian suffering and victory during the Second World War. Putin stereotyped Ukraine as a distorted reality directed toward the Russians whose memory over the victory of the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany remains the most powerful factor of a united national identity, see the following example:

4. *Our men are fighting Nazism in Ukraine* shoulder to shoulder. Yes, they are from different ethnic groups, different regions, and they profess different religions (Putin, August 29, 2022).

The *Nazi* metaphor of self-defence Ukrainians could be a discursive tactic to 'legitimate' the use of force against Kyiv regime, as in *Our men are fighting…*. It is, also, a political move to gain regional and international authorization to invade Ukraine (Lebow 2022).

The west, however, temporarily turned a blind eye to Nazi-related groups, when the Washington Post (Katz 2022) and Reuters (Cohen, 2018) reported Nazi fighters in Ukraine, and when Facebook announced that it has exempted anti-extremism policies to permit praise posts for the Ukrainian far-right Azov Battalion militia (Biddle 2022), even when The US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi once greeted president Zelensky with 'Glory to Ukraine' — a far-right Bandera's troops greeting. This could provide an uncertain cause for Putin to celebrate a virtuous fight and great patriotism against the far-right. Consider the following:

5. Today our armed forces, as I have mentioned, are fighting on the line of contact that is over 1,000 kilometres long, *fighting not only against neo-Nazi* units but actually the entire military machine of the collective West (Putin, Sep. 21, 2022).

The existence of neo-Nazi groups, however, does not justify the Russian invasion of Ukraine. More than three hundred expert scholars of Nazism and genocide signed a statement declaring that Putin's discourse about the denazification of Ukraine is propaganda, and that they reject the unprovoked aggression and the equation of the Nazi regime with Ukraine (Tabarovsky 2022). However, Putin is doing unfinished WWII business by fighting what he calls successors of fascism in the early 20th century.

The use of 'neo Nazi' metaphor functions as a discursive weapon. While Ukraine is not 'Nazi' the underlying meaning is to demonize Ukraine's government and society by comparing them to Nazi ideology (Treyger et al. 2023). This metaphor, also, reconsiders the emotional Nazism in the Russian memory, distorting the fact that Uktraine is not Nazi country. This discourse strategy serves as a broader campaign to mobilize Russian perception behind the war in order to gain national and international support.

This cognitive manipulation discursively activates mental schemas of 'fear and threat' and frames a 'need to be war' in audiences' understanding (Kadim 2023). Shaping the perception of Ukraine as a threatening and fascist enemy evokes moral outrage, again to justify the Russian aggression.

Putin was communicating distance by using in-group and out-group pronouns 'we vs them' across his speeches (see example 25). The 'We' he used was "we of politicians" (Reisigl and Wodak 2017, 114) which referred to those who agree with his view of war against Ukraine. Those who were against war were belittled and metaphorically insulted as 'flies', as follows:

6. *We* will always be able to distinguish true patriots from scum and traitors and simply spit them out like a *fly that accidentally flew into their mouths* (Putin, March 17, 2022).

This 'insult' metaphor through flouting the maxim of quality, where human beings cannot be flies, psychologically expresses anger and frustration (Freud 1983), and a discourse tactic to annoy listeners (Pexman and Olineck, 2002), besides its negative emotional condemnation. Ironically, Putin alleged that the West backed military support to Ukraine to ruin the Russia-Ukraine shared heritage. Putin published an article metaphorically describing the close relationship before the war as a *single whole*:

7. *Russians and Ukrainians were one people – a single whole*. These words were not driven by some short-term considerations or prompted by the current political context. It is what I have said on numerous occasions and what I firmly believe (Putin, July 12, 2021).

Previous studies report that Putin has used insulting metaphors against Ukraine and his opponents. Notably, in March 2022, Putin likened opponents (including Ukrainians) to 'gnats' who try to take down Russia for the West, saying that Russians would 'spit them out like a gnat that accidentally flew into their mouths' (Associated Press 2022). He also called them 'scum', signaling potential repression against opponents and portraying his frustration with weak military action his army is doing.

Finally, the Russian focus on the 'denazification' of Ukraine brings in another irony of situation, too, because the president of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky is Jewish, and supposed to be a leading combative against Nazis and anti-Semitism. In this regard, Eduard Dolinsky, representative of Ukrainian Jews and director general of the Jewish Committee, condemns Russia's reference to far-right groups as Nazi. He states that this is a bigger threat than that posed by the invasion, and that the linkage between the far-right and Nazi groups is allegedly and intentionally amplified by Russia to legitimate its invasion

3.2 Tectonic Expansion and NATO's Open door policy

Putin implied that the expansion of NATO is a political earthquake and a logical process of reordering international relations. In n=29 of *expansion* occurrences (17%) of his 162 references to expansion, Putin metaphorically implied that NATO is building an expanded war front against Russia, which is, for him, a legitimate cause to invade Ukraine. Ill-fatedly, the NATO expansion speaks of itself in an extended political and spatial conflict. The installations of the NATO missile defence system across Europe may be a green light for the permanent preservation of NATO military and spatial expansion. This has been reported in Hamilton and Spohr's (2019) edited book *Open door NATO and Euro-Atlantic security after the Cold War*. They (2019, 199) substantiate the allegation that the NATO expansion was intended to build institutional West to ensure a continued progression on its development and civilizational advancement free from the Soviet yoke".

The meaning of the word 'expand' is traditionally "to increase the size or quantity" (American Heritage Publishing Company 2000, 792). However, the use of this word in the context of Putin's discourse goes to a more metaphoric significance. In his speeches, Putin uses the term 'expand' not to mean the literal definition, but to portray the growth of military West, encompassing an emphasis on reinforcing Russian army. Also, the metaphor of 'expand' goes beyond the concrete 'increase of quantity' to mean the Russian international relations, particularly in terms of geopolitical influence and security concerns (Antony 2023).

This metaphor of 'expand' is, also, used to represent the extension of Russia's strategic reach and influence, often constructed in response supposed external threats Siuta (2022). It captures interplay between political maneuvering and military actions, explaining why political discourse shape security dynamics between Russia and Ukraine.

While the word 'expand' means to "increase the size, volume and quantity" (American Heritage Publishing Company 2000, 792), the metaphorical use of the term in Putin's speeches gives rise to modern uses of meaning larger military units and outlying international relations and security threats.

8. Apart from this *interminable* policy of *expansion*, the North Atlantic Alliance is emerging *beyond its geographical destination*, beyond the Euro-Atlantic area. It is increasingly *active* in trying to *manage international issues* and *control the international security situation* (Putin, 16 May 2202).

What Putin implicates in the policy of *expansion* metaphor is that NATO is trying to act as a 'swayer' by taking control of the *security situation* in the territory, *beyond its geographical destination*. This metaphoric meaning of the control of the security situation is reported by Jackson-Preece (2011) to be principal and effective in taking control over the territory and providing personal security. Jackson-Preece (2011, 18), also, explained that ccontrolling the security situation is a political tool to "maintain control or fulfil ideological or economic goals", which is what Putin is afraid of when describing the NATO expansion as *interminable* and *increasingly active*. While NATO does not agree with the expansion claims, Putin alleged that NATO broke a promise of no expansion of its infrastructure to the territory of new member states will take place in 1990 (Goldgeier 2019).

Putin considered the beyond geographical expansion as a threat to the Russian existence and the Soviet ideology and ambition to preserve its geopolitical life in the ongoing globalization flux. While the expansion was suggested as a solemn enlargement of the US responsibilities in Europe (Foreign Relations Committee 1997), Putin's anti-expansion claims are not novel. Some academic figures and politicians highlighted this move. George Kennan (1997), a US historian and diplomat best known for his containment theory/policy of the Soviet expansion in 1947, has denounced NATO enlargement as "the greatest mistake in Western policy in the entire post-Cold War era". Also, in 1997, a public opinion poll made by the Foreign Relations Council showed opposition to the NATO expansion. This anti-NATO ideology was evident in Putin's speeches warning that the NATO expansion has already achieved control over non-NATO countries, such as Ukraine, Finland and Sweden:

9. The so-called collective West is deliberately *undermining* the European security system and knocking together ever new military alliances. NATO is *crawling east* and *building up its military infrastructure* (Putin, August 16 2022).

The implied geographical expansion in the metaphor *crawling east* leads to the imagery of a tectonic metaphor, where international security is depicted in terms of "political earthquakes" (Brecher 2008, 2). The metaphorical use of 'crawling east' represents is a mechanism that interprets complex ideas about change in a relatable way. The lies in the effective ability to draw on regular experiences of 'crawling' to deviate from the norms to geological movements (Mao 2022), or what Demjén and Semino (2022) call gradual and inevitable change. This security earthquake is characterized by metaphorical "fault line" conflict (Huntington, 1996, p. 24), which what Huntington suggests a possible reason for major future wars. By making it worse, the NATO expansion was reinforced by the *open-door* metaphor which has been criticised by Putin as violating the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and preventing nuclear weapons spread (Hamilton and Spohr 2019), when NATO is *building up its military infrastructure*.

In his *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*, Huntington (1996) claims that opening the door for new member states would allow the US to have nuclear weapons stationed near the Russian borders as defence and deterrence capabilities, which is a security expansion intimidating the world order of power. This security 'expansion of power' is seen by Chilton's (1996) in his book *Security Metaphors* as a metaphorical image of instability, where security encloses metaphorical images of stability, safety and maintenance. With that being said, the term 'expansion' is fundamentally metaphorical since it takes nonspatial concepts that emphasise qualities of security and power. It is, also, a departure from common formulations of power to a 'super-power' (Fox, 1980), where NATO is interested in more areas of conflict than is 'over' geographical regions. Putin might logically describe how the NATO expansion has not built international security order that could limit violence and conflict. This was conceptualised through metaphoric images that implied shifting senses of international security

4. Discussion of the results

In times of conflict, language serves as the ammunition for politicians. Putin's discourse on NATO and Ukraine is embedded in metaphorical expressions designed to evoke intense emotions and to influence change public opinion. His repeated allusions to "neo-Nazism" help to depict Ukraine, and by extension NATO, as an existential threat to Russia, hence blurring present geopolitical challenges with historical tragedies like World War II. Notwithstanding historical and factual conflicts, including the Jewish legacy of Ukraine's president, Zelensky, this strategy aims to defend Russia's military operations by referencing the moral virtue connected with opposing Nazism. Putin also presents NATO's growth as a "tectonic shift," comparing it to a perilous political earthquake endangering world security and Russian sovereignty. Putin plays on Western encroachment concerns by portraying NATO's expansion as an aggressive overreach beyond its initial purpose, therefore reaffirming Russia's resistance to what he believes to be a breach of geopolitical limits.

Putin uses analogies throughout his talks to create a story of defensive patriotism, therefore placing Russia as the victim of Western expansionism and moral decline. His assertions on NATO's "creep toward Russia and construction of military facilities show the organization as a danger rather than a stabilizing agent. This rhetorical framework emphasizes the larger ideological conflict between Russia and the West, in which the discourse revolves

on security, control, and territorial integrity and so shapes Although some viewers may relate to Putin's use of emotional and historical analogues, academics and international communities criticize his views as propaganda used to justify conflict.

In the end, Putin's statements expose his intentional linguistic manipulation to unite support both internally and abroad, effectively undercutting NATO and Ukraine at once. Even when world experts and historians question the validity and correctness of these assertions, the emotional weight of words like "Nazi" and "expansion" is very vital in creating a story of Russian victimhood and resistance. Putin creates a speech aiming to hide the reality of Russia's activities and place responsibility on Western powers by co-opting historical memory and using metaphorical language.

تشكيل خصم غربي: تحليل الخطاب لأيديولوجية مناهضة الناتو

حيدر كاطع
قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وآدابها، جامعة ذي قار، العراق

الملخص

منذ أن حصلت أوكرانيا على استقلالها عام 1991، ظهرت دلائل على توتر العلاقات بينها وبين روسيا. كانت أوكرانيا واحدة من أقوى الدول التابعة لروسيا، حتى انتهى ذلك باندلاع الحرب في فبراير 2022. يُنظر إلى بوتين على أنه لعب دوراً رئيسيًا في بداية الصراع من خلال التأثير على المجتمع الدولي لمعارضة الأهداف الأوكرانية والغربية، وعلى وجه الخصوص توسع حلف الناتو. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف كيفية تبرير الحرب من قبل النخب السياسية، مع التركيز على الاستراتيجيات الأيديولوجية الخطابية التي استخدمها بوتين للتأثير على الرأي العام بشأن الأزمة في أوكرانيا في خطاباته. تم استخدام منهجية تحليل الخطاب النقدي واللسانيات الإدراكية لتحليل خطابات بوتين، وذلك لكشف دوره في تشكيل الأيديولوجية المؤيدة والمناهضة لحلف الناتو ضمن إطار العلاقات الدولية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الخطاب السياسي، اليديولوجيا، الحرب، الاستعارة، حلف الناتو.

Endnotes

[i] Nuremberg trials were held in Germany against the crimes of defeated Nazi representatives in World War II

References

Aarskaug, Trond. 2011. *The Russian NATO discourse*. An analysis of perspectives on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Russian newspapers. University of Oslo, Reprosentralen.

Ahn, Han 2023. Discourse analysis and conceptual metaphors in Putin's inaugural addresses. *Seulla'beu Hagbo* 38 (1): 79–104. https://doi.org/10.46694/jss.2023.3.38.1.79

Almaged, Sadiq. 2020. Poverty and social exclusion in Britain: A corpus-assisted discourse study of Labour and Conservative Party leaders' speeches, 1900–2014. In *The discursive construction of economic inequality: CADS approaches to the British media*, edited by E. Gómez-Jiménez & M. Toolan, 13–32. Bloomsbury Academic. http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350111318.0010

Altamimi, Sadiq. 2024. The coalition of the willing and Pro-NATOism: Russia–Ukraine anti-war discourse. *Cognitive Studies* 24. https://doi.org/10.11649/cs.3037

Altamimi, Sadiq. 2023. Navigating the financial frontier: A serendipitous journey between corpus linguistics and discourse analysis of economy in parliamentary speeches. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 10, Article 747. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-02267-9

Altamimi, Sadiq. 2021. The discursive formulation of Brexit: Decision, opportunity and needful agreement. *Discourse and Interaction* 14 (1): 5-24. https://doi.org/10.5817/DI2021-1-5

American Heritage Publishing Company. 2000. *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. (4th ed.). Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Antony, Saranya. 2023. From conflict to catastrophe: Russia-Ukraine tensions ripple across. *Bulletin of "Carol I" National Defense University*. https://doi.org/10.53477/2284-9378-23-32

Applebaum, Anne. 2022. *Twilight of democracy: The seductive lure of authoritarianism*. London: Penguin Books.

Associated Press 2022. *Scum, traitors, gnats: Putin ramps up the rhetoric against his opponents at home*, *Los Angeles Times*. Available at: https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2022-03-18/putin-harsh-rhetoric-opponents-ukraine-war (Accessed: 09 July 2025).

Balashova, Lyubov. 2022. "Diplomatic" and "undiplomatic" in the genres of diplomatic discourse: based on metaphors of Russian foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov used during press conferences and interviews on the special military operation in Ukraine. *Жанры Речи* 17 (36): 272–284. https://doi.org/10.18500/2311-0740-2022-17-4-36-272-284

Biddle, Sam. 2022. Facebook allows praise of neo-nazi Ukrainian battalion if it fights Russian invasion, The Intercept. *The Intercept*. Available at: https://theintercept.com/2022/02/24/ukraine-facebook-azov-battalion-russia/?utm_campaign=theintercept&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter (Accessed September 19, 2022).

Bowdle, Brian Dedre Gentner. 2005. The career of metaphor. *Psychological Review* 112 (1): 193–216.

Brecher, Michael. 2008. *International political earthquakes*. Ann Arbod: University of Michigan Press.

Brezina, Vaclav. 2018. *Statistics in corpus linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Chilton, Paul. 1996. *Security metaphors: Cold war discourse from containment to common house*. New York: Peter Lang.

Chilton, Paul. 2004. *Analysing political discourse: Theory and practice.* London: Routledge.

Cohen, Josh. 2018. Commentary: Ukraine's neo-nazi problem, Reuters. *Thomson Reuters*. Available at: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cohen-ukraine-commentary-idUSKBN1GV2TY (Accessed July 19, 2022).

Demjén, Zsófia, and Elena Semino. 2020. *Metaphor, Metonymy and Framing in Discourse*. https://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/id/eprint/148652/

Duszak, Anna. 2002. *Us and others: Social identities across languages, discourses and cultures*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Banjamins.

Fan, Xiaoyan. 2019. The Research and Application of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research 10*(5):1041–1046. https://doi.org/10.17507/JLTR.1005.17

Fairclough, Norman. 1993. *Discourse and social change*. London: Polity Press.

Fairclough, Norman. 1995. *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Longman.

Foreign Relations Committee: United States Senate. (1997). *The debate on NATO enlargement*. Government printing office, Washington.

Fortuin, Egbert. 2022. Ukraine commits genocide on Russians: the term "genocide" in Russian propaganda. *Russ Linguist* 46: 313–347.

Fox, Carl. 2015. Political authority, practical identity, and binding citizens. *International Journal of Philosophical Studies* 23 (2): 168-186.

Freud, Sigmund. 1983. *Totem and taboo*. Routledge, London.

Goldgeier, Jim. 2019. Promises made, promises broken? what Yeltsin was told about NATO in 1993 and why it matters, *War on the Rocks*. Available at: https://warontherocks.com/2019/11/promises-made-promises-broken-what-yeltsin-was-told-about-nato-in-1993-and-why-it-matters-2/ (Accessed May 22, 2022).

Hamilton, Daniel, and Johns Spohr. 2019. *Open door: NATO and euroatlantic security after the cold war*, Johns Hopkins University, London.

Hampe, Bill. 2005. Image schemas in cognitive linguistics: Introduction. In *From perception to meaning: Image schemas in cognitive linguistics*, edited by B. Hampe, J. E. Grady, 1-14. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Huntington, Samuel. 1996. *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. Simon & Schuster, New York.

Jackson-Preece, Jennifer. 2011. *Security in international relations*. London University Press, London.

Johnson, Mark. 1987. *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Kadim, Najim. 2023. *A critical discourse analysis of Vladimir Putin's speech announcing 'special military operation' in Ukraine*. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/370932430_A_CRITICAL_DISCOURSE_ANALYSIS_OF_VLADIMIR_PUTIN'S_SPEECH_ANNOUNCING_'SPECIAL_MILITARY_OPERATION'_IN_UKRAINE (Accessed: 08 July 2025).

Katz, Rita. 2022. Perspective | Neo-Nazis are exploiting Russia's war in Ukraine for their own purposes, *The Washington Post*. WP Company. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2022/03/14/neo-nazi-ukraine-war/ (Accessed July 19, 2022).

Kennan, George. 1997. A fateful error, The New York Times. *The New York Times*. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/1997/02/05/opinion/a-fateful-error.html (Accessed April 17, 2021).

Koller, Veronika. 2004. Businesswomen and war metaphors: "Possessive jealous and pugnacious"?. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 8 (1): 3-22.

Koteyko, Nelya, Lara Ryazanova-Clarke 2009. The Path and Building Metaphors in the Speeches of Vladimir Putin: Back to the Future? *Slavonica* 15 (2): 112–127. https://doi.org/10.1179/136174209X12507596634810

Kuzio, Taras. 2017. *Ukraine: Democratization, corruption, and the new Russian imperialism*. Praeger Security International

Lakoff, George. 1987a. *Women, fire and dangerous things: What categories reveal about thought*. University of Chicago, Chicago.

Lakoff, George. 1987b. Cognitive models and prototype theory. In *Concepts and conceptual development: Ecological and intellectual factors in categorization*, edited by U. Neisser, 63-100. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Lakoff, George. 1993. The contemporary theory of metaphor. In *metaphor and thought* (2nd Ed.), edited by A. Ortony. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Lakoff, George, Johnson, Mark. 2003. *Metaphors we live by* (2nd Ed). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1980).

Lebow, Richard. 2022. International relations theory and the ukrainian war. *Analyse & Kritik* 44 (1): 111-135.

Levinson, Stephen. 1993. *Pragmatics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Li, Quinn. 2016. Theoretical Framework of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Studies in Literature and Language* 13 (5): 36–40. https://doi.org/10.3968/9066

Likhachev, Vyacheslav. 2018. Far right extremism is a threat to Ukrainian democracy," *Freedom House, Nations in Transit*, May 2018, https://freedomhouse.org/report/special-reports/far-right-extremism-threat-ukrainian-democracy.

Mao, Fanyu. 2022. An Analysis of Discourse Occurrence Mechanism of Grammatical Metaphors. *International Journal of Science and Management Studies*, 194–202. https://doi.org/10.51386/25815946/ijsms-v5i4p122

Mattox, Gale and Arthur Rachwald. 2001. Introduction: European security and the enlargement of NATO. In *Enlarging NATO: The national debates*, edited by Rienner Lynne. Lynne Rienner Publishers, London.

Mearsheimer, John. 2014. Why the Ukraine crisis is the fault: The liberal delusions that provoked Putin. *Foreign Affairs* 93 (5): 77-89.

NATO. 2022. Operations and missions: past and present. Retrieved 15 January 2022, from https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_52060.htm

Pexman, Penny and Kara Olineck. 2002. Does *sarcasm always sting? Investigating the impact of ironic insults and ironic compliments. Discourse Processes* 33: 199-218.

Plater-Zyberk, Alin. 2015. *Rozbrajanie, dozbrajanie. Metafory w dyskursie politycznym*. 8: 35–41. https://doi.org/10.4467/20843895RK.14.007.2693

Preen, Alexia. 2024. Putin's retelling of the Great Patriotic War myth and the construction of Russian national identity. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of European Studies*. https://doi.org/10.30722/anzjes .vol15.iss3.18244

Reisigl, Michael., and Ruth Wodak. 2017. The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). In *The routledge handbook of critical discourse studies*, edited by John Flowerdew and John Richardson. Routledge, London.

Rossoliński-Liebe, Grzegorz, and Bastiaan Pieter Valentijn Willems 2022. Putin's Abuse of History: Ukrainian 'Nazis', 'Genocide', and a Fake Threat Scenario. *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, *35*(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1080/13518046.2022.2058179

Sakwa, Richard. 2015. *Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the borderlands*. I.B. Tauris.

Schoor, Carola. 2015. Political metaphor, a matter of purposeful style: On the rational, emotional and strategic purposes of political metaphor. *Metaphor and the Social World* 5 (1): 82–101. https://doi.org/10.1075/MSW.5.1.05SCH

Siuta, Halyna. 2022. Language is our weapon: new meanings of old metaphor during the russian-ukrainian war. *Культура Слова*, *97*, 73–86. https://doi.org/10.37919/0201-419x-2022.97.8

Skichko, Anastasiia. Sandrine Peraldi, Stephen Lucek. 2023. *people matter. Freedom matters. peace matters: conceptual metaphor analysis of volodymyr zelenskyy's speeches*. https://doi.org/10.32342/2523-4463-2023-2-26/2-11

Smart, Anton. 2022 *How the Russian media spread false claims about Ukrainian Nazis (published 2022)*, *The New York Times*. Available at: https://www-nytimes-com.translate.goog/interactive/2022/07/02/ world/europe/ukraine-nazis-russia-media.html?_x_tr_sl=en&_x_tr_tl=es&_x_tr_hl=es&_x_tr_pto=tc (Accessed: 08 July 2025).

Tabarovsky, Izabella. 2022. Statement on the war in Ukraine by scholars of genocide, nazism and World War II, *Jewish Journal*. Available at: https://jewishjournal.com/news/worldwide/345515/statement-on-the-war-in-ukraine-by-scholars-of-genocide-nazism-and-world-war-ii/ (Accessed April 19, 2022.

Treisman, Rachel. 2022 *Putin's claim of fighting against Ukraine 'neo-nazis' distorts history, scholars say*, *NPR*. Available at: https://www.npr.org/2022/03/01/1083677765/putin-denazify-ukraine-russia-history (Accessed: 08 July 2025).

Treyger, Elina, Heather J. Williams, Anthony D'Arrigo 2023. *Measuring the reach of Russia's propaganda in the*

Russia-ukraine war | rand. Available at: https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RBA3450-2.html (Accessed: 08 July 2025).

Troianovski, Anton. 2022. Why Vladimir Putin invokes Nazis to justify his invasion of Ukraine, The New York Times. *The New York Times*. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/17/world/europe/ukraine-putin-nazis.html (Accessed November 10, 2022).

Tsygankov, Andrei. 2016. *Russia and the West: From confrontation to rapprochement*. Cambridge University Press.

Van Dijk, Teun. Adrianus. 2001. Critical discourse analysis. In *Handbook of discourse analysis* (2nd Ed.), edited by D. Tannen, H. Hamilton, D. Schiffrin, 466-485. Wiley Blackwell, Chichester.

Van Dijk, Teun Adrianus. 2002. Political discourse and political cognition. In *Politics as text and talk. analytical approaches to political discourse*, edited by P. Chilton, C. Schäffner, 204-237. Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Van Dijk, Teun Adrianus. 2006. Ideology and discourse analysis. *Journal of Political Ideology* 11 (2): 115–140.

Walton, Douglas. 2004. *Informal logic*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Wolczuk, K. 2019. Ukraine's EU association agreement and the challenges of reform. *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 60 (1): 26–50. https://doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2019.1571461