

Ronald Lamola's ICJ Discursive Construction of Israel-Palestine Conflict

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap konstruksi diskursif Ronald Lamola di Mahkamah Internasional terkait konflik Israel-Palestina. Sebagai Menteri Hubungan Internasional dan Kerja sama Afrika Selatan, Ronald Lamola mewakili Afrika Selatan untuk menyampaikan pidato pembukaan sebelum disampaikannya tuntutan serta bukti pendukungnya di persidangan. Dalam penelitian ini, peneliti mengungkap bagaimana Ronald Lamola mengkonstruksi identitasnya sebagai Menteri Hubungan Internasional dan Kerja sama Afrika Selatan, dan bagaimana ia memposisikan dirinya terkait konflik Israel-Palestina melalui pidatonya di Mahkamah Internasional. Peneliti menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif sebagai metodologi dalam menampilkan data. Data dianalisa berdasarkan lima strategi diskursif yang diajukan oleh Reisigl dan Wodak (2009), berupa nominasi, prediksi, argumentasi, perspektifisasi, serta mitigasi dan intensifikasi. Sebagai hasil, peneliti menemukan bahwa pidato pembukaan Ronald Lamola dikonstruksi menggunakan lima strategi diskursif, yang didominasi dengan penggunaan strategi nominasi yang ditujukan untuk membentuk persepsi audiesnya terhadap orang-orang maupun situasi yang terjadi antara Israel dan Palestina itu sendiri. Secara keseluruhan, hasil temuan bukan hanya menunjukkan identitas dan posisi Ronald Lamola sebagai Menteri Hubungan Internasional and Kerja sama Afrika Selatan, tetapi juga sebagai anggota dari Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa (PBB). Hasil temuan dari penelitian ini diharapkan dapat berkontribusi dalam bidang Pendekatan Wacana Historis dengan menyajikan pemahaman terhadap penggunaan strategi diskursif dalam identitas nasional, ideologi politik, dan hukum internasional secara diskursif dalam situasi tertentu.

Kata kunci: Ronald Lamola, Mahkamah Internasional, pendekatan wacana historis, strategi diskursif

ABSTRACT

This research aims to reveal Ronald Lamola's discursive construction at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) due to the Israel-Palestine conflict. As the Minister of International Relations and Cooperation of South Africa, Ronald Lamola represented South Africa to deliver opening remarks before providing its claims and supporting evidence to the court. In this research, the researcher revealed how Ronald Lamola constructed his identity as the Minister of International Relations and Cooperation of South Africa, and how he positioned himself in the Israel-Palestine conflict through his speech at the ICJ. The researcher used qualitative descriptive methods as the methodology for the data displayed. The data was analyzed using the five discursive strategies proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2009), which were the nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, and mitigation and intensification. As a result, the researcher found that Ronald Lamola's opening remarks were constructed with these five discursive strategies, which were dominated by the use of the nomination strategy, that shaped his audience's perception of the actors and situation referred. The overall findings not only showed his identity and position as the Minister of International Relations and Cooperation of South Africa, but also as a member of the United Nations (UN). The findings of this research were expected to contribute to the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) field by providing insights into the use of discursive strategies in national identity, political ideology, and international law discursively throughout certain situations.

Keywords: Ronald Lamola, International Court of Justice (ICJ), discourse historical approach (DHA), discursive strategies

A. INTRODUCTION

A politician was one of the jobs that required the use of language in any situation, especially in a public environment. Campaigning, handling public concerns, and defining policy were kinds of circumstances that politicians usually faced in public. Shaping the public's opinion was one of the outcomes (and the goal) of these circumstances. Specifically, when they delivered a speech. According to Pasande et. al (2022), speech was an action of speaking that took place in public in the form of formal speech that was often done by a leader to express their opinion or provide an overview of an important issue that must be discussed.

There were several studies that showed what and how Politicians' language could do such a thing, one of them was done by Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak. Discourse Historical Approach or DHA is a critical approach that studies the language use, and from its perspective, language was not powerful on its own, but it needed a powerful figure behind it to make it work (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). There were three concepts of CDA: 'Critique', 'Power', and 'Ideology', and according to Reisigl & Wodak (2009), in discourse, 'power' was legitimized and de-legitimized, meaning that the language used could either support or weaken an individuals' or groups' authority and credibility. Thus, DHA focused on the ways linguistic forms were used in various expressions of power. 'Power' in discourse could be applied by a person's control of the social events, which showed their 'power' to a certain public interest.

Among several events that have happened in recent years, one of them that was talked about a lot is the Israel-Palestine conflict. Although the issue had existed since 1948 (Harms & Ferry, 2008), the conflict has been discussed often lately. The virality of this issue was due to the small media, and journalists who went directly to report what happened in Palestine, showing how civilians were hit by missiles and were massacred. "Gaza's health ministry said Thursday that the number of Palestinians killed in the war has surpassed 30,000. The official number now stands at 30,035 deaths" (NPR, 2024). The majority of them were women and children, and this certainly invited sympathy and empathy from people who see footage of the victims on social media.

Various actions had been taken, from demonstrations demanding a ceasefire to boycotting products that were directly affiliated with Israel. Among those actions that have been done to stop Israel, finally, on January 11, 2024, South Africa was the first country to file a claim to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) for Israel's atrocities on Palestinian civilians. In this international trial, South Africa brought the case called "Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel)" to the ICJ on December 29th, 2023. In this case, people who stand with humanity feel moved and proud of South Africa's decisive action, which also became a hot topic among the public during the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. One of the highlights of the trial was Minister Ronald Lamola's opening remarks.

Since July 2024, Ronald Lamola has been the Minister of International Relations and Cooperation in South Africa. He once believed in handling responsibility as the Minister of Justice and Correctional Services from May 2019 until June 2024. His educational background was one of the reasons why he had a firm position in the political landscape. Ronald Lamola graduated from Vended University with a law degree. He completed practical legal training at the University of South Africa and then gained two master's degrees from the University of Pretoria, specializing in corporate law and extractive law (Department of Internal Relations and

Cooperation, Republic of South Africa, 2023). Since 2006, Ronald Lamola has held significant positions showcasing his professional journey, including his career journey at the TMN Kgomo and Associates, and in the ANC Youth League, contributing to his country's growth and governance.

The powerful speech and Ronald Lamola's strong background as a Politician himself then moved the researcher to dig deeper into what was delivered, and how the opening of the demands against Israel was delivered and constructed in an international forum such as the ICJ. Not only that, the researcher revealed the way Ronald Lamola used his authority and 'power' in the way he used certain words. Therefore, to dive deep into the discourse, the researcher analyzed the discursive construction by using the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) proposed by Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak (2009). To approach the discursive features and strategies, the researcher used the support tools of analysis of DHA. The speech, specifically each statement or utterance, was questioned by five discursive strategies: nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, mitigation, and intensification.

This research was supported by several previous studies that used similar approaches, which provided material and references to analyze the topic of this research. The first research was from Ozturk and Guler (2020) who wrote: "Discourse of Exclusion on Twitter in the Turkish Context: #ülkemdesuriyeliistemiyorum (#idontwantsyriansinmycountry)". This study aimed to understand the functions of constructing and proliferating an exclusionary discourse against refugees. The research focused on referential, argumentation, and intensification strategies used in the object as well as their wider socio-political implications. The result of the research revealed that refugees in Turkey were portrayed as threats, invaders, criminals, and potential dangers by users on social media. It then also revealed that the hate and bitterness discourse towards the refugees which constantly operates is to build a collective nationalist identity.

The second research was "Language Testing in the 'Hostile Environment': The Discursive Construction of 'Secure English Language Testing' in the UK" by Harding et al. (2019). This research took the English language tests called "Secure English Language Tests" (SELTs) for visa and immigration purposes, approved by the UK government as the object of the study. The purpose of this research was to identify discursive strategies used to construct English tests by using Reisigl and Wodak's DHA. The result of the research showed that security was noticeable in the tender; prospective bidders are required to meet detailed security requirements and to police subcontractors, and social actors, spaces, objects, policies, and procedures are constantly described in securitized terms.

The last research that the researcher used is "A Discursive Construction of Homosexual Males in a Muslim-dominant Community" by Shamsudin and Ghazali (2011). This study aimed to investigate participants' identity as Muslims who live as homosexuals in a Muslim heterosexually dominant society in Malaysia. The emergent language used and discursive strategies to represent identity were analyzed in this research using narrative data collected by semi-structured interviews. Using Reisigl and Wodak's (2009) approach, this research revealed the participants' internal struggle they have been through to keep and stay with their desire or stick to the dominant sexual ideology.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Suggested by Reisigl and Wodak (2009), to analyze discourse more easily and make the DHA's various features and strategies approachable, there were five simple questions that were tools of analysis of DHA to be answered in research, such as in qualitative research. Those five questions were included in the discursive strategies below.

1. Nomination

For the purpose of discursive construction of social actors, objects, phenomena or events, processes, and actions. In this first strategy, the question that needed to be answered by the object of the research was **“How are persons, objects, phenomena, events, processes, and actions named and referred to linguistically in the discourse?”** (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). The devices that were used to indicate the nominations in a specific utterance or statement were the use of membership categorization devices, which classified individuals or groups that establish identities and social roles; deictics, which are words that require contextual information to convey meaning, such as pronouns and demonstratives; anthroponyms, which names of people that often used to signify identity or social status, etc.

2. Predication

For the purpose of discursive characterization of social actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes, and actions. In the second strategy, the question given to the research discourse was **“What characteristics or qualities are attributed to the social actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes, and actions mentioned in discourse?”** (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). The devices that were used to indicate the predications in a specific utterance or statement were the use of stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctive clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses of groups) explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns, collocations, explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors, and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms), allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/implicatures, etc.

3. Argumentation

To persuade the addressed of the validity of specific claims of truth and normative rightness, the question to approach discursive features in discourse was **“What arguments are employed in discourse?”** (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). The devices that were used to indicate the nominations in a specific utterance or statement were the use of topoi, which indicated commonplaces or arguments that were used to persuade, and fallacies, which indicated errors in reasoning that weaken an argument.

4. Perspectivization

Positioning the writer's or speaker's point of view, the question that will be answered is **“From what perspective are these nominations, attributions, and arguments expressed?”** (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). The use of deictic, direct speech, indirect, or free indirect speech, quotation marks, discourse markers/particles, metaphors, and animating prosody, were indicates the use of perspectivization.

5. Mitigation and Intensification

On the last strategy, according to Reisigl and Wodak (2009), the question **“Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, covertly, or openly? Are they mitigated or intensified?”** was given to modify the illocutionary force of utterances to their epistemic or

deontic status. The mitigation of the utterances is usually indicated by hesitation, vague expression, diminutives, and verbs of saying. Meanwhile, the intensification of utterances is indicated by argumentative, tag questions, or hyperbole (Su-Hie Ting, 2024).

C. METHOD

According to Creswell (2017), the research design is a set of plans and procedures for conducting research using detailed data collection and analysis methods. The qualitative descriptive method is one of the well-known methodologies for investigating and comprehending the meaning that individuals or groups attach to a social situation (Creswell, 2017).

Based on the explanation above, this research used qualitative descriptive methods. The data was analyzed descriptively, and the results were aimed at forming a comprehensive summary. The data were collected from Ronald Lamola's utterances and described the data based on Reisigl and Wodak's DHA (2009). This research was also presented as a description and explanation.

The utterances, which were also available in the form of text by the speaker, were used as the data in this research. The source of the data was the *Minister Ronald Lamola: Opening Remarks at International Court of Justice*, which was a script that was available and posted in 2023 on the South African Government's official website.

The instrument of this research was the researcher herself, and the other research instruments included books, journals, the internet, and articles that were related and used as reading materials and references.

The researcher read the script of "Minister Ronald Lamola: Opening Remarks at International Court of Justice". Then, the researcher used the five discursive strategies questions for each text available in "Minister Ronald Lamola: Opening Remarks at International Court of Justice". Last, the researcher selected or categorized data according to the five discursive strategies, whether each text was categorized as nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, or mitigation and intensification.

As Miles and Huberman described, data reduction is the process that involves the systematic process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming of the data collected during research. For this research itself, the researcher used the script of the opening remark by Ronald Lamola at the ICJ, and based on this process, the researcher watched and listened carefully to the video first to understand the context, then read the script repeatedly. Next, the researcher gave each text the five discursive strategies questions, and then categorized them as whether they belonged to nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, or mitigation and intensification.

Data display involved the systematic process of organizing, summarizing, simplifying, or transforming data to facilitate the analysis and presentation of findings. Based on that, the researcher displayed the data specifically and clearly by putting the numbers in the data based on their arrangement. Conclusion drawing involved the systematic process of concluding the data collected during research, ensuring that these conclusions were based on the data and not on personal biases or assumptions. In this last process, the researcher concluded the results of the research based on the research questions and the main theory used.

D. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the data collected were presented and discussed using the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), which focused on five types of discursive strategies represented in *Minister Ronald Lamola: Opening Remarks at the International Court of Justice*.

1. Nomination

Data 1

Madam President, “*In extending our hands across the miles to the people of Palestine, we do so in the full knowledge that we are part of a humanity that is at one.*”

(Line 1-2)

The data above showed Ronald Lamola as the speaker who nominated a specific individual in the statement. Ronald Lamola, the Minister of International Relations and Cooperation of South Africa, mentioned the people of Palestine by bringing back the speech by Nelson Mandela. President Nelson Mandela mentioned the people of Palestine in his speech in 1997, which showed that South Africa has been connected to the people of Palestine for a long time. South Africa was the first country that bring the issue to the International Court of Justice (ICJ). The conflict between Israel and Palestine has existed for years, and has also become an international issue for a long time. Yet it was in 2023 that the situation became the center of attention, meaning the conflict became known to the public than it used to be.

The ICJ is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations (UN). Its roles were to resolve legal disputes between countries and provide an advisory opinion. The ICJ is composed of 15 judges who were elected by the UN General Assembly and the Security Council. In this very first statement, Ronald Lamola mentioned the *Madam President*, who nominated a specific individual who is the Head of the judicial panel in an international court. By mentioning *Madam President*, Ronald Lamola showed his position was in a formal and respectful relationship with the judicial authority. The *Madam President* is a nomination of a membership categorization device that emphasized its identity and social role.

2. Predication

Data 3

Madam President, “*In extending our hands across the miles to the people of Palestine, we do so in the full knowledge that we are part of a humanity that is at one.*”

(Line 1-2)

The data above showed the characteristics of Ronald Lamola as the speaker. In this statement, Ronald Lamola reinforced the audience with Nelson Mandela’s speech about the people of Palestine. The first statement of a speech generally shows what the entire speech will be about, and here, Ronald Lamola mentioned the people of Palestine in the same sentence as *humanity*, merely showing specific characteristics. Ronald Lamola delivered his speech in front of an international audience at the international forum not only for him or South Africa. By saying *we are part of a humanity that is at one*, it indicates an invitation that was intended for the audience. The *we* in this statement is a pronoun that can replace an identity or group. This pronoun included Nelson Mandela and Ronald Lamola as the speakers, and the audience showed a sense of unity.

3. Argumentation

Data 52

Israel's response to the 7 October 2023 attack has crossed this line and gives rise to breaches of the Convention.

(Line 23-24)

The data above showed a topos of law, which was the highlighted words that indicated an argument in this statement. The argument highlighted showed a specific strategy that Ronald Lamola used to persuade the audience. This statement by Ronald Lamola took place in an international forum such as the ICJ, which could tell us the reason why the *breaches of the Convention* were the argument, and the reason behind its specific word choice. The ICJ was the international court forum that was created to settle legal disputes between countries based on international law, as one of its purposes. By stating that the situation between Israel and Palestine has gone too far and that Israel has violated the Palestinian human rights, which *gives rise to breaches of the Convention* in front of the right audience. Besides, it would raise people's awareness about the situation, most importantly, that it would put pressure on the international community to immediately take further action toward countries that were involved in the situation.

4. Perspectivization

Data 29

In **Gaza**, at least **since 2005**, Israel continues to exercise control over the airspace, territorial waters, land crossings, water, electricity and civilian infrastructure, as well as over key governmental functions.

(Line 10-13)

The data above showed a perspective that Ronald Lamola used as the speaker in this statement. The conflict between Israel and Palestine has existed for years, before 7 October 2023. The Palestinians were in a hard time since the UN decided that Palestine, specifically *Gaza*, became one of Israel's territories. Since then, *Gaza* has faced a variety of trials that strip it of their freedom. In this statement, Ronald Lamola, as the speaker, specifically mentioned several conditions that Gaza had been through since *2005*. In this statement, Ronald Lamola mentioned *Gaza*, which indicated a deictic expression of place, and specifically mentioned specific year *2005*, which indicated a deictic expression of time.

5. Mitigation and Intensification

Data 64

South Africa welcomes the fact that Israel has engaged with the case, in order to have the matter resolved by the Court, after careful and objective consideration of the facts and submissions put before it, as the Parties to the Genocide Convention intended.

(Line 27-29)

The data above showed an intensification of Ronald Lamola's statement. The conflict between Israel and Palestine had a detrimental effect on both. However, it was important to note that the massive attack carried out by Israel on the people of Palestine was the reason South Africa brought the case to the ICJ. That said, Israel was the respondent in this proceeding. In this statement, Ronald Lamola, as the speaker, stated that as the country that submitted the case, *South Africa welcomes* the fact that Israel nevertheless engaged with the case. Ronald Lamola, as the speaker, intensified the statement by using the verbs of saying here. *South Africa welcomes*, which was a statement that indicated support or approval. It sounded polite, nevertheless,

emphasized a clear and unhedged act, showing positive alignment or approval, which strengthens the speaker's position. All in all, it intensified Ronald Lamola's statement, because of the verb of saying that expressed stance and subjective involvement.

Data 48

That said, no armed attack on a State's territory, no matter how serious — **even** an attack involving atrocitery crimes — can provide any justification for, or defence to, breaches of the Convention, whether as a matter of law or morality.

(Line 21-24)

The data above showed a mitigation of Ronald Lamola's statement. The conflict between Israel and Palestine existed years before 7 October 2023. The oppression of the Palestinians has been a matter since Israel dominated most of the Palestinian region. However, the 7 October 2023 attack carried out by Hamas seems led Israel to further demonstrate its dominance. The attack alleged against Hamas was an attack that included a targeted attack on Israeli civilians, advancing into multiple regions, and taking hostages. Ronald Lamola, as the speaker, stated that South Africa fully condemned the targeting of civilians by Hamas and had consistently stated its condemnation. That said, the matter that South Africa fought for was the establishment of humanity. The 7 October 2023 attack did not justify the act of genocide toward the Palestinians. The massive attack on civilians, in which the majority of the victims were women and children, has breached the Convention. Ronald Lamola mitigated the statement this time by stating a (modal) particle, *even*, which emphasized the speaker's attitude, added an emphasis on the statement, and showed an expression of surprise and unexpectedness.

After analyzing Ronald Lamola's opening remarks at the ICJ, the findings revealed that in the nomination, Ronald Lamola shaped his audience's perception about actors that were involved and related to the Israel-Palestine conflict by using several nomination devices, such as membership categorization devices in data 1 and data 5, toponym in data 2, institutional nomination in data 3, ethnonyms in data 4, proper noun and generic group in data 6, and specific event in data 7. The nomination used in Ronald Lamola's opening remarks showed the relationship between social actors and the Israel-Palestine conflict. Ronald Lamola, as the speaker, was nominating persons or groups, emphasizing their roles in the Israel-Palestine situation. As in the "Language Testing in the 'Hostile Environment': The Discursive Construction of 'Secure English Language Testing' in the UK" by Harding et al. (2019), itself showed the use of nomination to imply social actor and their roles. In that research, the researchers found that the phrases Concessionaire, Bidder, and customers indicated roles for different social actors in the SELT process. Thus, the use of nomination in both cases supported the claim that linguistic choices actively construct social meaning and power dynamics.

The findings in the nomination showed that Ronald Lamola nominated actors, such as Madam President, the international community, the Convention, South Africa, Palestinians and Isarelis, Hamas and other Palestinians armed groups, and the 7 October 2023 attack was to shape his audience's perception about the actors also the situation between Israel and Palestine. It also showed in the predication data, which showed Ronald Lamola characterized the actors and the situation referred. Such as the way he used the pronoun we. He tried to emphasize that the Israel-Palestine conflict was everyone's problem. It was not only Israel's, Palestine's, or South Africa's responsibility, but also the people in the room. It showed Ronald Lamola's inclusion of others (who were not specifically involved in the conflict). It was aligned with the "Discourse of Exclusion on Twitter in the Turkish Context: #ülkemdesuriyeliistemiyorum

(#idontwantsyriansinmycountry)” by Ozturk and Guler (2020), the findings showed that the inclusion discourse revolved around shared nationalism to emphasized their identity as Turkish, and also to exlude the people who was not yet live in their country. Both showed the use of the pronoun to show an act of inclusion, even though the reasons behind the use were different. Ronald Lamola influenced the audience not only by characterizing the actors involved, but he also justified his argument through his argumentation. As in Reisigl and Wodak (2009), the use of topoi could represent the argument that the speaker delivered. The data showed that Ronald Lamola often used topoi to shape his argumentation, which implied his justification and legitimized his claims. Then, in the perspectivization, the data showed Ronald Lamola portrayed the speech delivered was not only from his perspective as the speaker, nor as the Minister of International Relations and Cooperation of South Africa, but also as a member of the United Nations (UN), who stood for humanity and justice. He then completed his statement by mitigating and intensifying his speech with the use of verbs of saying and thinking, and a (modal) particle which showed his confidence, conviction, and power as the speaker, but still respectfully and politely. In the “Discourse of Exclusion on Twitter in the Turkish Context: #ülkemdesuriyeliistemiyorum (#idontwantsyriansinmycountry)” by Ozturk and Guler (2020). The researchers of this research found that the intensification strategy was delivered in the use of “bad” language, such as curses, swear words, and insults. Although the contexts differ, both cases illustrated how intensification operated as a discursive tool to convey certainty, establish authority, and strengthen the speaker’s position (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). Thus, both findings support the idea that intensification was central to expressing power and conviction, regardless of formality platform.

E. CONCLUSION

Ronald Lamola constructed his identity in his speech at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) by strategically employing various discursive strategies that reflected his role as South Africa’s Minister of International Relations and Cooperation. Through the nomination strategy, he positioned himself as an authoritative legal representative by using institutional titles, toponyms, and proper nouns, such as referencing South Africa, naming Hamas, and identifying Palestinians and Israelis as key actors to establish legitimacy and ground his statements in formal, legal discourse. This approach emphasized his official capacity and aligned his identity with institutional and national authority. In predication, Lamola further shaped his identity by using inclusive pronouns and emotionally charged metaphors, which highlighted his moral stance and sense of 46 unity with broader humanitarian values. His argumentation reinforced this construction, as he relied on topoi of law, responsibility, reality, and humanitarianism to justify his claims, signaling a speaker who was both legally informed and ethically driven. Through perspectivization, Lamola situated himself not only as an individual speaker but also as a representative of South Africa and the international community, using deictic expressions to frame his position within collective and moral perspectives. Finally, his use of mitigation and intensification, such as assertive verbs and expressions of surprise, demonstrated confidence and conviction, reinforcing an identity rooted in urgency, justice, and moral leadership. Collectively, these strategies revealed how Lamola constructed a dual identity: one of a formal state representative acting within international legal norms, and another of a morally conscious

advocate aligned with humanitarian concerns, thereby positioning himself and South Africa as principled actors in the Israel Palestine conflict.

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