

JMTSS

Journal of Modern Trends in Social Sciences

ISSN 2955-2435

Vol.1 (2/2025)

Editor: Rector, Bekim Fetaji, PhD (North Macedonia)

Editor in Chief: Zoran Gacovski, PhD (North Macedonia)

Editorial Board

Iraj Hashi, PhD (England)

Robert Pichler, PhD (Austria)

Ozcan Asilkan, PhD (Germany)

Quirico Migheli, PhD (Italy)

Andrej Shkraba, PhD (Slovenia)

Maaruf Ali, PhD (England)

Bujar Krasniqi, PhD (Republic of Kosovo)

Mirlinde Billali, PhD (North Macedonia)

Publisher: Mother Teresa University in Skopje, Republic of North Macedonia

Associate Editors

Alfonso Vargas Sanchez, PhD (Spain) Nezir Kraki, PhD (France)

M. M. Sulphery, PhD (India) Marc Hill, PhD (Austria)

Dimitrios Karras, PhD (Greece) Inge Hutter, PhD (Netherlands)

Donald Elmazi, PhD (Albania) Yavuz Emre Arslan, PhD (Turkey)

Bujar Dugolli, PhD (Kosovo) Ayhan Oral, PhD (Turkey)

Sermin Senturan, PhD (Turkey) Sunaj Raimi, PhD (North Macedonia)

Mirko Perano, PhD (Italy) Anton Stoilov, PhD (Bulgaria)

Salvatore Rubino, PhD (Italy) Elisabeta Ollogu, PhD (North Macedonia)

Ruzhdi Sefa, PhD (Kosovo) Mehmed Ganic, PhD (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Daniel Pavlovski, PhD (North Macedonia) Andrej Shkraba, PhD (Slovenia)

Blerim Saiti, PhD (North Macedonia) Agron Kurtishi, PhD (North Macedonia)

Kalman Mizsei, PhD (Hungary) Enver Abdullahu, PhD (North Macedonia)

Arta Xhelili, PhD (North Macedonia) Edmond Krusha, PhD (Croatia)

Fiona Todhri, PhD (Albania) Avni Avdiu, PhD (North Macedonia)

Journals:

Editor:

Bekim Fetaji, PhD

Editor in Chief:

Zoran Gacovski, PhD

ISSN 2955-2435 Technical Editor: Korab Ballanca

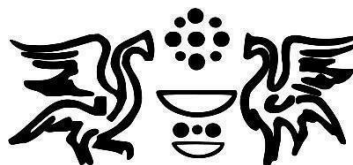
Editorial Office: Mother Teresa University

Frequency: Published two times per year

ISSN 2955-2435

Mother Teresa University in Skopje,
Tax No. 4080016561272 **Republic of North Macedonia**
Mirce Acev 4, VII floor, Skopje, North
Bank: Narodna Banka RM Macedonia
Phone: +389 2 3161 004
E-mail: journals@unt.edu.mk
Web: www.journals.unt.edu.mk

The publication of the Journal is supported by:



Ministry of Culture of Republic of North Macedonia

Editorial Foreword

Editor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Welcome to the new Issue of the Journal Of Modern Trends in Social Sciences -JMTSS. The topics covered by this Issue are related to the current trends of research, original research that uncovers sustainable development.

JMTSS Journal is an international journal that effectively provides a forum for academics, professionals, graduate and undergraduate students, fellows and associates to share the latest developments and advances in knowledge and practice of Social Sciences; Journalism, mass media, Sport and sport management, Humanities and Social Sciences, etc. Our interest in promoting high-quality research is clearly reflected in having an established peer reviewing process and a high-profile expert group of Associate Editors and Editorial Board Members.

Hopefully you find this Issue valuable and we definitely look forward to receiving your high-quality studies for the next issue of the Journal.

Prof. Dr. Bekim Fetaji
Editor

Journal of Modern Trends in Social Sciences

Table of Contents

	Authors	Paper Title	Page No.
1.	Lindita Neziri, Argetim Saliu, Diturije Ismaili (UNT)	State Organs that Supervise and Control the Work of the Public Administration in North Macedonia	2
2.	Lindita Neziri (UNT)	Parliamentary Control over Public Administration: Parliamentary Control Mechanisms in North Macedonia	7
3	Agron Vrangalla, Agron Kurtishi (UNT)	A Critical Discourse Analysis of Netanyahu and Abbas's UN Assembly Speeches: Unveiling Power Dynamics and Narratives in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	11

State Organs that Supervise and Control the Work of the Public Administration in North Macedonia

Lindita Neziri[†]

Faculty of Social Science, “Mother Theresa” University, Skopje, R. N. Macedonia, lindita.neziri@unt.edu.mk

Argëtim Saliu,

Faculty of Law, “Mother Theresa” University, Skopje, R. N. Macedonia, argtim.saliu@unt.edu.mk

Diturije Ismaili

Faculty of Social Science, “Mother Theresa” University, Skopje, R. N. Macedonia, diturije.ismaili@unt.edu.mk

ABSTRACT

Public Administration is an inseparable part of the state, acting as the apparatus or tool through which public policies implemented by the government are enforced, legal and sub-legal acts are applied, public services are provided, and rights, goals, and various needs in all spheres of social life are fulfilled. Considering the role and importance of public administration for both the state and its citizens as a whole, the positive legislation of North Macedonia foresees two forms of control over the work of public administration: internal and external control. Depending on the nature of the control being exercised, the authority responsible for the control is designated. Internal control is conducted by higher authorities within the administrative organisation (i.e. based on the principle of hierarchy), while external control is performed by specialised bodies that belong to different organisational structures, acting outside the public administration (e.g. parliament, courts, inspection bodies, State Audit Office, etc.).

This study takes a theoretical approach, utilising descriptive-comparative methods, legal analysis, and scientific doctrine.

This study highlights some of the applicable forms of control over public administration in North Macedonia and identifies some of the state bodies that exercise control over its work.

This study offers suggestions for improving the efficiency and quality of the public administration to align it more closely with European standards.

KEYWORDS

Public administration, control, legality, North Macedonia, state organs

Introduction

Public Administration (PA) is a broad notion. In terms of organisation, in addition to state administration (ministries, bodies composed by ministries, independent state bodies, and administrative organisations), PA also includes the entire administration

entrusted with the exercise of public powers, such as the following: bodies of local self-government (mayor of the municipality, council of the municipality); institutions and institutes that perform public services (institutions of education, health, science, culture, etc.); public enterprises (railway, water supply, forestry, air, hygiene, etc.); private entities with public authorisations; and non-governmental organisations with public powers (Chamber of Notaries, Chamber of Doctors, Chamber of Advocates) (Neziri, 2024: 100). The work of PA bodies is based on the principle of legality that presupposes the precise and mandatory implementation of the laws in force, i.e. every action and every administrative act must be based on constitutional and legal provisions (Neziri, 2024:148). However, in the practice of PA bodies, violations of the principle of legality may occur, which creates the possibility for irregularities and errors in the work of the PA. In order to ensure legality, responsibility, quality of work, limitation of exceeding and misuse of authorisations, control of the work of the PA is exercised. Control means monitoring, controlling, and evaluating activities, acts and behaviours to guarantee their full legality, in a material and formal sense (Shasivari & Osmani 2023: 71-78). The object of control of the administration is the administrative work, the behaviour of the administration, the way of using its authorisation, the acts that the administration issues, namely the measures that it undertakes (Pollozhani & Dobjani & Stavileci & Salihu, 2010:183). The purpose of the control is to identify the deficiencies and errors that may appear in the PA's work and to eliminate them. Control is a relationship between at least two bodies, the body that exercises control (active subject) and the body to which control is exercised (passive subject) (Shasivari & Osmani, 2023:71). The active entity has the right to inspect documents, conduct audits, and other controls, enter the offices of the body being controlled, and issue general instructions and instructions related to a particular case.

The hypothesis raised in this study is as follows: *The control of PA is the main factor for the functioning of a functional, stable, professional, efficient, responsible, effective, accountable, and transparent public administration.*

The research question is as follows: *Which state bodies exercise control over the acts, behaviours, and activities of the PA in the Republic of North Macedonia*

Findings and Results

North Macedonian positive legislation foresees internal control and external control of the PA's work (Berisha & Zejneli & Saliu, 2020). Internal administrative control, in essence, is the legal control of higher bodies over those lower bodies; therefore, this type of control is based on the principle of hierarchy. Through this form of control, the highest bodies of the state administration on their own initiative check the legality of the acts of the subordinate bodies of the administration. Typical for this type of control is the control that takes place within ministries and structures subordinate to it (Saliu & Petkovski & Ismaili & Hajretin, 2024: 277). External control is carried out by specialised bodies, which belong to different organisational structures that operate outside the public administration bodies. The external control bodies are as follows:

- ❖ **Parliament** – exercises political control over the work of the executive. The constitutional provisions make it clear that parliament is a legislative body. Within its competences, the selection and supervision of the work of the government are foreseen (Articles 61, 68). Parliamentary control is carried out through several political mechanisms such as: deputie' questions, interpellation, commissions of inquiry, motion of no confidence, and dismissal of the government (Regulations of Parliament,

Articles 37-45). Parliament, as the bearer of the legislative body, supervises the agencies and directorates, whose directors or collective management bodies are elected by the parliament (Shasivari & Osmani 2023: 70).

- ❖ **Government** – exercises executive power, according to the constitution, which means that it is responsible for the implementation of laws and state policies (Article 91). Within the scope of its many powers, the government guides and supervises the work of the administration bodies. The Prime Minister asks each of the ministers to report in writing on his/her work and to the ministry he/she heads, to provide him/her with information and reports from his/her field of work, as well as other important information for the smooth running of the government's work.
- ❖ **Ministries** - supervise the work of state administration bodies, subordinate bodies, bodies of local self-government units, legal entities that have public authorisations in the affairs of state administration and executive agencies (Pollozhani, Dobjani, Stavileci & Salihu, 2010:190).
- ❖ **Inspection Bodies** - In the framework of state bodies, the most typical bearers of supervisory powers are the inspection bodies, which are specialised bodies for carrying out supervision in certain areas, supervising commercial companies, enterprises, or bodies to see if they are respecting legal provisions during the exercise of their activities.
- ❖ **State Auditing Body and the Public Revenue Administration** - are presented as subjects in the implementation of financial control and are authorised to supervise the use and legal disposition of financial resources by budget users, as well as the financial transactions of natural and legal persons in order to control the execution of obligations for the payment of public obligations.
- ❖ **Independent state bodies that are not part of the executive power** - As subjects of supervision, there are also independent state bodies that are not part of the executive power, but represent separate regulatory bodies, such as the following: Directorate for Personal Data Protection, Agency of Capital Funded Pension Insurance Supervision, Competition Protection Commission, Securities Commission, etc. (Shasivari & Osmani, 2023: 71-78).
- ❖ **Courts** - the legal system recognises the instrument of judicial control for concrete (individual) actions of the administration, i.e. the administration is placed under the control of the judiciary as an independent and neutral body. The judicial power in North Macedonia consists of the Basic Courts, the Courts of Appeal, the Administrative Court, the High Administrative Court, and the Supreme Court. Administrative disputes are decided by the Administrative Court as a court of first instance and the Supreme Court which decides on extraordinary legal remedies. The Administrative Court in the administrative trial decides on appeals against administrative acts, while the Supreme Court decides on extraordinary legal remedies against the decisions of the Administrative Court. The Constitutional Court is the body that protects constitutionality and legality; it abrogates or annuls general rules or acts, collective agreements, statutes if it finds that they are not in accordance with the constitution or positive laws.
- ❖ **Public Prosecutor** - Control of the administration by the prosecutor's office is considered a special form of control of the administration through which crime, misuse, and cases of violation of the provisions of the criminal code are combatted through the work of the PA.

- ❖ **People's Advocate or Ombudsman** - is a specific, separate, professional, and independent body with a special status for the protection of citizens' rights from illegal and irregular actions or inactions of public authorities, institutions, and other persons or authorities who exercise public authority in North Macedonia. The basic duty of the ombudsman is to investigate violations committed against any person or group of persons and resulting from decisions, recommendations, or any other administrative act, issued by a body or office of stable administration, to investigate complaints against the government or governors, directors, departments, and agencies.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Given the importance of the PA in the construction of the legal state, it is indispensable to control the acts, behaviours, and activities of the PA. In order to increase the efficiency of the work of the administration and the credibility of the citizens in the PA, the state bodies that supervise and control the work of the PA must undertake some necessary steps such as the following:

- ❖ Control should be done at the right moment, be objective (impartial), quick and economical;
- ❖ Take serious measures that would stop the spread of negative phenomena, such as bribery, theft, negligence, irresponsibility, misuse, politicisation, nepotism and other anti-values in public administrations;
- ❖ Form disciplinary commissions in every institution, and their members should be the most distinguished officials who have been evaluated with high ethics and principles at work;
- ❖ Organise professional trainings for officials where ethical values will be promoted;
- ❖ Educating citizens in building a non-corrupt society.

References

- [1]. Berisha, F., & Zejneli, J., & Saliu, A., (2019), *E Drejta Administrative/Administrative Law*, Skopje.
- [2]. Berisha, F., & Zejneli, J., & Saliu, A., (2020), *E Drejta dhe Administrata Publike/ Law and Public Administration*, Skopje.
- [3]. Constitution of the Republic of Northern Macedonia with amendments to the Constitution I-XXX, available online at: <https://www.sobranie.mk/kushtetuta-e-rm-s.nspk>
- [4]. Davitkovski, B., & Pavlovska-Daneva, (2018), A., *E Drejta Administrative/Administrative law*, Skopje, pp. 322-323.
- [5]. Law on Deputies, "RMV's Official Gazzete no. 84/2005, 161/2008,51/11,109/14,140/18; available at: <https://www.sobranie.mk>, 2024
- [6]. Law on the Government of The Republic of North Macedonia , "Official Gazette of RMV", no. 59/00, 26/01, 13/03, 55/05, 37/06, 115/07, 19/08, 10/10, 51/11, 15/13, 139/14, 196/15, 142/16, 150/18 and "Official Gazette of RMV" no. 98/19).
- [7]. Law on internal control in the public sector. (Official Monitor of Republic of North Macedonia, no 69/04).
- [8]. Neziri, L. (2024). *The State as a Specific Organisation of Society: State Organisation of North Macedonia*. Knowledge - International Journal, 62(1), pp. 147–151; available at: <https://ikm.mk/ojs/index.php/kij/article/view/6572>
- [8]. Neziri, L. (2024). *The Role and Place of the Parliament in the Political System of the Republic of North Macedonia: Relations between the Legislative Power and the Executive Power*. Knowledge - International Journal, 62(1), pp. 159–162; available at: <https://ikm.mk/ojs/index.php/kij/article/view/6574>
- [9]. Neziri, L. (2024). *Public Administration and the State*. Knowledge - International Journal, 63(1), pp. 99–102; available at:

<https://ikm.mk/ojs/index.php/kij/article/view/6670>

[10]. Neziri, L (2022) *The necessity to Change the Macedonian Electoral System for Parliamentary Elections*, in “International Dialogue: East-West” Vol. 9, pp. 17-21; available at: https://konferencii.msu.edu.mk/ep-content/uploads/000-Pravo-i-Politikologija-2022_book-FINAL.pdf

[11]. Pollozhani B., & Dobjani, E., & Stavileci, E., & Salihu, L.(2010), *E drejta Administrative aspekte krahasuese* /Administrative Law comparative aspects, Skopje pp. 190.

[12]. Saliu, A., & Petkovski, A., & Ismaili, D., & Hajreti, V., (2024), *Hyrje në Administrim Publik/* , Skopje, pp. 277.

[13]. SIGMA PapersNo. 27: European Principles for Public Administration.

[14]. Shasivari, J., & Osmani, A., (2023), *E drejta administrative/Administrative Law*, Skopje, pp. 71-77.

Parliamentary Control over Public Administration: Parliamentary Control Mechanisms in North Macedonia

Lindita Neziri,

Faculty of Social Science, “Mother Theresa” University, Skopje, R. N. Macedonia, lindita.neziri@unt.edu.mk

Diturije Ismaili

Faculty of Social Science, “Mother Theresa” University, Skopje, R. N. Macedonia, diturije.ismaili@unt.edu.mk

Argëtim Saliu,

Faculty of Law, “Mother Theresa” University, Skopje, R. N. Macedonia, argtim.saliu@unt.edu.mk

ABSTRACT

The Constitution of the Republic of North Macedonia clearly establishes that parliament is a legislative institution. However, among its various competencies, parliament is also tasked with electing the government and overseeing its work, as well as that of other public institutions, which are constitutionally and legally obligated to report to parliament. Parliamentary control constitutes one of the most important forms of external control over public administration. Parliament exercises its control function through parliamentary committees, investigative committees, public sessions, and by exercising its function of dismissal. Parliament supervises and controls the executive and public administration as a whole through parliamentary mechanisms.

This study takes an analytical approach, focusing on identifying, understanding, analysing, and comparing the parliamentary mechanisms through which parliament oversees and controls the executive and public administration. These include the following: parliamentary deputies’ questions, interpellations, investigative committees, approval/non-approval of the state budget, votes of no confidence, dismissal of the government, etc.

For the needs of this study, the following methods are used: descriptive-comparative, analysis of the constitutional provisions and the positive legal framework in the country, as well as scientific doctrines. This study offers suggestions for good, effective, and functional governance.

KEYWORDS

Public administration, parliamentary control, Parliament, North Macedonia, parliamentary mechanisms

Introduction

The Republic of North Macedonia (hereafter RNM) is a state with a parliamentary democracy (a political system where the majority decides). State power is divided into executive, legislative, and judicial power. Powers are separate from each other and independent. The bearer of legislative power is parliament as a representative body of citizens, the bearer of executive power is the government and the president (the president has a ceremonial role), while the bearer of judicial power is the courts. The constitution sees parliament as an independent, powerful institution, with a dominant position over the executive power.

Parliament as a state body is the bearer of the most important state and political functions of a state (Neziri, 2024: 148-150). Undoubtedly, it's most important function is legislating, i.e. the approval and amendment of the constitution and laws (Neziri, 2024: 161). The second important function of parliament is parliamentary control as a form of political control. Parliamentary deputies as beneficiaries of the people have authorisation to verify whether the executive and the administration is working in accordance with the constitution and the positive laws of the country. The parliament exercises political control over the president of the state, and in case of suspicion of abuse of office or violation of the constitution/positive laws, his/her mandate may be terminated; however, the constitutional court has the final word. The Parliament exercises political control over the Government and has the possibility of overthrowing it (Regulations of the Parliament, Article 109-113). For its work, the government is responsible to parliament. The prime minister, deputy prime ministers and ministers bear the responsibility for the decisions taken by the government, and the individual responsibility for the decisions they take in the areas of their responsibilities (Aziri, 2012:240).

The hypothesis of the paper is as follows: *Parliamentary control over the executive and public administration is an indicator of good governance and a guarantee for the implementation of state policies.*

The research question is as follows: *What parliamentary mechanisms does the Parliament of the RNM have?*

Purpose of the Study

This study aims for the following:

- To offer theoretical knowledge on the importance of parliamentary control, namely the parliamentary mechanisms through which the public administration is supervised and controlled;
- To offer suggestions for better Governance;
- To make an additional contribution to academic literature;
- To also serve as a reference for more in-depth studies.

Research Methods

For the needs of this study, methods are used: descriptive-comparative, legal analysis, and scientific doctrines that include academic literature, scientific research and official websites.

Findings and Results

Parliamentary control instruments are divided into two groups: regular means and extraordinary means. Regular means of parliamentary control include the right of the parliament to approve the state budget as well as the periodic reports that the government presents to the parliament on its work. Meanwhile, extraordinary means of parliamentary control can be considered to be the questions of deputies, parliamentary interpellations, parliamentary survey commissions, institute of vote of no-confidence in the government, as well as the dismissal of the government (Saliu & Petkovski & Ismaili & Hajreti 2024 : 267-285).

- **Approval/Disapproval of the Budget** - through this mechanism, parliament determines public revenues and public expenditures for the implementation of the government programme.

- **Periodic Government Reports** – through periodic reports, the Government informs the Parliament about the progress of work and the results achieved. Based on these periodic reports, the Parliament ascertains whether the laws and state policies have been implemented by the government and how efficient the government is in carrying out its functions.
- **Deputies' Questions** - is a right of parliamentary deputies as representatives of citizens. Deputies ask questions orally or in writing. The questions are dedicated to the prime minister, ministers or other holders of public functions that the parliament elects or appoints, such as the public prosecutor, people's advocate, etc. (Rules of the Parliament, Articles 37-39). Asking questions and receiving answers does not open any debate (Aziri, 2012: 234-238). Deputies usually ask questions, in cases where they want to receive information from the government or certain ministers about some concrete aspect of the government's work. The President of the Government, the competent ministry, namely the holder of the public function to whom the question is addressed, must answer the question of the deputy in the procedure and the deadline set by the parliamentary regulations (Law on Deputies, Article 15). The session is attended by the prime minister, ministers, and other public office bearers, who have been notified that they will be asked questions. In one session, a deputy can ask a maximum of three questions; the question cannot last more than ten minutes, while the deputy has the right to declare if he is satisfied with the answer, but not longer than three minutes. If the answer must remain secret, the answer can be given in the session of the parliament without the presence of the public (Rules of the Parliament, Article 40-44).
- **Interpellation** - is a control mechanism for the work of public office bearers. The interpellation has to do with the work of the government, a part of it or with the work of state bodies. Initiatives for interpellation can be taken by at least five deputies (The Constitution, Article 72). Deputies who undertake such activity usually belong to the opposition. The interpellation is submitted in written form. Unlike the questions of the deputies in the case of interpellation, although a written answer is given, a debate is still opened after which a vote is taken. The discussion on the interpellation lasts at most one working day. In cases where the parliament ascertains or suspects that the government has deviated from the established national policies, then the parliament, through its bodies, calls the government or the designated ministers to the interpellation, trying to prevent the actions arbitrator of the government and prevent its removal from parliamentary control. The subject to whom the interpellation was presented is invited to the session and has the right to justify his answer in writing, or to give an oral answer to the presented interpellation for a duration of 20 minutes (Rules of the Parliament, Articles 46-49).
- **Vote of No-Confidence in the Government** - theoretically, this is the most serious control tool of the government by parliament. Through this action, parliament shows that it has lost confidence in the government. The vote of confidence can be initiated by at least 20 deputies (The Constitution, Article 92). The effect of using this mechanism can be a vote of no confidence in the government, which may result in its downfall or dismissal. The motion for the no-confidence in the government is presented in writing and must be justified. Votes of no-confidence in the government expire after the third day from the day of submission of the motion for no-confidence (Rules of the Parliament, Article 217). The vote of no-confidence against the government is a type of sanction that parliament undertakes against the government, as a result of the non-realization of the programme, which previously received the confidence of the parliament and as a result leads to the dismissal of the Government.
- **Commission of Inquiry** - can serve as a basis for the initiation of the procedure for the eventual responsibility of the holder of any public function. The commission of inquiry has the obligation to analyse any specific event or case, examine the appropriate documentation, prepare a written report related to the specific case, and present it to parliament.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Monitoring and controlling the applicability of state policies and laws is as important as the process of their adoption. Through

the supervision of the implementation of the laws, parliament is informed about their practical implementation and how much the desired goal has been achieved. Through parliamentary control, legality is guaranteed, the rights and freedoms of citizens are protected, abuses, and unconstitutional and illegal behaviours of the government and public bodies are detected and prevented, as well as the regular functioning of the administration is ensured. Without parliamentary control, there would be no rule of law, the law would not rule, and we would be faced with abuses by the authorities. The exercise and use of mechanisms guarantees the rule of law and efficient implementation of state policies. Given the importance of parliamentary mechanisms in the supervision and control of the executive, we suggest raising the will of the deputies to use parliamentary mechanisms.

Reference

- [1]. Aziri, E. (2012). *Sistemi Politik i Republikës së Maqedonisë: Formimi, Sfidat dhe Perspektivat e Zhvillimit Demokratik*, Tetovo, pp. 234-244.
- [2]. Berisha, F., & Zejneli, J., & Saliu, A., (2020), *E Drejta dhe Administrata Publike/Law and Public Administration*, Skopje, pp. 90, 163-175, 220-268.
- [3]. Constitution of the Republic of Northern Macedonia with amendments to the Constitution I-XXX, available online at: <https://www.sobranie.mk/kushtetuta-e-rm-s.nspX>
- [4]. Law on Deputies, “RMV’s Official Gazzete no. 84/2005, 161/2008,51/11,109/14,140/18; available at: <https://www.sobranie.mk>, 2024
- [5]. Neziri, L. (2024). *The Role and Place of the Parliament in the Political System of the Republic of North Macedonia: Relations between the Legislative Power and the Executive Power. Knowledge - International Journal* , 62(1), pp. 159–162; available at: <https://ikm.mk/ojs/index.php/kij/article/view/6574>
- [6]. Neziri, L. (2024). *Public Administration and the State. Knowledge - International Journal*, 63(1), pp. 99–102; available at: <https://ikm.mk/ojs/index.php/kij/article/view/6670>
- [7]. Neziri, L. (2024). *The State as a Specific Organisation of Society: State Organisation of North Macedonia. Knowledge - International Journal*, 62(1), pp. 147–151; available at: <https://ikm.mk/ojs/index.php/kij/article/view/6572>
- [8]. Rule of the Parliament available online at: <https://www.sobranie.mk>, 2024
- [9]. Saliu, A., & Petkovski, A., & Ismaili, D., & Hajreti, V., (2024), *Hyrje në Administrim Publik*, Skopje, pp. 267-285.
- [10]. Shasivari, J., & Osmani, A., (2023), *E drejta administrative/Administrative Law*, Skopje, pp. 71-77.

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Netanyahu and Abbas's UN Assembly Speeches: Unveiling Power Dynamics and Narratives in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Authors:

Agron Vrangalla¹

Mother Teresa University, North Macedonia

agron.vrangalla@unt.edu.mk

Agron Kurtishi²

Mother Teresa University, North Macedonia

agron.kurtishi@unt.edu.mk

1. INTRODUCTION

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the longest-running and most intricate geopolitical conflicts of the modern era. Anchored in the competitive national aspirations and historical claims to the same territory, this conflict has shaped the political landscape of the Middle East for over a century (Gelvin, 2014). The formation of the State of Israel in 1948, followed by further wars and the alteration of boundaries, resulted in continued disputes over land, most importantly the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem (Shlaim, 2014).

In the context of this long-standing conflict, the UN General Assembly is a critical forum through which world leaders take up global issues and share their national perspectives. On 27 September, 2024, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and on 26 September, 2024, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas addressed this international body, each presenting their position on recent events and the larger conflict.

These speeches came on the heels of a drastic increase in violence. On October 7, 2023, Hamas, which controls Gaza, launched a massive attack on Israel, resulting in a stern Israeli military retaliation. This latest cycle of violence has had devastating consequences, particularly for the civilian population in Gaza. According to OCHA (2024), more than 40,000 Palestinians have been killed, and about 75% of Gaza's infrastructure has been destroyed.

The addresses of Netanyahu and Abbas at the UN Assembly reflect in several ways the conflict's complicated dynamics. The balance of priorities could be noticed by the Netanyahu speech, where security, terrorism, and regional players—like Iran—overshadowed every other concern. He emphasized, "International support is important to counter the nuclear ambitions of Iran and terrorism, where Israel viewed the overall geopolitical situation of the conflict" (United Nations, 2024).

On the other hand, Abbas spoke of the humanitarian situation in Gaza, historical injustices against Palestinians, and how the two-state solution was well overdue. As observed by the Permanent Observer Mission of the State of Palestine to the United Nations (n.d.), his declaration that "Palestine is our homeland" underlines the Palestinian narrative of attachment to the land and the ongoing pursuit of statehood.

These speeches, from the UN podium, create a privileged site for critical discourse analysis. Looking at the language, rhetorical strategies, and deeper structures of ideology embedded in these speeches, one can learn much about how each side constructs its narrative, legitimizes its actions, and seeks to influence world opinion (Fairclough, 2013; van Dijk, 2008).

This research, therefore, aims at the analysis of discursive strategies used by Netanyahu and Abbas in their speeches in the UN Assembly. Concretely, this study intends to:

1. Identify and analyze possible injustices or biases in Netanyahu's discourse.
2. Analyze the claims about crimes in Gaza, made by Abbas, and their discursive representation.
3. Discuss how language is used to construct power relations and ideologies within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
4. Analyze the effects these discursive strategies could have on international perceptions and efforts toward conflict resolution.

The present work, through a critical discourse analytical approach, attempts to make another modest contribution toward this increased understanding of language in service of narration, vindication, and modeling of global opinions about one of the most resilient areas of conflict in the world.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis is an interdisciplinary method for the study of language in its social context, in which the way power relations, ideologies, and social inequalities are created, sustained, and transformed through discourse becomes the focal point of research (Wodak & Meyer, 2015). CDA is especially pertinent to our analysis of Netanyahu's and Abbas's UN speeches for the following reasons: It looks into the relationship between language and power, crucial for understanding how political leaders use discourse to shape perceptions and justify actions. CDA considers the historical and sociopolitical contexts in which discourses are produced, which is important in analyzing speeches about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It aims to uncover hidden ideologies and power structures, which is important in dissecting the complex narratives presented by both leaders. CDA's critical approach befits our aim to investigate injustices that may be promoted and upheld in these speeches.

In the light of such prominent political speeches, the CDA will let us realize how strategically the language has been used in the development of narratives, acts of legitimizing, and forming international opinion on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

2.1.2. Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model

The three-dimensional model of Norman Fairclough is, so to say, a cornerstone of CDA since it provides an encompassing framework through which discourse may be analyzed (Fairclough 2013). Such a model encompasses three interrelated dimensions, including the following:

Textual Analysis: It is focused on the linguistic aspects of the discourse: vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures. So this element shows how Netanyahu and Abbas employ particular language use, rhetorical devices, and argumentative structures.

Discursive Practice: This level focuses on the aspects of text production, distribution, and consumption. The discussion here is how the UN Assembly context impacts the production and reception of speeches, and how they interlink with other texts and discourses related to the conflict.

Social Practice: This level looks into the wider social and cultural structures impinging on or impinged by the discourse. The question is to identify how the speeches reflect and, at the same time, might act to shape power dynamics, ideologies, and social realities related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Fairclough's model allows to go beyond a purely textual analysis to explore the complex interplay between language, discourse practices, and wider sociopolitical contexts within which these speeches take place.

2.1.2. Van Dijk's Ideological Square

The concept of the ideological square, as developed by Teun van Dijk, is of particular relevance to the analysis of political discourse in situations of conflict (van Dijk, 2006). This concept assumes that discourse will, within such situations, display a pattern of positive self-description along with negative other-description, characterized by four moves:

- Emphasize Our good properties/actions
- Emphasize Their bad properties/actions
- Mitigate Our bad properties/actions
- Mitigate Their good properties/actions

In applying this concept to Netanyahu's and Abbas's speeches, it will:

- Identify how each leader portrays the actions and motivations of their own side positively.
- Examine how they characterize the actions and intentions of the opposite side negatively.
- Analyze instances where they downplay or justify any negative actions by their own side.
- Look for cases where they minimize or ignore positive actions or intentions of the other side.

The combination of Critical Discourse Analysis, Fairclough's three-dimensional model, and Van Dijk's ideological square provides a robust theoretical framework from which to approach our analysis of Netanyahu's and Abbas's UN speeches. This will enable to look in detail at the linguistic features of the speeches, that is, the text dimension; consider how these speeches are produced and received in the context of the UN Assembly and broader discourse on conflict, that is, discursive practice.

The presented approaches complement one another in conducting an in-depth analysis beyond superficial interpretation. This framework enables to look critically at how language is used in the construction of power relations, justification of actions, and

construction of international perceptions of the conflict. Hence, this analysis contributes to a better understanding of the role political discourse plays in sustaining or resolving complex geopolitical conflicts.

3. METHODOLOGY

The approach in this critical discourse analysis will be qualitative in nature, which is based on a line-by-line detailed examination of the speeches delivered by Netanyahu and Abbas at the UN Assembly.

1. Data Collection
 - a) Primary sources: Full transcripts and video recordings of Netanyahu's and Abbas's speeches at the UN Assembly (Netanyahu, 2024; Abbas, 2024).
 - b) Secondary sources: UN documents, news reports, and academic articles relevant to the speeches and the conflict in general.
2. Analytical Framework
 - a) Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model
 - b) Van Dijk's Ideological Square
3. Analysis Procedures
 - a) Close reading and preliminary coding of the speech transcripts
 - b) Identification of central themes, rhetorical devices, and linguistic features
 - c) Application of Fairclough's model in the analysis of text, discursive practice, and social practice
 - d) Analysis of ideological strategies with Van Dijk's framework
 - e) Contextual analysis of situating the speeches within the socio-political background
 - f) Comparison between the two speeches in regard to the similarities and differences in discursive strategies

4. Limitations

While acknowledging the limitations of focusing on single speeches, this study provides a foundation for future research, including comparative analyses across time and speakers, and interdisciplinary approaches to conflict discourse.

4. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1. Discourse in Context: Fairclough's Integrated Analysis Model

This analytical framework rests on the three-dimensional model of Norman Fairclough, which offers a broad-based approach to discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2013). We take a look at the subtle speeches by Netanyahu and Abbas through these lens, and layers of linguistic complexity and social importance come to light.

Textual analysis of Netanyahu's speech exposes a carefully framed narrative of peace and security. His choice of words interweaves international cooperation with more pressing current concerns of terrorism. Throughout his speech, Netanyahu refers repeatedly to "Israel" in order to emphasize national identity, and with his emotive language, particularly in references to hostages and human costs, he creates a strong emotional resonance. His metaphorical framing of the challenges facing Israel as "multiple fronts" is a vivid depiction of a country facing complex security challenges. In contrast, Abbas' speech has a completely different linguistic landscape. His discourse is anchored in the language of human suffering and justice with strong references to casualties, destruction, and occupation. In this respect, the repeated reference to "Palestine" and "Palestinians" is not just a matter of reference points but assertions of national identity and legitimacy. Abbas reinforces his narrative with precise numerical data, documenting the scale of humanitarian crisis; meanwhile, words like "steadfast" and "homeland" evoke sentiments of resilience and territorial connection.

The discursive practice dimension reveals how these speeches, delivered from the prestigious platform of the UN General Assembly, target the global community as their primary audience. Both addresses represent carefully orchestrated diplomatic communications, likely shaped through extensive consultation with political advisors and diplomatic teams. Their distribution through various media channels – from live broadcasts to digital platforms – ensures their messages reach far beyond the immediate UN audience, shaping international discourse on the conflict.

These speeches both reflect and further solidify the already deeply embedded storytelling that defines the Israeli-Palestinian

conflict within this larger *social practice*. Netanyahu's speech worked to situate Israeli security within the narrative of international counter-terrorism, while Abbas placed Palestinian suffering in the frame of international humanitarian law and human rights discourse. The contrast between these narratives only highlighted the complexity of the issue and bore clear testimony to how language and discursive production shapes diplomatic relations and policy choices.

Through Fairclough's model, we see how these leaders use language not just as a tool of communication but as a strong tool in the construction of reality, claiming legitimacy, and influencing international opinion. Though different in perspective, their speeches also give a clear example of the complicated relationship between discourse, power, and social change in international relations.

4.2. "Us vs. Them": Van Dijk's Ideological Square

Teun A. van Dijk's ideological square concept provides a framework for analyzing how discourse is used to present a positive self-image and a negative other-image (van Dijk, 2006). This concept is particularly useful in examining political speeches where speakers aim to legitimize their own positions while delegitimizing those of their opponents. The ideological square consists of four main strategies:

- Emphasize Our good properties/actions
- Emphasize Their bad properties/actions
- Mitigate Our bad properties/actions
- Mitigate Their good properties/actions

Applying this framework to the speeches of Netanyahu and Abbas reveals the following:

Van Dijk's Ideological Square	Netanyahu's Speech	Abbas's Speech
Emphasize Our good properties/actions	Israel's military efforts have significantly degraded Hamas's capabilities." "Israel aims for a peace agreement with Saudi Arabia to foster broader regional stability."	Abbas declares, 'Palestine is our homeland' and vows to remain steadfast.'"Advocates for a two-state solution and the recognition of Palestinian statehood.'"Promises to mobilize international support for Palestinian rights and reconstruction efforts."
Emphasize Their bad properties/actions	"October 7th marked a significant attack by Hamas, leading to Israel's defense on multiple fronts.'"Iran's influence extends terrorism across the globe, threatening regional stability.'"Hostages taken by Hamas remain a priority for Israel, with ongoing efforts to secure their release."	"Over 40,000 Palestinians killed in Gaza due to Israeli actions, including many children.'"Entire families have been annihilated, with 75% of Gaza's infrastructure destroyed.'"Urges the international community to hold Israel accountable for war crimes."
Mitigate Our bad properties/actions	The speech does not explicitly mitigate any of Israel's bad properties or actions.	The speech does not explicitly mitigate any of the Palestinians' bad properties or actions.
Mitigate Their good properties/actions	The speech does not explicitly mitigate any of Hamas or Iran's good properties or actions.	The speech does not explicitly mitigate any of Israel's good properties or actions.

Table 1. Van Dijk's Ideological Square in Netanyahu's and Abbas's Speech

Analysis

Both Netanyahu and Abbas apply the ideological square concept in their speeches, though with a different focus:

1. Netanyahu's speech has an emphasis on the positive actions of Israel (seeking peace, military success) and negative actions of their opponents (Hamas attacks, Iran's influence). This corresponds to strategies 1 and 2 of the ideological square.
2. Abba's speech is mainly focused on Palestinian resilience and rights (strategy 1) and the bad actions of Israel (strategy 2). He puts much emphasis on the humanitarian crisis in Gaza and calls for international accountability.
3. Interestingly, neither speech explicitly uses strategies 3 and 4 (downplaying their own negative behavior or the opponent's positive behavior). This could be interpreted as a rhetorical move to keep the narrative clear and straightforward.
4. The lack of mitigation strategies can also be explained by the high stakes of the conflict and the speakers' wish to present their positions as unambiguously justified.

Using the concept of the ideological square by Van Dijk, we become aware of how the two leaders in this conflict discursively construct, develop, and maintain their ideological positions, legitimate their actions, and appeal for support from the international community.

5. DISCUSSION

From the Israeli perspective, security concerns dominate the narrative. Israel views its military actions as necessary to protect its citizens from rocket attacks and terrorism. The government and public opinion in Israel are often divided between those advocating for a hardline approach against Hamas and those supporting negotiations for a two-state solution. The threat of regional instability and hostility from neighboring countries also influences Israel's security policies.

Palestinians seek the establishment of an independent state in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem, territories occupied by Israel since 1967. The internal political landscape is divided, with the Palestinian Authority governing parts of the West Bank and Hamas controlling Gaza. Palestinians face daily challenges from occupation, including restrictions on movement, settlement expansion, and economic hardship, fueling their desire for sovereignty and self-determination.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The analysis of Netanyahu's and Abbas's UN speeches reveals stark contrasts in their rhetorical strategies and narrative framing. Netanyahu emphasizes Israel's security concerns and right to self-defense, while Abbas focuses on humanitarian issues and calls for international intervention. Based on the speeches of the two leaders, it follows that:

- Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is presented as aggressive and proud of his political actions.
 - Israel is committing genocide in Gaza and the casualty statistics there show it.
 - Israel is not ready for a long-term solution between the two peoples.
 - Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas proves through his dictionary that the Palestinian people are victims.
 - The Palestinians do not have adequate international support to protect the innocent lives that are being killed every day.
 - Palestine is ready to reach a two-state solution. It requires independence.
- These findings underscore the complex interplay of language, power, and ideology in shaping the discourse surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, revealing how high-level political rhetoric both reflects and reinforces entrenched positions and perspectives. Based on the analysis, the following recommendations can be made:
- Prioritize the pursuit of diplomatic solutions and an immediate ceasefire, with active international community involvement.
 - Strengthen regional cooperation and alliances, particularly focusing on normalizing relations between Israel and Arab states.
 - Address the urgent humanitarian crisis in Gaza through coordinated global efforts for aid and reconstruction. Pursue accountability and justice for alleged war crimes through international institutions.
 - Advance the two-state solution by fostering mutual recognition and addressing underlying issues. Enhance global cooperation to address security challenges and support a sustainable resolution to the conflict.

These recommendations aim to provide a comprehensive approach to resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, balancing immediate humanitarian needs with long-term political and security considerations, while emphasizing the importance of international support.

REFERENCES

- 1) Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Routledge.
- 2) Gelvin, J. L. (2014). *The Israel-Palestine conflict: One hundred years of war*. Cambridge University Press.
- 3) OCHA. (2024). *Hostilities in the Gaza Strip and Israel | Situation Report No. 75*. Retrieved from <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-flash-update-75>
- 4) Shlaim, A. (2014). *The iron wall: Israel and the Arab world*. Penguin UK.
- 5) United Nations. (n.d.). *Statement by the Observer Delegation of Palestine to the United Nations at the 57th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women*. Retrieved January 6, 2025, from <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw57/generaldiscussion/observers/palestine%20En.PDF>
- 6) United Nations. (2024). *General Assembly Official Records, Seventy-eighth session*. Available from <https://www.un.org/en/ga/78/meetings/>
- 7) United Nations. (2024, September 22). *At UN, Israeli and Palestinian leaders trade accusations, but agree two-State solution only path to peace*. UN News. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/09/1154936>
- 8) United Nations. (2024, September 23). *UN chief calls for 'immediate humanitarian ceasefire' in Gaza*. UN News. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/09/1155031>
- 9) van Dijk, T. A. (2006). *Ideology and discourse analysis*. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11(2), 115-140.
- 10) van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and power*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- 11) Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (Eds.). (2015). *Methods of critical discourse studies* (3rd ed.). Sage.

JMTSS

**Journal Of Modern Trends
in Social Sciences**

ISSN 2955-2435

Volume 1, Issue2, 2025