



Emotiveness, Neutrality, and Ideology In Newspaper Coverage Of the 2009 Gaza War

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Dedication

There are a number of people without whom this thesis might not have been completed and to whom I am greatly indebted.

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Abstract

This study was conducted for the purpose of showing the role of ideological stance in determining the writer's/speaker's lexical and semantic choices in interpreting the event of shelling Gaza by the Israeli forces. For this purpose a number of Arabic newspapers which dealt with the event were selected and analyzed in terms of emotiveness, neutrality and ideological thought patterns. The analysis was based mainly on Halliday's (1983) theory of transitivity and Leech's (1985) views of the role of thematisation in reflecting the speaker's/ writer's perspectives of the world of discourse.

The analysis showed two different perspectives and therefore, different interpretations of the event. The Arabic texts adopted, on the whole, a stance expressive of historical and religious background. They take sides with the Gazans and consider them victims of an aggressive war, brutal and unjustified. This appears at both the semantic and syntactic choices that show in the texts.

The English texts, on the other hand, take sides, with the Israelis and place all the blame on the Palestinians who threaten the Israeli citizens with their rockets. They consider the Israeli invasion against Gaza a justified response and an acceptable reaction. This also shows in the semantic and syntactic choices which serve the purposes of the writers.

Chapter One

Theoretical background

1.1. Introduction:

This study is based on two approaches: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). The data consist of some Arabic and English editorials which deal with the Gaza war of 2008-2009. It aims to reveal the ideologies which motivated the writers of these editorials and to point out the way such ideologies are expressed. The analysis also aims to show the effectiveness of language in serving the writers' views and beliefs.

Essential to this study are the following notions which hold close relevance to the topic: discourse, critical discourse analysis, emotiveness, ideology, and systemic functional grammar. Below is a brief elaboration on each.

1.2. Discourse:

Language is vital for people to convey and express their emotions, thoughts, and attitudes about or towards events and facts. Sapir (1921:8) argues that:

“Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols”.

Language performs many communicative functions and perhaps the most important of these is the communication of views. In this context, language is a means or a tool by which people express their attitudes towards social, cultural, political and religious matters.

Discourse has been defined by Mills (1997:11). She says: “Discourse is not a disembodied collection of statements which are enacted within a social context, which are determined by that social context and which contribute to the way that social context continues its existence”

Mills (ibid) focuses on the social context of discourse. In other words, the analysis of discourse cannot be separated from the social context because this *context* determines the discourse writer’s /speaker’s meanings and the linguistic tools which convey them.

1.2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis:

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been dealt with by many scholars: Fairclough (1992, 1995ba, 1995b, 2003), Fowler (1991), Hodge and Kress (1996) Van Dijk (1988, 1993, and 1996), Brown and Yule (1983) and Wodak and Chitto(2005).

In this context, Brown and Yule (1983:1) argue that:

“the analysis of discourse is, necessarily ,the analysis of language in use. As such it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes and functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs”

The analysis of discourse, according to Brown and Yule, is related to the purpose of the discourse producer. It is not merely a descriptive act in which a combination of linguistic units is analyzed. Discourse analysis highlights the functionality of language which serves the attitudes of its producers.

Mills (1997: 135) says that:
“discourse analysis is concerned with translating the notion of structure from the level of the sentence, i.e., grammatical relations such as subject-verb-object, to the level longer.”

She states that discourse analysis is not an analysis of the basic units of the sentence, it goes beyond that.

Discourse analysis is divided into two types as Fairclough (1992) views it: one type takes the non-critical viewpoint, while the other adopts the critical perspective. The latter focuses on two elements: relations of power, and ideologies that shape the social identities and identify relationships.

The term Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was first introduced by Fowler et al (1979) who believe that discourse does not only reflect social processes but also re-produces existing social structures. In the same context, Fairclough (1992) views discourse not only as a product or reflection of social processes, but also a production or re-production of these processes. So, discourse analysis is not merely a descriptive approach; it is a combination of those descriptive strategies used in the

approach in addition to explaining how and why some discourses are produced or re-produced. Halliday (1985) states that in discourse analysis, analysts aim either to understand the text or to evaluate it. The former level of exploring text is considered the lower level which relates to the text with its main linguistic features to reveal, in the process of analyzing, the multiple meanings, alternatives and ambiguities. Whereas the aim of the latter is to investigate the environment of the text, its 'context of situation' and 'context of culture' and the effectiveness of the text. The objective of Critical Discourse Analysis, as Fairclough (1989) says, is to reveal the ideology that is hidden in the words and expressions used in a written or spoken text. CDA, as Fairclough (1995a) argues, aims at exploring the relationships, social and cultural, structures and processes, underlying discourse which are not transparent, i.e., hidden, in addition to its role in maintaining power and hegemony.

1.3. Emotiveness

Shunnaq (1992) writes that the language used by a magazine or a newspaper is not linguistically homogeneous. The language of papers varies according to the context and the nature of the news script. According to him, each text type has its own linguistic features. However, the language of papers is not necessarily different in every aspect; some papers might have linguistic features in common. Yet, different newspapers use different linguistic categories. Some writers intentionally

play upon words in a way that serves their intended purposes (hidden ideology). Writers design their discourse action and steer the situation towards their goals.

On the linguistic level, emotiveness is related to the interpersonal metafunction (Halliday1978:187) which allows the communicators to choose their lexical items and phrases to serve a certain function, for example:

“(i) to offer opposition, (ii) pitched in a particular key (e.g. contradictory-defensive), (iii) with a particular intent towards you [the addressee] (e.g. of convincing you), (iv) with a particular assessment of its probability (e.g. certain) and (v.) with indication of a particular attitude (e.g. regretful)”

The *interpersonal function* refers to" all use of language to express social and personal relations" (Halliday 1973: 41). The interpersonal function serves the writer's intentions and the direction in which s(he) wants to steer the readers to. It is what Grice (1978: 58) states:

"a text producer who means something by a text intends the utterance of the text to produce some effect on an audience by means of the recognition of this intention"

Text producers use specific lexical items which have attitudinal values to be transmitted to their readers in order to serve a specific ideology. They either achieve their purposes directly or indirectly, making use of certain different ways such as *emotive* structures and lexical items.

1.4. Neutrality

This concerns the writer's /speaker's stance towards the communicative event. When (s)he keeps a distance from the event or the topic and deals with it as an observer, not as a participant involved in the event. The text recipient can note the writer's/speaker's neutrality via noting the linguistic instruments (s)he employs in the process of expressing his/her ideas.

1.5. Ideology:

Because of the relevance of this notion to the present study, ideology will be presented as viewed by a number of researchers.

Hall (1996:26) defines ideology as:

“the mental frameworks, i.e. the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation”

Van Dijk (1996:7) argues that:

"Ideologies are conceived as basic systems of shared social representations that control specific group beliefs (knowledge, attitudes) and influence models via the instantiation of such beliefs in concrete models of situations and expressions. Ideologies, themselves, have to be inferred from more directly observable structures, cognition, interaction and society."

Fairclough (1995b:14) maintains that:

"ideologies are propositions that generally figure as implicit assumptions in texts, which contribute to producing unequal relations of power, and relation of domination. They may be implicit, for instance, in the presuppositions (taken-for-granted assumptions) of texts...ideologies are also implicit in naturalized ways of organizing particular types of interaction"

He (ibid) also defines ideologies as:

“representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation”

Van Dijk (1995:248) views ideology as follows:

"Ideologies are basic frameworks of social cognition, shared by members of social groups, constituted by relevant selections of sociocultural values, and organized by an ideological schema that represents the self-definition of a group. Besides their social function of sustaining the interests of groups, ideologies have the cognitive function of organizing the social representations (attitudes, knowledge) of the group, and thus indirectly monitor the group-related social practices, and hence also the text and talk of members".

He also adds that there is a connection between ideologies and ways of expressing them; ideologies are largely expressed and acquired by discourse, that is, by spoken or written communicative interaction.

2. Systemic Functional Grammar:

Halliday (1985: xxxii) writes:

“You cannot interpret a text in its context of culture without an overall picture of the grammar through which it is encoded”.

So, in order to understand or interpret discourse we need to explain it in terms of grammar, or ‘Functional Grammar’, in specific.

Fowler (1991:68) says that:

"the best model for examining the connections between linguistic structure and social values is the functional model developed by Halliday (1978) and his colleagues".

In this context, Eggins (2004:3) states:

- 1) that language use is functional;
- 2) that its function is to make meanings;
- 3) that these meanings are influenced by the social and cultural context in which they are exchanged;
- 4) that the process of using language is a semiotic process, a process of making meanings by choosing.

Halliday (1985, p. xiv) explains that:

“Systemic theory is a theory of meaning as choice, by which a language, or any other semiotic system, is interpreted as networks of interlocking options: ‘either this, or that, or the other’, and so on. [...] it means starting with the most general features and proceeding step by step so as to become ever more specific: ‘a message is either about doing, or about thinking , or about being; if it is about doing , this is either plain action or action on something”

Schiffrin (1994:32) views functional approaches as follows:

“Functionally based approaches tend to draw upon a variety of methods of analysis, often including not just quantitative method drawn from social scientific approaches, but also more humanistically -based interpretive efforts to replicate actors’ own purposes or goals”

She adds:

“Not surprisingly, they rely less upon the strictly grammatical characteristics of utterances as sentences, than upon the way utterances are situated in contexts”.

She relates discourse to the intended message language users want to convey, or to their hidden ideology:

“Thus, functional analysis focuses on how people use language to different ends: they are typically concerned less with the way people intend what they say to serve referential meanings (to convey propositional information) and more with the unintended social,cultural,and expressive meanings stemming from how their utterances are situated in contexts”

Critical Discourse Analysis is related to Systemic Functional Grammar since the latter is concerned with exploring the functions of language and investigating the choice of grammatical structures in a specific context.

According to Eggins (2004:3) systemic functional grammar attempts to answer the following questions:

- "1. Can we differentiate between types of meanings in language? i.e. how many different sorts of meaning do we use language to make?
2. How are texts (and other linguistic units which make them up, such as sentences or clauses) structured so that meanings can be made?"

So, the way language is structured and presented makes difference in the intended meaning of the speaker.

Functional Grammar, as Halliday (ibid: xiii) presents it specifies three major functions of language :1)ideational 2)interpersonal 3)textual.

The *Ideational Metafunction*: here the writer embodies and manifests in the language (s) he uses his/her experience, perception, consciousness and linguistic acts of understanding. To this effect, Bloor and Bloor (1995:9) argue that:

“language is used to organize, understand and express our perceptions of the world and our consciousness. This function of language is subdivided into two sub-functions: the experiential and the logical”.

The former function is largely concerned with content or idea, while the latter is concerned with the relationship between ideas and how ideas are presented in the text,i.e. how the text is designed to expose the writer's/speaker's goals.

The *Interpersonal metafunction*: here language users present and express their attitudes, comments, etc. Also, it sets up the relation between the writer/speaker and the receiver, bearing in mind the intention of the writer/speaker to inform, persuade or question. Bloor and Bloor (ibid) identify the interpersonal function of language and suggest that language can provide us with what is needed or necessary to participate in communicative acts with others and to understand and express others' feelings, judgments, and attitudes.

The *textual metafunction* is concerned with the way language is ordered and organized. This includes thematization in texts; that is, the way the

content of the text is presented has to do with writer's /speaker's intention or perspective.

The context of the situation consists of 3 categories: field, Tenor, and Mode. These categories coincide with Halliday's metafunctions, (Martin 2001:152) whereby Field refers to "what is going on", that is the *ideational metafunction*. Tenor refers to "the way you relate to other people when doing what you do", or what is called the *interpersonal metafunction*; Mode refers to "the channel you select to communicate" or what is called the textual metafunction.

In this context, David Crystal (2003) relates the choice of our language to the purpose and effects of this choice on the audience, under the title of Pragmatics as:

"Pragmatics studies the factors that govern our choice of language in social interaction and the effects of our choice on others."

Pragmatics is a subfield of Linguistics which studies the ways in which context contributes to meaning and this is what CDA presents as *the context of the situation*.

It studies how the transmission of meaning depends not only on the linguistic knowledge (e.g. grammar, lexicon etc.) of the speaker and listener, but also on the context of the utterance, knowledge about the status of those involved, the inferred intent of the speaker, and so on. In this respect, pragmatics explains how language users are able to

overcome apparent ambiguity, since meaning relies on the manner, place, time etc. of an utterance.

2.1. Transitivity

Transitivity deals mainly with the clause and how meaning is represented in it. It shows how language users encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them. It means, according to Halliday (1985:101) 'representation' of the experience of language users. It is a fundamental property of language in that:

"it enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them"
(Halliday 1994:106)

The main principles of Transitivity are those related to causality in which we refer to who did what to whom, why, how, and where. Accordingly, the representation of discourse can show bias, truth, and ideology in media discourse. As Fairclough (1992a:181) points out:

"An issue which is always important is whether agency, causality, and responsibility are made explicit or left vague in media accounts of important events."

That is, the way media presents news is highly significant in showing bias or neutrality, via direct or indirect presentations of events.

“Transitivity is a model concerned with propositional meaning (Ideational metafunction, or Field) and functions of syntactic elements. It provides levels for uncovering what social, cultural, ideological, or political factors determine how a process is signified linguistically in a particular type of discourse or in a particular text” (Fairclough 1992a:179-180).

According to Halliday (ibid: 107), the clause is the basic unit of analysis. It represents:

- a. *the process*: which is made of the verbal group in the clause, and it can be material, verbal, or mental.
- b. *the participants*: who play roles through actions, events, or states of affairs named by a verb, and in discourse they are studied in relation to whether they are actors, goals, sensors, carriers, identified and identifiers.
- c. *the circumstances*: these are expressed by adverbial and prepositional phrases, and they are associated with the place , time , or manner of carrying out the process.

These processes are presented in table 1 below:

Table1. Process types (from Halliday 1994:143)

Process types	Examples
<i>Material</i>	<i>Actional</i>
Action	The teacher punished the pupil.
Event	The nurse resigned.
Behavioral	The girl smiled at the boy.
<i>Mental</i>	
Perception	He realized the problem.
Affection	He liked the university.
Cognition	She believed the story.
<i>Verbal</i>	She said please come again.
Relational	
Attribution	She is intelligent.
Identification	Laila is the new teacher.
Existential	There was a big fuss yesterday.

2.2 Thematisation

Halliday (1985:38) defines theme as:

“the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned. The remainder of the message, the part in which the theme is developed, is called in Prague School terminology the Rheme”

Brown and Yule (1983:125) explain the way “departure point”, i.e.

‘theme’ in a speaker’s / writer’s discourse can influence the recipient:

“When he orders these single words into sentences, and those sentences into texts, he confronts what has come to be called the ‘linearization problem’. He has to choose a beginning point; this point will influence the

hearer's/reader's interpretation of everything that follows in the discourse since it will constitute the initial textual context for everything that follows".

Here, the writer should be aware of the way (s) he organizes the content of his/her sentences, when he wants to steer the audience's attention towards a specific event, in the way he sees most effective.

Brown and Yule (ibid) present an example to explain how the beginning point 'departure point' (theme) can influence the readers' impression and reaction. They present two different themes in each of the examples provided, with the same following sentence (p.125)

“(1) a. I cannot stand Sally Binns. She is tall and thin and walks like a crane.

b. I do admire Sally Binns. She is tall and thin and walks like a crane.”

“In *a* the attributes ‘tall’ and ‘thin’ and ‘walks like a crane’ must be assumed to be unattractive, awkward, ungainly. In *b* those same properties are endowed with elegance and grace. Though it is the same sentence: ‘she is tall and thin and walks like a crane’, the two different preceding sentences ‘I cannot stand Sally Bins’, ‘I do admire Sally Bins’, respectively, show that the same qualities of Sally Bins are negative in the first example, and highly positive in the second. The ‘beginning

point' or the beginning sentence is highly significant to judge what comes next in the same text.

Levelt (1981:91) affirms that such a sequence will influence the readers /listeners:

“the listener can be expected to derive different implicatures from orderings”.

He provides an example to illustrate the 'ordering' significance:

- a. She married and became pregnant.
- b. She became pregnant and married.

In the above sentences, the ordering of sentence elements shows a clear difference between them, due to different thematizing. If this applies in a context of the Arab world, sentence *b* indicates an illegal act of the female ‘she’, due to her pregnancy before marriage, while such a sequence would perhaps be insignificant in other cultures.

Chapter Two

Review of Related Literature

In this chapter, the researcher will review studies relevant to the present research. The aim is to benefit from previous studies in different contexts and on different occasions.

Oktar (2001) studies ideology and discourse with reference to editorials. In her study, she reveals how Islamic traditionalist discourses and secular modernists' discourses are presented as '*us*' and '*them*', displaying the ideological struggle between the two parties. The study points to people's use of 'strategic inferences' which enable them to relate cognitive models to secularists and Islamists in the Turkish media, with reference to the ideological basis of the Turkish society.

She (ibid: 313-346) relates Turkish different discourses to the use of the contextual strategy of 'positive self-presentation' and 'negative other presentation'. Also she lists the findings of the ideological analysis of the editorials as follows:

- express/emphasize information that is 'positive' about '*us*'.
- express/emphasize information that is negative about '*them*'
- suppress/de-emphasize information that is 'positive' about '*them*'.
- suppress/de-emphasize information that is 'negative' about '*us*'.

The analysis investigates the relational processes of the descriptions of both parties, who in their turn present the 'other' as a threat to them.

She concludes that each of the Islamists and the Secularists seem to be saying: " *they* must accept *our* values and principles; *they* should live and behave as *we* do so that *they* do not disturb *us*."

Le (2002:373-408) investigates editorials on Russia published by the French newspaper, *Le Monde*, during the Chechen war. In the study, the way the text is presented in a hierarchal structure reveals the ideology of the editorial. He depends on linguistic models to reveal the editorials' ideology, and on basis of which he concludes that the *Le Monde's* discourse seems critical of the Russian violations concerning human rights of the Chechnya's people. *Le Monde's* discourse seems to present the French national identity against the Russian identity; journalists from three Russian dailies (Izvestija, Segodnja, and Nezavisimaja Gazeta) seem to have perceived this discourse as a media war against their own national identity. The researcher shows how the French editorial is biased through the use of some linguistic devices and structures and gives a clear indication of the attitudes and hidden ideology the writer of each editorial is trying to express.

Van Dijk (1996:7-35) analyzed editorials of *New York Times* which discussed the Bosnian situation. The event, which the editorials investigate, was the opposition of the United States' government towards the regime of Yugoslavia. The analysis shows that the newspaper editor was in support of the American ideologies and attitudes, and that he was not only presenting mere opinions or discussions. His study is based on linguistic analysis: studying linguistic structure, intertextual relations, the writer's intentions as expressed linguistically and semantically and their effect on the audience. This analysis aimed at showing how language reveals the underlying ideologies.

Thetela (2001:347:70) investigates the issue of critical discourses by emphasizing the question of discourse blame in South African newspapers' coverage of the South Africa development community. In the study, the researcher investigates different perceptions of opinions, feelings, attitudes.etc. about South Africa's involvement in the conflict. He also focuses on how such perceptions are encoded in ideologically-based patterns as follows:

- transitivity choices: the focus on material, relational, and verbal processes.
- lexical choices: e.g. to say 'freedom fighter' or 'terrorist'.
- Metaphorical choices: the use of metaphor which shows double meaning.

-intertextual techniques through narrative and discursive methods to bring multiple voices from outside the newsroom to the journalistic constructions of news stories.

He (ibid) concludes that the differences between the newspaper reports are viewed as presenting two classes of group identities which are expressed ideologically as us-them opposition.

Fowler (1991) analyzes some of the major news stories of the Thatcher decade including the American bombing of Libya in 1986. The analysis focuses on the structure of the tabloids which hold schemata so biased against Libya and its leader. The analysis shows that the ideology in the related discourse is shown to mock, accuse and downgrade Libya and its leader.

Van Dijk (1988a) studies the media coverage of the assassination of Bashir Gamiel (Lebanon) from different newspapers of the world. The study investigates how the event of Gamiel's assassination affects the people's attitudes in different parts of the world toward the country, and how ideologies are perceived. Van Dijk concludes that due to adopting the western media sources in its coverage, the media coverage has not been neutral and has also shown a tendency to apply the western ideological views on this event.

Obeidat (2001) analyzes reports from the internet, extracted from two famous newspapers in the U.S.A. *New York Times* and the *Washington*

Post. The researcher focuses on news editorials about Al Aqsa Apprising. He finds that the editorials were biased against the Palestinian people. This has been investigated through using two approaches which are 'Systemic Functional Grammar' and 'Critical Discourse Analysis'. The researcher depends on the three metafunctions of language: the textual, the ideational, and the interpersonal. He concludes that the editorials draw attention to certain participants in the news reports, and intentionally ignore the others i.e. the Palestinians.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter discusses the procedures the study followed in collecting and analyzing the data. The data are based on six articles, three for Arab columnists and the other three for non-Arab columnists. The data deal with texts written in reaction to the Israeli invasion on Gaza in 2009.

The selection of these articles targets the main features which distinguish the way the two groups of editorials deal with the topic and how they present it.

3.1 The Sample of the Study

The sample of the study consists of a number of quotations selected from the six articles, wherein emotiveness, neutrality, and ideological expression are presented. The sample consists of extractions from three Arabic and three English editorials dealing with the Israeli invasion of Gaza.

3.2. Statement of the problem

The related literature shows that there is not enough research on media bias in connection with the Arab-Israeli conflict. Media bias concerning different issues has been discussed at large, but there is paucity of studies related to Arab-Israeli dispute, especially those relevant to the Palestinian case, and in particular that related to Gaza.

3.3. Purpose of the study:

The purpose of this study is to analyze and identify the main linguistic features of Arabic and of foreign newspapers that addressed the event of the invasion of Gaza in the year 2009. The study focuses on the way ideologies find expression in the selected articles. Further, the study will point out how emotive overtones in the articles are expressed and how they serve the purposes of the writers.

3.4. Limitations of the study

The study limits itself to the six articles (see appendix) and will focus only on the linguistic features which express ideological stances of the writers. The researcher takes no sides and the main motivation is academic in the first place.

3.5. Significance of the study

This study could be the first that undertakes to analyze texts written by Arab and non-Arab columnists on an issue which attracted the

attention and concern of the whole world. The study, therefore, will attempt to reach to the ideologies and thoughts which underlie the surface structure of the texts. Furthermore, it will point out the linguistic configuration of such ideologies and explain the way language can serve ideologies, and ideologized discourse. Therefore, this study can be considered a contribution to CDA of Arab-related ideological discourse.

3.6.Data collection

The English articles appeared in Western newspapers: *The Independent*, *The Guardian*, *New York Times*, and *the Washington Post*. The Arabic articles appeared in Arabic newspapers: *Al Quds Al Arabi*, *Al Ra'i* (Jordan), *Al Dustour* (Jordan), and *Al Qabas*(Kuwait).

3.7. Data analysis:

The analysis will be based on the principles of critical discourse analysis (CDA), transitivity theory, and the notion of foregrounding and thematisation.

Chapter Four

Analysis and Discussion

This chapter investigates some articles that commented on the Israeli invasion of Gaza. As mentioned previously, the articles appeared in Arabic newspapers and English-speaking ones in non Arab countries. The analysis will be performed at four discoursal levels:

1. The topic as represented in macro-structures (e.g. titles or headlines)
2. lexical choices
3. transitivity: the verb group
4. emotiveness and modality.

4.1. Topics

Van Dijk (1998b) states that analyzing any news story should be implemented on two levels: microstructure and macrostructure. The analysis of microstructure is related to the semantic relations among propositions, syntactic, lexical, and other elements which provide coherence in a text. Macrostructure analysis, on the other hand, relates to the thematic/topic structure of the news stories and their overall schemata. Themes or topics are propositions which relate together to form macro propositions. According to Van Dijk (1998b), macro propositions are derived from propositions through the processes of generalization, selection and construction. Furthermore, he sees that themes and topics are realized through headlines, and accordingly they represent the most important information expressed in the whole text.

Van Dijk (1995:84) argues that:

“First paragraphs are used to build all macro propositions, to confirm (or reject) the initial macro-assumptions of the reader and to further extend the macrostructure and the model of the text”

In other words, the first paragraph of the text is an important part of the news story as it establishes the main theme and gives information about the basic facts and participants involved in the event.

On basis of the above views, all the headlines in the sample articles were investigated thoroughly.

4.1.1 Arabic Newspapers Topics

Below are some of the topics of the articles which appeared in the Arabic newspapers as expressed in the headlines:

- a. "الأهداف الإسرائيلية من العدوان" (app.1)
- b. "غزة تفصح عرب التواطؤ" (app.2)
- c. "غطاء عربي لمجزرة غزة" (app.3)
- d. "غزة الغارقة بالدم والهدف أبعد من صواريخ حماس" (app.4)
- e. "مذبحة غزة تتكرر" "غزة وحيدة أمام العدوان" (app.5).

The headlines refer to the war against Gaza as 'the assault' 'the massacre' and also signal a conspiracy which involves Arab regimes against Gaza, thus revealing an ideological stance underlying the Arab regimes' stance and at the same time allude to ideologies pertaining to the editorials' writers.

Gaza in these headlines is pictured as the 'victim' through the use of emotive expressions such as: 'مذبحة', 'مجزرة': 'slaughter', 'massacre' and 'وحيدة': 'alone', respectively. Such words are meant to expose the Israeli attack and to depict it as brutal and anti-human with regard to its behavior in the war.

So, the topics as revealed in the headlines highlight two views: the Gazan people as victims, and the Israelis as brutal and aggressive.

4.1.2. English-speaking Newspapers' Topics

English-speaking newspapers seem to have adopted a different perspective, as displayed in the headlines which highlight the major topic: the Gaza war, but from a different perspective.

a." Hamas is the obstacle to Middle East peace" "Israel's critics have got it wrong-extremists in Gaza must be defeated before a better future can be built ,writes Ron Prosor,Israel's Ambassador to the UK".(app.1)

b."Inside Gaza's secret smuggling tunnels, the underground route to riches-or to death."(app.2)

c."A ceasefire would be in Israel's interests" "when Israel began its assault on Gaza a fortnight ago, we made the point that much of the responsibility lay with Hamas."(app.3)

d."Hamas rockets block the birth of a Palestinian state" (app.4)

The non-Arab newspapers seem to be more supportive of the war against Gaza, blaming the authority of Gaza, Hamas, as being the main cause of the Israeli's attack. "Hamas is the ***obstacle*** to Middle East ***peace***", thus presenting Hamas as being a blockade to peace and the realization of Palestinian dreams. Also, they, Hamas members, are referred to as extremists: acting beyond the norms, with wrong acts which cause harm to others, and must be defeated, in order for the people of Gaza to have a better future. Their existence and beliefs are to be changed or replaced if the people there seek a solution for their miserable life.

The combining of 'secret', 'tunnels' and 'smuggling' indicates a negative connotation and illegal endeavors attributed to the Gazans.

Further, the use of 'secret', 'tunnels', 'smuggling', 'block the birth of a Palestinian state' furnish a political and ideological background that depicts the Israeli invasion as 'necessary' and justifiable. The above headlines call for a bitter criticism of the Hamas policy. This shows in the editorials' employment of lexical items fraught in negative connotations, and uncover an anti-Gazan ideology.

In the third example (app.3), the writer presents Israel as the peace-initiator who is ready for any movement towards ceasefire. While "Hamas" is the party which is to blame for the "assault" Israel had started a fortnight ago. *"when Israel began its assault on Gaza a fortnight ago, we made the point that much of the responsibility lay with Hamas."*

"A ceasefire would be in Israel's interests"

Here, the writer highlights the assault of Israel; yet, he followed this presentation by the "cause": *"we made the point that much of the responsibility lay with Hamas";* that is, "Hamas's responsibility" which seems here as 'the motive which lies behind Israel's assault and its motivator at the same time.

The writer in the fourth headline (app.4) clearly states that the violent acts which Hamas has done against Israel through using rockets ,is mainly the key reason behind demolishing Palestinians' dream of an

independent state. Such a title might motivate readers to think of Hamas not only as the barrier that keeps off help from Gaza, but also a demolisher of Palestinians' dream wherever they are.

With headlines consistently referring to Hamas as the “obstacle”, “responsible for the crisis” or initiator of illegal acts such as “smuggling”, Hamas must be considered a threat to peace. This is intended to convey a clear message to the readers that Israel would not have retaliated so violently Unless Hamas had behaved as a peace threat and security violator.

4.2. Lexical Choices

Lexical items frame a particular ideological presentation of events. Vocabulary has expressive values implying the producer's negative or positive evaluation of the events, actions, or participants (Fairclough, 1989). So, what the writer chooses in his/her text can be regarded as an indication of an ideological background.

In both Arab and non-Arab newspapers, the writers use emotive expressions in order to serve their ideological stance whether directly, or indirectly.

In this section the semantic and pragmatic implications of lexical items the writers employed to present their stance will be discussed. The aim is to show that lexical choices are in fact decisions taken by the writers to mirror their views and perspectives.

4.2.1. Arabic newspapers lexical choices

The following section is going to be divided into four main categories:

- a) items that relate to the UN's laws regarding the people whose land is occupied;
- b) items that invoke human feelings and human rights;
- c) items that invoke the reaction of Israel as to their inhuman treatment in Europe;
- d) items that invoke religious beliefs in the Arab-Muslim world.

4.2.1.1. items that relate to the UN's laws towards the people whose land is occupied

Below is a sample of lexical items the writers used (appendix 1):

- a. *"المستعمر":the colonizer*, *"المقاومة":resistance*;
- b. *"المقاومون هم من أبناء الشعب"*; *"bombing civilians"*; *"ويقصف المدنيين"*:
"the resistants are from the people of the country";
- c. *"لأن غزة عبارة عن معسكر اعتقال مكتظ ومزدحم ومغلق"*: *"because Gaza is like a concentration camp, crowded and closed"*;
- d. *"لا يمكن للحرب على غزة إلا أن تكون جريمة حرب"*: *"this war against Gaza cannot be but a war crime"*
- e. *"بل يعتبرها جريمة ضد المدنيين"*: *"But it considers this a crime against civilians"*
- f. *"هذه الحرب لا تحظى بشرعية"*: *"this war does not enjoy legitimacy"*

g. "عندما يقوم بمحاربة المقاومة ويقصف المدنيين والناس دون تمييز":

"The bombing of civilians and the people without discrimination when the fight against resistance"

The writer tries to address the international community's conscience towards the Gazan people and also to show that Israel cannot be justified in this war. He focuses on the initiator of the war (Israel) and presents it as the colonizer of the land "المستعمر" and therefore they, according to the UN laws, are violators of the human rights pertaining to those whose lands are still occupied by military force.

The use of 'المقاومون': 'resistance fighters' reinforces the writer's ideology of the Gazan people's right to defend themselves and that the missiles they launch against Israel are but a reaction to the aggressive acts of the 'occupier'. At the same time, he draws attention to the UN laws which legitimize national resistance against occupation.

The writer describes the Gazan people as victims who face terrible living conditions and being the target(s) of an aggressive war. He describes them as 'civilians': 'المدنيين' who live in a 'concentration camp': 'معسكر اعتقال' which is 'crowded and closed': 'مزدحم و مغلق', a place which UN laws do not consider convenient for humans to live in. In other words, the writer brings to focus the social and environmental conditions of the people in Gaza, implying that living in such conditions will

certainly lead them to fight for better living conditions- conditions that fit their aspirations as humans under occupation.

Aside from describing the war and the party that started it, he also goes further to arouse the readers' support through describing the place in which the Gazan people live as 'مخيم لاجئين': 'refugee camp', together with what such a place may imply as regards the standards of living: crowding of space, paucity of social and health services, etc.

The use of "جريمة حرب": "war crime" also has a specific impact on the reader. It relates overuse of military force by the Israelis which violates the UN and Human Rights laws. The writer wants to remind the international community of their responsibility towards protecting the Gazans from a 'brutal' invasion which destroys Gaza.

Appendices 2, 3, 4, and 5 highlight the notions of 'أهداف مدنية' (civilian targets), 'رجال المقاومة', 'imprisoned people', 'شعب مسجون', 'resistance men', 'الضمير', 'siege and extermination', 'الحصار والإبادة', 'العالمي', 'world conscience'. The aim, as it seems, is to present the case of the Gazans as a people suffering from the siege Israel has been imposing on them, depriving them of their right to peacefully live and to travel freely, let alone screening every commodity that they may need to import across the borders. Besides, the above expressions, and many similar ones, aim to establish connection between what Israel has been doing

against the Gazans and its violation of the international laws and values by shelling civilian institutions, e.g. schools. There is also an indirect signal that the Israelis are committing massacres against the civilians in the same way massacres were committed against them by the Nazis.

4.2.1.2. items that invoke human feelings and remind of human rights

One of the techniques the writers employed in expressing their own perspectives towards the event is deploying a host of emotive elements that may elicit support for the Gazan people in their plight. Below are some examples to illustrate the point:

- a. “بالحصار التجويعي”; "*siege of starvation*";
- b. “أطفاله الذين سقطوا”; "*children who have fallen*".
- c. “القصف الوحشي”; "*barbaric bombing*".

The writer tries to invoke human support through the use of items such as: “أطفاله الذين سقطوا”: “its children who were killed”. He makes it clear that children are the main target in this war, and the casualties are not only militants. Focusing on ‘children’ as a victim of the attack aims to invoke help for the Gazans and condemnation of the invasion as the major sufferers are innocent children.

The use of the item “الحصار التجويعي”: “siege of starving out” shows the terrible circumstances which the people in Gaza were forced to face

and live with. The siege which has been imposed on Gaza deprived the people there from the basic human daily needs, viz, food.

Appendix (3) demonstrates the inhuman bombing on Gazan people and shows how this war will affect them later as follows:

- a. “تواصل إلقاء حممها على المدنيين”: *"it continues to throw down its lava (missiles) on civilians "*
- b. “قتل الأبرياء”: *"killing innocent people"*
- c. “صور أطفال غزة الشهداء”: *" Photos of the martyrs of Gaza children"*
- d. “الذين حولت الصواريخ الإسرائيلية أجسادهم الغضة إلى أشلاء”: *"Whom the Israeli missiles turned their tender bodies into pieces"*
- f. “يرون الأطفال الفلسطينيين يُبادون بصواريخ وطائرات”: *"They see Palestinian children being exterminated with missiles and aircraft"*
- g. “سيتحولون إلى معاقين جسدياً ومصابين بأمراض نفسية مزمنة”: *"who would turn to physically-disabled people and infected with chronic mental illness"*

The writer highlights the main victims of the Israeli bombing of the Palestinian camps and cities. He aims to say that this war does not discriminate between those who launch rockets against Israel and those civilians, including children, who are innocent and have no role in the military hostilities. It is clear that the writer keeps into focus the notion of killing children, who are protected by international laws. Thus he brings to the fore pictures of bodies of children torn into pieces, and those who escaped death have become physically disabled, or suffering permanent psychological disorders.

4.2.1.3. items that remind the Israelis of their suffering and humiliation in Europe:

There are references to the way Israelis (the Jews) were treated years ago in European countries. The aim is to remind them of those days and to pose the question: how come that you are exercising repression and killing of innocent people and forgetting that you were treated similarly by others?

In appendix (1) the columnist uses a strong direct lexical item which aims to remind the Israelis of their previous suffering. He calls Gaza as “Ghetto”, “تتواصل فيها غارات على ”غيتو“ ضخمة”, "where raids continue to fall down on a huge Ghetto", which has a significant implication for the Jewish people and presents a painful memory.

Appendix (5) also employs such reminders:

- a. الألمان حاصروا اليهود في الحرب العالمية الثانية وأبادوا عددا كبيرا منهم في ما يُسمى “الهولوكوست أو المحرقة الجماعية”

"Germans surrounded the Jews in World War II and wiped out a large number of them in the so-called Holocaust or the mass Holocaust "

- b. "وها هو العدو الصهيوني الغاصب يلجأ إلى الإبادة الجماعية نفسها التي يشتكي منها ويدعو العالم إلى إنكارها"

b. "Here is the usurper Zionist enemy resort to genocide itself, that complains and calls the world to deny".

4.2.1.4. Items that invoke religious beliefs in the Arab-Muslim world

Some of the writers invoke religious beliefs in the Arab-Muslim societies aiming to influence the readers and arouse their sympathy towards the Gazan people or 'the victims', as presented. In the Arab and Muslim world, religious beliefs still play a significant role in forming people's perspectives and views about certain issues. They also form a deep- rooted ideology against which issues can be judged. In the appendices we find quite a good number of lexical items that trigger of such ideology:

Appendix (2) celebrates some of these items as follows:

- a. "نتألم للشهداء"
- b. "على جثامين الشهداء"
- c. "من ذنوب التقاعس عن نصرة المجاهدين"
- d. "حركات المقاومة الإسلامية"
- e. "وخصمها مجموعة مؤمنة مقاتلة"

The writer uses some of the items which are religiously- oriented and related to the faith which most of the Arab world share and believe in. He calls those who were killed by the bombings 'الشهداء': 'martyrs' an item which has a religious implication.

Another interesting example is the writer's sentence "من ذنوب": "the sins of failing to support the Mujahedeen". "التقاعس عن نصرة المجاهدين".

The writer suggests that those Arabs who failed to extend a hand to the Gazans are sinful, according to Islamic faith. The term ‘Mujahedeen’ means that the person who dedicates his life to his religious belief and dies in defense of it or in defense of his homeland will be a ‘Mujahed’ who deserves Paradise.

The writer does not refer to the fighters as ‘ Hamas’, but as ‘Islamic Resistance Movement’ in order to elicit support, moral and material, from Arab-Muslim societies. The writer probably tries to remind the readers of their religious duty towards those fighters, reminding them of the Islamic faith which urges Muslims to unite and support each other in conditions similar to the one the Gazans are undergoing.

The writer presents the Gazan fighters as “وخصمها مجموعة مؤمنة” مقاتلة: “*a faith-driven group*”, with obvious reference to the Hamas fighters. The use of ‘group’ is highly significant to indicate the unevenness of the power of the two fighting parties: the Israeli forces and the ‘resistant group(s)’.

4.2.2. Lexical choices in English-speaking newspapers:

The non-Arab newspapers articles derive from points of view and ideologies quite different from those in the Arab newspapers. The extracted quotations from the texts show a strong tendency of the non-Arab writers to condemn Hamas while justifying Israel’s attacks.

This section is divided into two categories:

- a) items that consider Hamas responsible for the war.
- b) items that justify Israel's attacks against Gaza strip.

4.2.2.1. items that consider Hamas responsible for the war.

In appendix (1) the writer chooses lexical items which serve his view of the world of the discourse and present his stance which hold the theme of incriminating Hamas and putting blame on them and on their strategies which caused the war.

- a. "extremists";
- b. "Hamas chose violence";
- c. "Hamas is committed to Islamism at its bloodiest";
- d. "Brutality has characterized Hamas's rule";
- e. "Anywhere within 40km of Gaza, communities raise their children in bomb shelters";
- f. "destructive actions of Hamas".

The above quotations present a clear view of the writer and the message he is trying to convey to the recipient. Assigning the following attributes to Hamas: 'extremist', 'extremism', 'brutality', and 'terrorist infrastructure' reveal a one-way mode of thinking: 'Islamists', therefore, are 'terrorists and destructive'.

"Anywhere within 40km of Gaza, communities raise their children in bomb shelters". Here, the writer tries to arouse the readers' sympathy

through describing the Israeli people as being threatened by Hamas rockets and cannot exercise their life in normal manner. The use of the word ‘children’ is employed to induce sympathy and support to the Israeli children ‘who are raised in bomb shelters’. The Israeli people are therefore “victims” in this war, and the Israeli missiles over Gaza are only a reaction to the rockets which Hamas launched against them.

The writer invests the negative image which most of the West bear in mind about Islam and connects Hamas’s acts to it by saying: “*Hamas is committed to Islamism at its bloodiest*”. Hamas is introduced as an Islamist movement which handles its serious issues through violence and bloodshed. This can be noticed through the use of some lexical items such as: ‘*brutality*’ and ‘*extremist*’ to make Hamas hold the responsibility for this war. Thus the picture here is compatible with that the west holds of all Islamist movements, including Hamas.

In appendix (2.) the writer focuses on the tunnels which Hamas, as they say, use for obtaining their daily needs in light of the siege imposed on Gaza. He describes the tunnels as illegal and should be destroyed: “*smuggle weapons and explosives for use against Israel*”, “*tunnelling gangs*”, “*unofficial ‘tax’ on all the tunneled goods*”, “*by paying militants to fire rockets into Israel again*”.

He presents Hamas as a threatening faction in Gaza in control of tunnels to “*smuggle weapons and explosives for use against Israel*”.

Also, the writer refers to dishonest measures taken by Hamas when he says that Hamas imposes “unofficial” tax over the goods which pass through the tunnel each day, an indication of the ‘dishonest’ claim of Hamas when their officials say that these goods are for the “poor” Gazan people.

4.2.2.2. Items that justify Israel’s attacks against Gaza

Hamas is viewed as the actor of the processes leading to the destruction of Gaza. This can be observed in headlines such as “Israel accepts outline deal on Gaza ceasefire”, “Israel Declares Cease-Fire; Hamas Says It Will Fight On”. The use of these processes in these headlines, in which Israel is the actor, presents a specific ideological meaning to the readers and depicts Israel as peace seeker and maker. Israel is presented as adopting a leading role in providing solutions in this crisis, and is “brutality-free”.

The writer ,through the use of some clauses, justifies Israel’s acts in this war and puts the responsibility on Hamas:

- a. *“As Israel targets Hamas’s terrorist infrastructure”*.
- b. *“Israel has been demanding calm for years”*
- c. *“no democratic government in the world would tolerate this.”*

The writer shows that Israel targets only terrorism and describes the infrastructure of Hamas as terrorist. He also shows that Israel is a peace-seeker. In his perspective, the war which Israel initiated is not what

Israel has sought; Israel is forced to adopt an action against Hamas because the latter has been threatening Israel's peace and citizens.

Also, he invokes the world governments through emphasizing the 'desperate' situation which Israel cannot endure any more through applying the 'intolerant' situation on the world governments which call for democracy. He assumes that the reaction of both Israel and those governments *should* be the same.

4.3. Transitivity

The clause in Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) is the unit of analysis rather than the "word" or the "sentence" because each clause involves a process. In this study, the clause functions will be analyzed with respect to transitivity theory, and thematisation. At the experiential perspective, Thompson (1996) states that language reflects our view of the world as consisting of 'goings-on' (verbs) involving things (noun) which may have attributes (adjectives) and which go on against background details of place, time, manner, etc. (adverbials). The classification of the different kinds of processes can be explored through the system of transitivity.

Transitivity is based on the functions assigned to processes, participants and circumstances. Halliday (1985:101) speaks of transitivity in that it: "specifies the different types of processes that are recognized in the language and the structures by which they are they are expressed".

4.3.1. Types of processes

The term ‘process’ refers to what is going on: doing, happening, etc. The entities involved in every process are referred to as ‘participants’, and ‘circumstances’ refer to certain conditions associated with a process. The process, participant, and circumstance are generally realized, as Thompson (1996) and Halliday (1983) present, as verb, noun, and adjunct, respectively. Processes are: material, mental, relational, verbal, existential, and behavioral.

4.3.1.1. Material process

Material processes deal with the physical action in the external world. The participants involved in material processes are Actor, Goal, Beneficiary and Range. The Actor is the one doing the material deed. Any material process has an actor, even though the actor may not actually be mentioned in the clause. It can happen by the choice of a passive clause.

For example:

“The oil is added drop by drop”. (Thompson 1996:81)

However, the Actor may also be inanimate or abstract entity. For example:

“The fire (actor) had destroyed (material process) everything (GOAL)”
(Thompson 1996:80)

The other type of participants is the Goal, that is a participant affected by a doing. According to Gerot and Wignell (1994:55), the Goal is an entity to which the process is extended or directed. The Goal is brought into existence by the action, or it exists prior to the doing. There is also participant benefiting from the doing (the one given to or done for) called Beneficiary. It occurs in clauses without a Goal.

According to Gerot and Wignell (1994:56), there are two types of material process:

a. Creative type: the process brings about the goal such as:

“Handle (Actor) wrote (material process) the Messiah (goal).”

b. Dispositive type: there are doings and happenings such as:

“The gun (Actor) discharged (material process).”

4.3.1.2. Mental process

Mental clauses construe a person involved in conscious processing, including processes of perception, cognition and affection (Martin, Matthiessen and Painter 1997). The mental process refers to what is going on in the internal world of the speaker. This process comprises two parts: the sensor (the participant of this process (agent)) and the phenomenon (on which the verb occurs). For example:

“The man (sensor) knew (mental process) too much (phenomenon)”

(Martin, Matthiessen and Painter 1997:105)

Gerot and Wignell (1994:58) divide mental processes into three types:

a. Affection or reaction or feeling

“*Mark* (sensor) *likes* (mental: affection) *new clothes* (phenomenon)”

b. Cognition (thinking, process of deciding, knowing, understanding, etc.)

“*I* (sensor) *realize* (mental: cognitive) *the difficulties* (phenomenon)”

(Gerot and Wignell 1994:58-59)

c. Perception (perceiving through one of the five senses.)

“*He* (sensor) *couldn't see* (mental: perceptive) *anything*.”

(Thompson 1996:85)

4.3.1.3. Relational process

The relational process is concerned with the process of “being” and with the relationship between two things or concepts.

There are two relational clause types with different sets of participant roles:

a. Attribute Clauses

Attribute clauses are clauses with carrier and attribute.

For example:

“*Maxim* (carrier) *is* (attributive) *energetic* (attribute)”

(Martin, Matthiessen and Painter 1997:106)

b. Identifying Clauses

Identifying clauses are clauses with token and value.

For example:

“*Maxim* (token) *is* (identifying) *the goalie* (value)”

“The goalie (values) is (identifying) Maxim (token)”

(Martin, Matthiessen and Painter 1997:106)

4.3.1.4. Verbal process

The verbal process is related to the act of “saying”, and in a broader sense as Halliday (1985:129) presents it: “saying has to be interpreted in a rather broad sense; it covers any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning”

A verbal clause represents the addressee of a speech interaction as the Receiver. The Receiver is a verbal beneficiary, and can often be marked by ‘to’, while the target is one acted upon verbally (insulted, complemented, etc.). Another participant is the Verbiage that is a named object or notion for the verbalization itself. For example:

“John (sayer) told (verbal) Jenny (receiver) a joke (verbiage)”

(Gerot and Wignell 1994: 63)

“She (sayer) keeps rubbishing (verbal) me (target) to the other people (receiver) in the office (circumstance: place)”

(Thompson 1996:98)

4.3.1.5. Existential process

The existential process indicates that something exists. Existential processes are expressed by verbs of existing: ‘be’, ‘exist’ and the Existent can be a phenomenon of any kind. For example:

“There (existential) will be (existential process) a real bunfight (existent) at the next meeting (location temporal)”

(Martin, Matthiessen and Painter 1997:109)

The significance of studying transitivity in relation to this study lies in the fact that the type of process and the presence or absence of participants has implications as to the role the participants perform in the event in question. According to Fairclough (1989), the dominance of certain processes and the roles of participants in political texts indicate certain ideologies which motivate the writer’s choices and the way s(he) orders the context of the text.

4.3.2. Transitivity in the Arabic newspapers

This study shows that in the Arab newspapers headlines, two out of four focus on Gaza as a carrier of attributes rather than actor or agent. The aim seems to be to shed light on the situation wherein Gaza is viewed from outside by the eyes of a concerned observer.

”غزة غارقة في الدم“ -

غارقة في الدم	غزة
Attribute	Carrier

”غزة وحيدة أمام العدوان“ -

وحيدة امام العدوان في الدم	غزة
Attribute	Carrier

4.3.2.1. Material process

The articles are structured by clauses which serve the purposes of the writers. The material processes seem to be highly frequent although there are other processes, such as the mental and relational. It is worth mentioning that the majority of the processes which relate to the Israeli actions are material ones (see text 3 in the appendix), especially when the reference goes to the military operations being taken against Gaza.

a. فالعارات الإسرائيلية و بأحدث الطائرات تلقي بحممها على شعب "مسجون" خلف قضبان
”الحصار“

The Israeli attacks (العارات الإسرائيلية) are the *participant* in this material process (تلقى) and the people of Gaza are the *recipient* of this process (شعب مسجون), while the item ‘بحممها’: ‘its bombs’ is the *goal* of

this material process. The writer shows Israel as the actor, brutally treating the people of Gaza. The message the writer tries to convey is the deceitful claim of Israel's goals in Gaza war that it is only attacking Hamas. The writer wants to say that it is a war against all the people of Gaza and not only Hamas, as Israel's government declares.

b. ”يَقْصِفُ الْمَدْنِيِّينَ دُونَ تَمْيِيزٍ”

The *actor* of this clause refers to “المستعمرين” the occupiers in the same sentence from which this quote is cited. The *material process* “يَقْصِفُ”: “bomb” targets the *goal* “المدنيين”: “civilians”.

c. ”يَقُومُ بِمُحَارَبَةِ الْمَقَاوِمَةِ”

The same actor “المستعمرين” from the previous example occupies the actor of this clause and the goal this time is “المقاومة”: “resistance”. Whereas the material process used at this clause is “يَقُومُ بِمُحَارَبَةِ”: “fight”.

d. ”إِسْرَائِيلُ تَمَارِسُ الْإِرْهَابَ”

“Israel (actor) exercises (material process) terrorism (Goal)”, in this clause the actor is Israel and the writer makes a direct relation between Israel and ‘terrorism’. He presents the most direct example of condemning and accusing Israel of terrorism.

e. ”وَهُاهُمْ يَصْمَدُونَ سِتَّةَ أَيَّامٍ تَحْتَ جَحِيمِ النَّيْرَانِ وَالْقَنَابِلِ”

“Here they are still steadfast this for six days under the hell of fires and missiles” the actor of this clause is “أسود غزّة”: “Gaza's lions” referring to “Gazan people” who “are still steadfast (material process) in this war for

six days (adverbial) *under the hell of fires and missiles* (adverbial). The writer wants to show that the actor (Gazan people) suffer the assault rather than do it. They are enduring the aggressive attack of Israel and do not fight back.

f. “العدو الصهيوني الغاصب يلجأ إلى الإبادة الجماعية”

“The usurper Zionist enemy (actor) resorts to (material process) the annihilation (Goal)”.

g. “في حرب تموز، التي شنها العدو الصهيوني الغاصب على لبنان”

“At July War (goal) which the usuper Zionist enemy (actor) waged against (material process) Lebanon (client or receipient)”. The writer reminds the reader of the war launched by Israel four years ago against Lebanon, indicating Israel’s technique of handling critical issues in the region.

4.3.2.2. Mental process

a. “نأسف ونتألم للشهداء الذي سقطوا”

“We (senser) feel (mental process) sorrow and agony (phenomenon) for those who fell martyrs”. The writer uses this mental process to intensify his emotive stance towards those who fell martyrs in the war, and to show that their death has caused agony and sorrow.

b. المسؤولين الأوروبيون يجب أن يتذكروا جيداً أن هناك بركانا من الغضب على الشاطئ “
”الآخر من المتوسط

“The European officials (Senser) have to remember (mental process) well that there is hellish of rage on the other side of the Mediterranean (phenomenon)”

The writer reminds the reader that European officials should be made aware of the outrageous resentment of their policies which will erupt in their countries.

c. "تدرك حماس حتماً ان حصارها في هذه البقعة الضيقة والمكتظة لم يكن يعني في النهاية سوى
ان تتعرض لعمليات تصب النار بلا هوادة على رؤوس الغزيين"

“Hamass (senser) definitely realizes (mental process) that this siege imposed on it in this overpopulated spot meant nothing but raising hell to the Gazans”

The writer shows that Hamas is fully aware of the coming days in which Gaza will be mercilessly shelled by the Israelis. Focusing on 'awareness', on part of Hamas, of lack of alternatives is meant to induce appreciation of Hamas's steadfastness in such circumstance regardless of the approaching threat of destruction.

4.3.2.3. Relational process

a. “مجرد كانتونات يُحشَر فيها الفلسطينيون في القطاع”

“They (token) are merely cantons (identifying) in the Strip in which (location) the Palestinians (carrier) are (attributive) prisoned (attribute)”. The writer points out the 'identity of the Gaza strip as being a

canton. The aim is to draw attention to the state of the Palestinians in that part of the world and to raise a call for help.

b. “المقاومون هم من أبناء الشعب الفلسطيني”

“*The fighters (token) are (identifying process) from the Palestinian people*” The writer wants to stress the fact that the resistant fighters are not aliens to the Palestinian people ;they do not come from a foreign country. They are Palestinians.

c. “غزة عبارة عن مُعسكر اعتقال”: “*Gaza (token) is only (identifying) a concentration camp (value)*”

This interlinks with example(a) above: the miserable and rough conditions in which the Gazans live.

d. “إنها أجبين حرب في تاريخ إسرائيل”: “*It (carrier) is (attributive) the most coward war (attribute) in the history of Israel (adverbial/ time)*”

The writer emphasizes the 'identity' of the Israeli invasion against Gaza: it is the most coward war! By emphasizing this 'attribute', the writer expresses his view of the war, especially, as he argues, that it is against civilians.

4.3.3. Transitivity in English-speaking newspapers

This study shows that in the English-speaking newspapers headlines. Hamas is frequently referred to as the agent, actor, sayers, or sensor. On the other hand, there is direct reference to Israel as an actor, sayers, or sensor but presented in a positive image

as peace-seeker. Some headlines provide significant examples to the study such as:

- a. Hamas is the obstacle to Middle East peace. (app.6)
 - b. Much of the responsibility lay with Hamas (app.8)
 - c. Hamas rockets (actor) block (Pr: material) the birth of a Palestinian state
- The previous examples show that Israel is not to be blamed for the war, while Hamas is the party which seeks bloodshed and is the only barrier to peace.

4.3.3.1. Material process

- a. “*Hamas (actor) chose (material process) violence (goal).*”

The writer wants to indicate that Hamas does not want peace and is responsible for the violence which the world witnesses. It is not Israel's swearing from the peace process; Hamas is the terrorist organization which voluntarily opts for violence.

- b. “*every missile (goal) fired (material process) at Israel (circumstantial as recipient)*”

The writer presents Israel as the victim of the missiles which Hamas launches against the Israeli cities and territories. He is justifying Israel's war against Hamas through this syntactic structure which represents a material process that claims a goal/ object.

c. *“Missiles and mortars (goal) have been launched (Pr: material) from within Gaza (Circ: place) against Israeli civilian targets (recipient) over the past three years (Circ: time)*

This is a clear attempt to find an excuse for shelling Gaza as missiles and mortars are launched 'from within Gaza'; therefore, it is Hamas that is to blame for exposing the lives of the Israeli and Gazan civilians to danger.

4.3.3.2. Mental process

a. *“It (senser) remembers (mental process) that the 2006 ceasefire resolution (carrier) in southern Lebanon (circ: place) failed (attributive)”*

The writer reminds the reader that Israel's former experience with an armed organization as Hizbollah led to failure and that the same fact applies to Hamas. He uses the mental process 'remembers' to recall the 2006 summer war between Hizbollah and Israel.

b. *“imagine (mental process) missiles(carrier) being fired(attributive) most days (circ: time) across the 21 miles (circumstantial :place) of the English Channel”*

The 'senser' is inferable in the previous example; it is the general nominal 'You': the European reader. The aim is to globalize the 'plight' of the Israelis who are, according to the writer, exposed day and night to Hamas's rockets and how their life has become a case of suffering.

4.3.3.3. Relational process

a. *“ Hamas (carrier) is (attributive) committed to Islamism at its bloodiest (attribute) ”*

The writer relates Hamas with a highly-negative image of Islamic organizations and states that it is committed to it. He depicts Hamas as bloody terrorist organization which seeks vandalism and killing other races.

b. *“ Brutality (attribute) has characterized (attributive) Hamas’s rule (carrier) ”.*

Hamas is 'identified' as a brutal organization which performs aggressive acts and adopts a brutal policy against others.

c. *“ The Israeli attacks on Hamas (carrier) are (attributive process) not unreasonable (attribute) ”*

The writer wants to justify Israel’s attacks against Gaza and emphasizes the attributive saying “are not” and follows it with the attribute “unreasonable”.

We have seen the writers, Arabs and non-Arabs, have skillfully utilized the syntactic rules and structures in the process of dealing with the event. Each gears the discourse in the way that serves his purposes and expresses his view of the different aspects of the event: the processes ascribed to the participants, and the roles attributed to them. Lexical

choices have also been effective in picturing the event. Emotive elements have been invoked and fully utilized.

4.4. Thematisation

Halliday defines theme (1985:38) as:

“the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned with. The remainder of the message, the part in which the theme is developed is called in Prague school terminology the Rheme”

Theme is what a text is about and it appears in initial position in the clause in English. The starting point or what Halliday calls ‘point of departure’ is highly significant in content organization of the clause as it has impact on the recipient. Linguists such as Brown and Yule (1985:125) explain the way the point of departure influences the audience, as follows:

“When he orders these single words into sentences, and those sentences into texts, he confronts what has come to be called the “linearization problem”. He has to choose a beginning point. This point will influence the hearer/reader’s interpretation of everything that follows in the discourse since it will constitute the initial textual context for everything that follows”.

Therefore, writers foreground (thematize) what they consider the most important information by placing it in theme position. It is worth mentioning that thematisation is not limited to nouns or noun phrases, it includes adverbial phrases or nominalization, e.g. “*Tragically, Hamas chose violence*” (app.6), “*Brutality* has characterized Hamas’s rule” (ibid)

4.4.1. Thematisation in Arabic Newspapers

The Arabic newspapers vary in their presentation of the news in the headlines and show a tendency to use thematised patterns which serve their ideology: “Israel as a threat”, or “Israel as the initiator of the war”. Some headlines read as follows:

- a. “الأهداف الإسرائيلية من العدوان”;
- b. “غطاء عربي لمجزرة غزة”;
- c. “غزة تفضح عرب التواطؤ”

The above examples adopt nominalization process, especially (a) and (b) to present the content as something closer to a fact.

“(appendix.3) غزة الغارقة بالدم والهدف أبعد من صواريخ حماس”

Nominalization, as seen in (d), turns processes into states, creating a new category of abstract entities (Hodge and Kress, 1993). The creation of new entities is of considerable cultural and ideological importance because nominalizations themselves take on the role of presupposed and taken for granted entities (social or political realities). So, when the writer says “غزة الغارقة بالدم والهدف أبعد من صواريخ حماس”, he takes it for granted that readers share him the 'fact' that Gaza is brutally attacked “*Gaza – the city drowning in blood stream*”, and nominalizing the verb 'يغرق' (to drown) to become 'الغارقة' and adding the definite article "الغارقة" is a technique that helps the writer give the picture in the way he sees it. This technique of presenting Gaza in the event as a victim of brutality, lying

with blood streaming around is similar to presenting the case as a fact which everyone can see.

However, there are some interesting structures of the clauses used in the Arab newspapers, in which the columnist foregrounds an emotive lexical item before referring to the “participant” of the clause “Israeli missiles” such as: “فإنّ صور أطفال غزة الشهداء الذين حوّلت الصواريخ الإسرائيلية ”: “the picture of children of Gaza, the martyrs, which the Israeli missiles have turned their not fully-grown bodies into pieces”. Here, the writer foregrounds “the picture of children of Gaza, the martyrs” in a manner that indicate the brutality of the Israeli army, and invites the readers to sympathize with the Gazan people.

Further , the writer of the same article uses thematic structure to defend the 'resistant fighters' in Gaza, who are the main target in the war as the Israeli government said, when he writes: “ رجال المقاومة المدافعون عن ”: “the resistance fighters who are the defenders of their people and their honor in Gaza might be recording a new miracle of steadfastness”. He nominalizes the action of defending one's country by attributing this to the resistance fighters and present to this as a fact by adding the definite article to 'mudafi' ' which means ' the defenders', as if this is taken for granted. In Arab and Islamic (and elsewhere) those who defend their people and nation are honorable and if they are killed they must be martyrs who deserve respect. The

writer presents another picture for the fighters of Hamas, not as negative as drawn in the Israeli media or some western media agencies.

While in appendix (4), the writer presents a different thematised structure which could be classified as highly emotive and functional to serve and present the attitudes of the columnist in supporting the Gazan people and opposing the acts of Israel. “امام شلال الدم و مشاهد التدمير والإبادة “ ”الجماعية في غزة المحاصرة تحتبس حتى القدرة على التعبير” the writer thematises “in view of the blood flow, the mass annihilation in the sieged Gaza, even the ability of expression is crippled” to express a clear attitudinal statement for the whole article, sympathizing with Gazan people.

In the same article, the writer thematizes: ”فعبّر هذه الحرب الشاملة على القطاع: “through this massive war against the strip.”, the writer thematizes the adverbial ' through this massive war' to point out the instrumentality of the war: to be used as a means to exercise pressure on Egypt.

The writer (app.1) thematizes the Palestinian casualties in the clause “عدد الضحايا من الفلسطينيين لا يهم هؤلاء”; “the number of the Palestinian casualties does not matter for those (the Israelis)” and that civilians’ fate is marginal in this war. The emphasis on the number of the casualties and the repetition of this thematised image in different positions of the Arabic articles are made to steer the readers’ awareness about the inhuman acts

which Israel has taken through this war and that Hamas is not its sole target.

4.4.2. Thematisation in English-speaking Newspapers

The non-Arab newspapers use thematisation mainly to show Israel as the ‘peace initiator’ and Hamas as the ‘threatening’, ‘bloody’ organization.

The columnist in appendix (1) clearly describes Hamas as the ‘obstacle’ to the peace process in the Middle East “*Hamas is the obstacle to Middle East peace*”. The thematisation of this clause at the headline is deliberately made to connect the readers’ minds with negative impression about Hamas and vindicating Israel as doing nothing but peace. The columnist seems highly supportive of the Israeli attitude in this war and blames Hamas because of its attitude against Israel.

a. “*Without these attacks by Hamas, the Israelis would not be bombarding Gaza.*”

b. “*without the destructive actions of Hamas there would have been no reaction from Israel*”

The columnist presents the Israeli “bombarding” as a reaction to Hamas’s acts and attacks against Israel. This foregrounding of the prepositional phrase “*without these attacks by Hamas*” indicates the attitude of the columnist, which is blaming Hamas for this war.

The media parties present two different points of view in which Arab newspapers use thematisation to arouse the readers' sympathy towards Gaza and to justify Hamas's acts against Israel, while condemning Israel. On the other hand, the non-Arab newspapers present Israel's war as a reaction to Hamas's previous acts against Israel.

Both of them try to foreground the notion that supports their ideological view and to background what seems negative to the party they support. These linguistic structures (examples :*a* and *b*), so far, have given clues to the study in revealing these ideologies and attitudes of the columnists and present a clear view of the bias of these columnists towards Gaza war.

c. "Tragically, Hamas chose violence"

The writer foregrounds 'tragically' in this clause to make the readers sympathize with the Israeli stance against Hamas. That is, had Hamas not chosen violence, Israel would not have taken action against it. By using the emotive element 'tragically' the writer tries to sound unbiased and that the tragedy could have been stopped.

d. "Brutality has characterized Hamas's rule"

In this cited example the writer thematised 'brutality' to show how Hamas is attributed with aggressiveness and brutality and that the readers cannot sympathize with such a movement that lacks human motives.

e. "Yet, while Hamas kills Palestinians, the megaphones remain mute"

f. “Yet Hamas’s disregard for the lives of civilians is the key to the difference”.

In the two examples cited above , the reference to Hamas as being the killer of the Palestinians is foregrounded to maintain that Hamas does not only attack Israel but also they kill their own people and do not care about the toll of those civilians who were killed. Thematising this clause “*Hamas kills Palestinians*” (ex.f) and “ *Hamas’s disregard for the lives of the civilians*” in these sentences shows a high degree of bias of the writer against Hamas in which he wants to show the readers that Hamas is a bloody group that kills even its people. Initiating the two examples with the concessive ' yet ' is a skillful technique for drawing attention to the fact that many people have not been aware of ‘this fact’.

It can be observed that in both the Arabic and the English-speaking newspapers, writers have adopted different ways of thematisation and served different stances towards the two fighting parties: Hamas and Israel. The Arabic thematised clauses emphasized foregrounding the reference to the civilian casualties and the inhuman acts of Israel against them. Whereas the English-speaking newspapers’ writers used thematised the clauses which served their stance against Hamas as well as condemning its policy during this war.

4.5. Modality

Modality as defined by Fairclough (1989:129), is a “categorical commitment of the producer to the truth of the proposition”, and as Kress and Leeuwen (1990:49) add: “it indicates the writer’s judgment on the credibility of the representation”. Modality is the writer’s direct comment on the ideational part of the clause; the grammar of the direct comments. It is the main feature of the clause which presents the point of view of the writer. Fairclough (ibid) maintains that “it has to do with speaker’s or writer’s authority” and states two dimensions of modality. First, the *relational modality*, which is a matter of the authority of one participant in relation to others, while the other dimension is *expressive modality* which is a matter of the speaker’s or the writer’s authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality, i.e., the writer’s evaluation of the truth. Modality is usually expressed by means of modal verbs such as: may, might, must, should, can, etc.

4.5.1. Modality in Arab newspapers

There are some positions where the writers use modals to express their points of view, such as: “ولن تحقق إسرائيل هدفا ملموسا من هذه الحرب” (appendix.1) “Israel will certainly not achieve a real goal in this war” This use of the modal ‘will’ and ‘certainly’ is intended to be as an assertive statement based on the writer’s confidence of how the war will

end. The writer wants to assert his attitude which seems to stem from confidence that such aggressive wars are doomed to fail.

a. "عندما يكون هناك احتلال، أي احتلال في أي أرض، يجب أن يكون هناك مقاومة" (app.2)

" whenever there is occupation there should be resistance"

In the above given quotation, the writer is legitimatizing the 'necessity' of resistance whenever there is occupation. Accordingly, he clearly justifies Hamas, as a resistance group, and presents this as an action that is morally obligatory. The writer most probably leans on Islamic and, generally, Arabic religious values which call for Jihad whenever there is occupation.

b. "فالمعركة لا يمكن ان تكون متكافئة"; the battle cannot be equally balanced"

The writer dismisses the possibility of the 'battle' to be mutually equivalent in light of being aware of the Israeli militants' capabilities and that of Hamas. So, his attitude is clearly sympathetic with Hamas's position and appreciative of their steadfastness and determination to defend their people.

c. "الانسحاب الإسرائيلي سيتم في نهاية المطاف، و لكنه سيكون انسحاب المهزومين"

The writer, here, presents a prediction about Israel's next step and says: "*the Israeli withdrawal will certainly happen, eventually, but it will be that of the defeated*. This is a strong prediction which is closer to

certainty, based on the writer's perspective. The use of "سيكون" reveals a belief that the action is destined to happen as the writer sees it.

Fairclough (ibid) maintains that modality is not only the modal auxiliaries; they can be expressed through some other formal features including *adverbs and tense*. The simple present tense is considered the terminal point of expressive modality and the opposite terminal point is the negative form of this tense, for example "the rockets *are* dangerous", "the rockets *are not* dangerous".

There are some propositions about Israel and Hamas in the Arab newspapers expressed as truths or facts about the two parties, in which the use of the simple present tense aims to serve the columnist's point of view.

d. "وخصمها مجموعة مؤمنة مقاتلة تواجه الحصار"

"its opponent is a faithful fighting group which confronts the imposed siege"

The writer is highly supportive of *Hamas* when he chooses the expression "opponent", not "enemy" (of Israel) and describes Hamas fighters as a group of believers (faithful group) fighting back against Israel. He is assertive in his perspective that Hamas is not a terrorist group; rather they are rather a group of believers who are destined to suffer the siege Israel has imposed on them and have the right to defend themselves. It is worth mentioning that in Arabic there is not an

equivalent to the verb “to be” but it can parallel the English “non-modal” present tense forms. So, the direct sequence of “مجموعة” and “وخصمها” is the highest or the terminal point of expressive modality (Fairclough 1989) and accordingly presents how assertive the writer is in his perspective. Using 'opponent' instead of 'enemy' seems to magnify the role of the fighters who, inspite of their limited military means, stand as opponents to the great Israeli military machine.

e. “المقاومون هم من أبناء الشعب.”

“*The resistant men are (or: come from) from the people*”. Here the writer asserts that the resistant men come from the Palestinian people. The use of ‘هم’ (are) is an assertive addition which is equivalent to ‘are certainly’.

f. “ولكن الأمر المؤكد أن ظاهرة المقاومة ستتكرس.”

The writer emphasizes the right of the Gazan people to react against and resist the Israeli attack through saying: “*the resistance’s phenomenon will certainly gain roots*” the use of “will certainly” affirms the conclusion which the writer wants the readers to arrive at. He indicates that the Israeli attack against Hamas will lead eventually to raise the number of those resistant fighters in Gaza, which is their right in his perspective.

4.5.2. Modality in English-speaking newspapers

a. *“Peace in Gaza is in the hands of Hamas”*

This is an assertive and irrevocable statement putting the blame for the absence of peace on Hamas. The employment of ‘is’ reveals the attitude and view of the writer; s(he) wants us to take it as a fact.

b. *“though it must be remembered that 8,000 rockets have been fired at their territory in recent years.”*

The writer justifies the acts of Israel, bombing and launching missiles, by reminding the readers of the 'fact' that Hamas started a time ago attacking Israel by launching 8,000 rockets. The writer sounds worried about the possibility of forgetting the 'real' cause of the war: Hamas's behavior is the ‘real cause’ of this tragic event. The use of ‘must be remembered’ sounds to present an ethical matter: “we should not forget who initiated the war”

c. *“It is clear that the Israelis are not going to negotiate while their security is constantly under threat”*

By resorting to this series of assertive modals, the writer takes sides with the Israeli's refusal to negotiate as their towns remain under threat.

The use of “It is clear”, “are not going to” and “their security is constantly under threat” shows how the writer is highly assertive about the way Israel should deal with Hamas.

d. *“Hamas is the obstacle to Middle East peace”*

Directly, the writer presents “Hamas” as the obstacle, with no other options to think about. There is no other party to blame for impeding the peace process but Hamas.

e. *“Israel cannot sit back while Hamas improves the size and range of its arsenal”*

The writer points out the improbability of Israel sitting back while Hamas 'improves' its arsenal. He introduces the matter about Hamas as a fact 'improves', a process which is 'definitely' going on.

f. *“our fight is not with the people of Gaza but with the terrorist body holding them hostage”*

g. *“Israeli intent is directed solely at Hamas combatants”*

The writer's intention is to clarify Israel's position and stance towards the war. It is 'not against the people of Gaza', but 'certainly' against Hamas.

The analysis has shown that the use of these modals and non-modal verb tenses show the different perspectives from which Arabic and English-speaking newspapers observed the event. The Arabic newspapers as well as the English ones employed different types of modals, each for a certain purpose, and each was motivated by an ideological stance. It is clear that neutrality of presentation is missing in both, and the event is used for the exposure of one of the fighting parties. Language has been the effective tool for bringing out the underlying ideology for each party.

Conclusion

The study has attempted to show the role ideology plays in patterning human thought. This has shown in the linguistic tool the writers exploited in the process of dealing with the event. The texts which have been analyzed have mirrored the way linguistic structures are put at the service of the writers and their prototypical reaction to the event. The writers have resorted to different stylistic techniques in order for their views to reach the target readers and to convince them of the soundness of such views. The study has also shown that transitivity-based analysis can highlight stylistic aspects of political (as well as other types of discourse) discourse. And in the process of shedding light on discoursal aspects, themes formulate and come up to the surface. Thematisation and emotive expressions bring to the fore focal aspects of the discourse although at the expense of violating grammatical rules. The grammar that works in critical discourse analysis is the grammar of the text rather than the grammar of the sentence. We have seen that the headlines of the newspapers generated texts which are substantiation of the content of the headlines. The grammar which organized the content of the texts and put together their arguments is the grammar of text which is generated by factors which come from outside the text, the context of the situation.

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Appendixes:

Arabic Articles

1) عزمي بشارة يكتب عن الأهداف الإسرائيلية من العدوان
Aljazeera.net

الأول من كانون الثاني من العام 2009

من أغرب ما سمع من كلام السياسة حتى في أيام غرانبية كالتني نعيش ولا يُستغربُ فيها أمرٌ بسهولة، ما كرره المسؤولون الإسرائيليون كما تُنشدُ لازمة في نشيد الموت.. هكذا تكلم أولمرت، ومن بعده ليفني حتى آخر القوم:

أ- "لسنا ضد الشعب الفلسطيني، نحن ضد حماس.. هذه ليست حرباً ضد الفلسطينيين، بل حرب ضد حماس."
ب- "نحن لسنا أعداء، بل لدينا نفس الأعداء: حماس وحزب الله وغيرهما."

والحقيقة أن أهداف هذه الحرب العدوانية على قطاع غزة لا تختلف كثيراً عن سجلها العلني، فالقصف الجوي والقصف الإعلامي -صناعة الموت وصناعة الأجواء- ليسا مختلفين كثيراً كما يبدو.

تفضح اللازمة "ب" الحساب الإسرائيلي المعلن بوجود حلف موضوعي على الأقل، أو وجود محور إقليمي يضم دولاً عربية وإسرائيل يشترك في نفس الأعداء، وهذا منطق المحاور على أية حال. ولكن ما يرشح قبل التصريحات العلنية وبعدها، أن المحور ليس موضوعياً فحسب، ولا لقاء مصالح فقط. بهذا تنتهي من هذه الفكرة التي سبق أن تطرقنا لها .

ما يحدث في غزة أجبن حرب في التاريخ الإسرائيلي، وربما في التاريخ الحديث. لا توجد دولة استعمارية تستخدم هذا النوع من السلاح ضد هذا النوع من الأهداف، وعلى وقع الانفجارات تطلع علينا وزيرة خارجية إسرائيل الطموحة وفي فمها كلام من نوع: لسنا ضدكم!!

ولكن ماذا تعني مقولة إسرائيل: ليست (أو كما سُمعت: نحن لسنا) ضد الفلسطينيين؟ بحسب هذا المنطق لا يوجد استعمار ضد شعب من الشعوب، فهو فقط يريد بلد هذا الشعب، ويريد سلبه ثروته وإرادته، وإذا خضع لهذا المصير "المقدر" له، فلا أحد ضده .

تبرز "المشكلة" إذا قاوم الشعب هذا المصير الذي يراد له. ولكن حتى عندها يدعي المستعمر أنه ضد المقاومة والمتطرفين الذين يحملون الفكرة ويمارسونها، وليس ضد الشعب نفسه. وعندما يقوم بمحاربة المقاومة ويقصف المدنيين والناس دون تمييز، فذلك ليس لأنه ضدهم بل لأن المقاومة تعيش وتسكن بينهم، وعلى الشعب أن يتحمل القصف صامتاً، فهو ليس موجهاً ضده، ولا ضد أطفاله الذين سقطوا، بل ضد المقاومة التي أنجبها.

المقاومون هم من أبناء الشعب، وليسوا جيشاً منفصلاً عنه في معسكرات، وطبيعي أن يعيشوا بين صفوفه. وإذا كان هذا صحيحاً في كل مكان فإنه في غزة أمر مسلمٌ به، لأن غزة عبارة عن معسكر اعتقال مكتظ ومزدحم ومغلق، يعيش فيه الناس دونما تمييز بين غني وفقير، ومقاوم وغير مقاوم، ومنتم لحماس وغير منتم لها. لا غابة ولا جبل ولا نهر، ولا مناطق محيطة يلجأ إليها الناس كما في لبنان. وحتى عندما يكون القصف غير عشوائي في غزة، فإنه يكون عشوائياً بالنتيجة.. لا يمكن للحرب على غزة إلا أن تكون جريمة حرب.

هذه حرب على معسكر اعتقال، تتواصل فيها غارات على "غيتو" ضخمة، تستخدم فيها طائرات "أف15" و"أف16". كان هذا الفعل بحد ذاته غير ممكن التصور قبل عشر سنوات، كان بحد ذاته غير ممكن التنفيذ دولياً.. لقد صنع باراك هذه السابقة في بداية الانتفاضة الثانية.

إنها أجبن حرب في التاريخ الإسرائيلي، وربما في التاريخ الحديث. لا توجد دولة استعمارية تستخدم هذا النوع من السلاح ضد هذا النوع من الأهداف. وعلى وقع الانفجارات تطلع علينا وزيرة خارجية إسرائيل الطموحة لتخاطب الفلسطينيين كمشاهدين وفي فمها كلام من نوع "لسنا ضدكم".. يا للهول!!

سلبت إسرائيل وطن الشعب الفلسطيني، وقد شردته في كافة أصقاع الأرض ليس لأنها ضده، بل فقط لأنها تريد وطنه، وهو لا يريد أن يتنازل بطيبة خاطر.. هذا كل شيء، ولكنها ليست ضده. ولو خضع وقبل بأن يمنح وطنه عن طيبة خاطر، فلن يصيبه منها حرب ولا قتال.

ولو قبلت المقاومة بمضاغفة الاستيطان بعد أوصلو، وباستمرار تهويد القدس، وبالاتسحاب من طرف واحد من غزة مع بقائها مطوقة كالسجن، لما كانت هناك مشكلة إسرائيلية مع غزة. ولو انتخب الشعب الفلسطيني من أرادته إسرائيل أن يُنتخب عام 2006 لما نشأت مشكلة.

ثم.. وبعد هذه الانتخابات، لو قبل الشعب الفلسطيني بالحصار التجويعي راضياً باعتباره نتيجة منطقية للانتخابات، ولو استنتج من هذا الحصار النتائج المرجوة منها وأطاح بمن انتخب، ولو اعتبر حماس هي سبب الحصار وليس من يفرض الحصار.. لما كانت هناك مشكلة بين إسرائيل والقطاع.. هذا هو منطق القصف الإعلامي الإسرائيلي الذي يرافق القصف الوحشي على قطاع غزة، (وربما اجتياحها مع نشر هذه السطور).

وهو -على فظاعته- يحظى أن يكرره البعض بالعربية بين السطور، وهو منطق يتضمن هدف العدوان. والهدف هو قبول الشعب الفلسطيني بالشروط الإسرائيلية في حال التوصل إلى تسوية، وبالاتسكانة والهدوء في حال عدم وجود تسوية.

لا مشكلة مع "شريك عربي" في تسوية يقبل فيها بشروط إسرائيل التاريخية، ولا مع خصم هادئ يرضى على الأمل بموازين القوى، فيعيش ويترك الناس تعيش في ظل الاحتلال والظلم، ويرفض التسوية نظرياً فقط، أما عملياً فينشغل عن الصراع مع إسرائيل بقضايا "أكثر أهمية" مثل الحفاظ على سلطته.

وإسرائيل لم تمنح حماس حتى مثل هذه الفرصة الأخيرة.. لقد حاصرتها منذ اليوم الأول على انتخابها، وانضم "العالم" إلى الحصار، ولم تحظ حماس حتى بفرصة للانشغال عن الصراع مع الاحتلال بسلطتها.

لا يهم إسرائيل كثيراً من يحكم القطاع داخلياً بعدما انسحبت منه، ما دام يقبل بالشروط الإسرائيلية في حالة تسوية، أو بالهدوء في حالة عدم التوصل إلى التسوية.

لقد فرض الحصار التجويعي فعلاً، وكان على حماس -من وجهة نظر المطالبين بعودة "التهدة" حالياً- أن تقبل بالهدوء ليس فقط دون زوال الاحتلال، وليس فقط مع استمرار الاغتيالات في الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة، بل حتى دون فك الحصار.

انتقلت إسرائيل إلى استخدام السلاح وهي تهدف من ذلك إلى تقويض قوة حماس أو إجبارها على القبول بالشروط الإسرائيلية. ولا يهم إسرائيل أي الهدفين يتحقق قبل الآخر، فإذا قبلت حماس بشروط إسرائيل تكون جحافل باراك قد عادت بإنجاز، وإذا أصرت على عدم القبول فسيتابع الجيش الإسرائيلي مهمته حتى يعود بإنجاز ملموس، ولو على شكل عملية "كوماتدور" برية كما يحب باراك بموجب سيرته العسكرية.. المهم أن تعود بصور اغتيالات واعتقالات ناجحة لقيادات.

إذا توقفت إسرائيل رغم استمرار القدرة لدى حماس على إطلاق الصواريخ، فهذا يعني أن حربها الجبانة فشلت.

ولكن لا يمكن "للترويك" الإسرائيلية الحالية وقف القتال والعودة دون أنجاز، إلا إذا فرض عليها ذلك بالقتال والخسائر أو غيرها.

وإذا لم يتحقق أحد الهدفين أعلاه دون عملية برية فسيدخلون ولو على شكل إنزالات واجتياحات انتقائية.. يريدون صور انتصار على شكل استسلام علني أو اعتقال وانهيار علني، وهذا ليس بالأمر السهل التحقيق، وإذا لم تأت هذه الصور فسيكونون في وضع حرج.

بغض النظر عن الأهداف التي وضعت إسرائيليا، فإن وضاعة الحرب ونوع الخصم لا يبشر بخير لإسرائيل، فجلد الماء لا يوقف النهر، ولن تحقق إسرائيل هدفا ملموسا من هذه الحرب. وما أنجز حتى الآن هو خسارة "محور الاعتدال" عربيا.

ترغب إسرائيل في استعادة هيبة الردع أيضا، لكن الهدف سهل من الجو، وأي قنبلة تلقى على حي مكتظ تقتل وتدمر.. الثمن رخيص والحرب جبانة، ليس فيها بطولة، ولا يستعيد فيها أي جيش هيبة.

وحتى المديح الذي تكيله وسائل الإعلام الإسرائيلية لإيهود باراك على المكر والدهاء ما هو إلا خداع للذات، فقد كان الجميع يعلم أن إسرائيل تستعد لشن عملية عسكرية ضد غزة، بل وكتبت الصحف الإسرائيلية عن عملية قادمة خلال أيام. ولكن ماذا تفعل غزة حتى لو علمت؟ هل تعلن عن حالة تأهب في صفوف جيشها الجرار، أم تموه قواتها الجوية طائراتها في المطارات؟ نحن نتحدث عن حي فقير، عن مخيم لاجئين كبير ليس فيه حتى ملاجئ.

وسائل الإعلام الإسرائيلية التي تكيل المديح لدهاء باراك هي نفسها التي تتحول إلى جوقة تطويل وتزوير في بداية كل حرب، ثم تنقلب على المسؤول فقط إذا فشل في تحقيق الأهداف. أما إذا ارتكب جرائم ونجح فلا بأس، المهم ألا يفشل، وألا يسقط الكثير من الإسرائيليين بحيث يتحول النجاح إلى فشل. ولا ينقلب الإعلام الإسرائيلي على حكومة تشن حربا إلا إذا فشلت الحرب في تحقيق أهدافها، أو إذا كانت الخسائر بالجنود مرتفعة.. عدد الضحايا من الفلسطينيين لا يهم هؤلاء.

جاء رد الفعل الشعبي العربي على الحرب سريعا، وفاق التصورات، فهو غاضب ناقد لا يعتبر الحرب شطارة أو بطولة إسرائيلية كما اعتبر حروبا سابقة، بل يعتبرها جريمة ضد المدنيين. كما لا يأبه بإدانته جزء كبير من النظام الرسمي العربي لهذه الحرب، ويصر على مقولة التواطؤ.

لقد صاحب بعض الإدانات العربية العلنية جملا علنية أخرى تتضمن تعبيراً عن رغبة في البناء على انتصار إسرائيلي، مثل قبول الشروط الإسرائيلية لفتح معبر رفح، أو رهن فتحه بالاعتراف بانتصار إسرائيلي، ومثل التمني العلني غير المفهوم بأن تكون هذه الحرب "خيرا" إذا استنتج منها من يتعرض للحرب ضرورة توحيد الصفوف.. ولماذا لا يستنتج البعض الذي لا يتعرض للحرب توحيد الصفوف مع من يتعرض لها في مقاومة المعتدي؟! لماذا يجب أن يكون الاستنتاج توحيد الصفوف في الاستسلام؟! ولما يجب أن يستنتج منها المعتدي عليه وليس من يبني على التسوية مع هذا المعتدي الذي لم يعطه شيئا؟!

حتى لو صدقت تمنيات المعتدين المستعمرين وصدقت أحلام حلفائهم، فإن كل ما يمكن أن تفرضه إسرائيل بعد هذه الحرب لا يحظى بشرعية، ولذلك لا يمكن أن يعمر.

وبالعكس، فبعض القوى التي أسست موقفها على واقعية الشارع وبراغماتية القبول بموازين القوى إزاء مشاهد القصف فقدت شرعيتها في ظل القصف الإسرائيلي.. أقول: فقدت شرعيتها بصيغة الفعل الماضي، وليس ستفقد هذه الشرعية.

وبقي أن تدرك هذه القوى أن الحسابات القصيرة النفس في إسرائيل والمسماة "توفير الأمن للمستوطنات"، أو "أمن حدودنا الشمالية"، أو "ضمان أمن القرى الحدودية"، هي أكثر أهمية وإستراتيجية لها من قوة وشرعية ما يسمى معسكر الاعتدال عربيا.. وأن هذه ليست مزايده انتخابية لكسب بضعة مقاعد في انتخابات الكنيست.

(ملاحظة: من باب الرمزية الغرائبية الفاقعة أن المقاعد التي أضافها حزب العمل على دم الفلسطينيين مع ازدياد شعبيته قليلا بعد العدوان بموجب الاستطلاعات، يشغلها عربيان من الداخل، فالعرب المستفيدون من العدوان من المنتمين لمعسكر الاعتدال موجودون في كل مكان.)

حساب المقاعد البرلمانية وارد في حسابات وزراء العمل وكادىما عند شن الحرب بالطبع، ولكنه ليس الحساب الأساسي.. هذه مسألة أمن قومي إسرائيلي تجمع عليه القوى السياسية الإسرائيلية يسارها ويمينها. وقوة الردع والجدار الحديدي العسكري يأتي في إسرائيل قبل التسوية وقبل التفاهم مع "قوى الاعتدال".

وهذا ليس موقف اليمين الإسرائيلي كما يعتقد البعض، بل هو موقف إجماع قومي تختلف إسرائيل على أساسه (وليس عليه)، وتنقسم حول ضرورة إجراء بعض التنازلات الإقليمية في ظلها من عدمها، كما تنقسم حول واقعية التسوية السياسية.

(2) غزة تفضح عرب التواطؤ

بقلم /عبد البارى عطوان

القدس العربي / التاسع والعشرين من كانون الأول من العام 2008

ستواصل الطائرات الحربية الاسرائيلية - الامريكية الصنع تقطيع اوصال ابناء قطاع غزة بصواريخها الفتاكة، وربما تقتحم الدبابات الحدود في محاولة لاتجاز ما عجزت عنه الطائرات من الجو، ولكن الامر المؤكد ان ظاهرة المقاومة ستتكرس، وأن ثقافة الاستسلام ستتكتس وتلفظ ما تبقى فيها من انفاس.

اسرائيل دولة اقليمية عظمى تتربع على ترسانة عسكرية حافلة بأحدث الاسلحة والمعدات، من كافة الاشكال والانواع، وخصمها مجموعة مؤمنة مقاتلة تواجه الحصار من اقرب المقربين اليها، ناهيك عن مؤامراتهم وتواطئهم، فالمعركة لا يمكن ان تكون متكافئة، ولكن ما يطمئن المرء ان حروب العشرين عاما الماضية التي خاضتها الدولة الاعظم على مر التاريخ اثبتت ان الحسم العسكري ليس ضمانا لتحقيق الاهداف السياسية التي جاء من اجلها.

امريكا احتلت العراق بعد اسابيع معدودة، واطاحت بنظام 'طالبان' في افغانستان في ساعات او ايام، ودمرت اكثر من تسعين في المئة من البنى التحتية لتنظيم 'القاعدة'، وها هي تستجدي المفاوضات مع طالبان بعد سبع سنوات من الاحتلال، وها هو حميد كرزاي، رجلها في كابول، يتوسل الصلح ويعرض مغادرة السلطة في اي لحظة يقبله خصومه.

اسرائيل لن تكون افضل حالا من حاضنتها الامريكية، مع فارق بسيط واساسي، وهو انها لا تتعلم من التاريخ ودروسه، فقد فشلت في كسر شوكة منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، واضطرت صاغرة للتفاوض معها، ومصافحة زعيمها الشهيد ياسر عرفات.

صواريخ المقاومة 'العبيثة'، حسب توصيف السيد محمود عباس، ربما تكون قد جرت اسرائيل الى المصيدة الاخطر في تاريخها، باستفزازها ودفعها للعدوان على قطاع غزة، فقد نجحت من خلال هذا العمل في احياء الشارع العربي، وإحداث فرز واضح بينه وبين انظمته، واحراج كل حلفائها في الغرب في هذا الظرف الصعب، وهذه المرحلة الانتقالية التي يمر بها، حيث تأفل القوة الامريكية، وتبرز قوى عظمى بديلة، وينهار النظام الرأسمالي.

القوى العسكرية العظمى تستطيع ان تهزم جيوشا نظامية، وتطيح بأنظمة، ولكنها تقف عاجزة كليا امام حركات المقاومة، لسبب بسيط وهو ان استراتيجيتها، اي هذه الحركات، ليست هزيمة اعدائها، وانما منعهم من الانتصار سياسيا، واغراقهم في حروب استنزاف دموية، بشرية ومالية.

نأسف ونتألم للشهداء الذين سقطوا في قطاع غزة ضحية لهذا العدوان الاسرائيلي النازي، ولكن هؤلاء الابطال الشرفاء فضحوا اسرائيل، مثلما فضحوا الزعماء العرب المتواطئين معها، واظهروا للعالم مدى نازية هذه الدولة، وكيف اصبحت عبنا امنيا واخلاقيا على حلفائها الغربيين خاصة.

العدوان على قطاع غزة سينتهي في يوم ما، بعد ايام او حتى اسابيع، ولكن المتغيرات التي احدثها في المنطقة العربية، وربما العالم بأسره، ستستمر لعقود، فالعملية السلمية سقطت، والمراهنون عليها في السلطة الفلسطينية سقطوا ايضا، والاعتدال العربي تعرض لأكبر احراج في تاريخه، ومرحلة خداع الشعوب العربية

بالمؤتمرات والتصريحات انتهت.

الانسحاب الاسرائيلي سيتم في نهاية المطاف، ولكنه سيكون انسحاب المهزومين، والسيد محمود عباس لن يعود الى قطاع غزة، وان عاد فعلى ظهر دبابه اسرائيلية، وعلى جثامين الشهداء، ولذلك لن يجد من يقذفه بالزهور على طول شارع صلاح الدين، وانما بالببيض الفاسد وربما ما هو اكثر.

صمود اهل غزة وتضحياتهم ايقظا الضمير العربي المغيب، وبثا دماء الكرامة في شرايين الأمة المتيبسة، وعروا من يريدون نقل اسرائيل من خانة الاعداء الى خانة الاصدقاء، والتعويل عليها لتخليصهم من وهم الخطر الايراني المزعوم.

أهل غزة لا يريدون الصداقات، لأن من يقاتل نيابة عن الأمة والعقيدة لا يمكن ان يتسول كسرة خبز او حفنة من الحنطة، او علبه حليب لأطفاله الجوعى، فهذه الصداقات كانت جائزة اثناء الحصار، وقبل العدوان، اما الآن فهي عار على مقدميها، وخدعة مكشوفة للتطهر من ذنوب التقاعس عن نصره المظلومين المجاهدين.

هذه الأنظمة التي تدعي العجز وقلة الحيلة، انظمة كاذبة، فمن يملك جيوشاً انفق عليها منات المليارات من الدولارات، لا يمكن ان يكون عاجزاً، ومن يملك نفطاً وارصدة ضخمة يتوسل اليه الغرب لاستخدامها في انقاذ اقتصاداته المنهارة لا يمكن ان يكون عاجزاً، بل هو متواطى مع كل الاهانات وعمليات الاذلال التي تتعرض لها هذه الأمة على ايدي الاسرائيليين والامريكيين.

حتى دول المغرب العربي، فقيرها وغنيها، تملك اوراق قوة تستطيع من خلالها تركيع اوروبا اذا ارادت. فالجزائر هي البديل الاستراتيجي للغاز الروسي، والنفط الليبي هو الأقرب الى اوروبا والأجود نوعية.

يكفي ان توقف هذه الدول تعاونها الأمني مع الحكومات الاوروبية، او تتوقف عن منع المهاجرين الافارقة من الانطلاق من شواطئها باتجاه اوروبا، وان تقول لهذه الحكومات الاوروبية، التي تعطي اسرائيل امتيازات الدول الاعضاء في الاتحاد الاوروبي انها لن تستمر في التعاون في هذه الملفات طالما انها تتحاز للعدوان الاسرائيلي وتتواطأ معه.

زمن البيانات انتهى، وزمن مؤتمرات عمرو موسى التحذيرية ولى الى غير رجعة، الوقت الراهن هو وقت العمل الجدي، وليس بيع الكلام الرخيص، فلحظة الحقيقة تنطلق الان من الدماء الزكية الطاهرة لشهداء غزة.

اسرائيل تمارس الارهاب، ولكنها في الوقت نفسه تقدم اكبر خدمة لحركات المقاومة الاسلامية، والمتشددة منها على وجه الخصوص. ولا بد ان الشيخ اسامة بن لادن وحليفه الأوثق الملا عمر يفركان ايديهما فرحاً وهما يريان كيف تكافى اسرائيل حلفاءها العرب، وتتجاوب مع مبادرتهم للسلام، والأهم من ذلك كيف تكافى شريكها الفلسطيني.

(3) غطاء عربي لمجزرة غزة

عبد البارى عطوان

القدس العربي/ الثاني من كانون الثاني من العام 2009

فشل وزراء الخارجية العرب في اجتماعهم الأخير في القاهرة باتخاذ اي موقف للتصدي للعدوان الاسرائيلي المستمر على قطاع غزة يؤكد النظرية التي تقول بان هذا العدوان جاء نتيجة تنسيق ومباركة مع دول عربية نافذة، وخاصة مصر والمملكة العربية السعودية. وهما الدولتان اللتان عارضتا بقوة عقد مؤتمر قمة طارئ لبحث الأوضاع في قطاع غزة، متعذرتين بالانقسام الفلسطيني.

هذا الاجتماع كان بمثابة فرصة نادرة لممثلي النظام الرسمي العربي لبراء ذمتهم من تهمة التواطؤ مع العدوان، ولكنهم أكدوا التهمة، بل وتفاخروا بها، وأعلنوا الاستمرار فيها، لاعطاء الطائرات والدبابات الاسرائيلية ما تحتاجه من وقت، وغطاء عربي، لاكمال مهمتها في إبادة أكبر عدد ممكن من أبناء قطاع غزة. العدوان الاسرائيلي دخل يومه السادس، والطائرات الاسرائيلية من كل الأنواع والأحجام تواصل القاء حممها على المدنيين ومنازلهم، ولكن هذه الآلة العسكرية الجبارة فشلت في وقف اطلاق الصواريخ، بل زادت من

أعدادها، وباتت تصل إلى العمق الاسرائيلي .

هذه الصواريخ 'العبيثة'، كما يدعي 'عرب الاعتدال' أصبحت تشل الحياة في سبع مدن اسرائيلية كبرى مثل أسدود وعسقلان وبئر السبع، وتدفع بحوالي مليون اسرائيلي إلى الملاجئ، فهذا المستوطن الاسرائيلي الذي جاء من مختلف أنحاء العالم للاستمتاع بسرقة الأرض الفلسطينية في ظل أجواء أمنية مطمئنة، بات يشعر الآن ان احلامه في الأمن والاستقرار تتبخر تدريجياً، للمرة الثانية في غضون عامين، حيث كانت الأولى من خلال صواريخ 'حزب الله' التي كانت تهطل كالمطر على المناطق الشمالية، وها هي صواريخ الشق الآخر من المقاومة الاسلامية 'السنية' تضرب مدنه وتجمعاته السكنية في الجنوب.

أثناء العدوان الاسرائيلي على جنوب لبنان عام 2006 صمت العالم الغربي لعدة أيام، لاعطاء الدبابات والطائرات الاسرائيلية فرصتها لاكمال مهمتها في اقتلاع المقاومة الاسلامية، وتواطأ معه 'عرب الاعتدال' الذين استعدوا للاحتفال بالانتصار الاسرائيلي الوشيك، ونأوا بأنفسهم عن المقاومة، وحملوها وليس الاسرائيليين المعتدين، مسؤولية هذه الحرب. الآن الموقف تغير على الصعيد الأوروبي على الأقل، فها هي الدول الأوروبية تسارع بعقد لقاءات والتقدم بمبادرات لوقف مبكر لاطلاق النار، لأنها تترك ما لا تتركه الزعامات العربية ان هذا العدوان، مثل سابقه، لن يحقق اهدافه في القضاء على 'حماس'، بل سيؤدي إلى نتائج عكسية تماماً، أي تعزيزها واضعاف المعتدلين، في الصنفين الفلسطيني والعربي .

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القادة الأوروبيون بدأوا يشعرون ان استمرار هذه الحماية العسكرية في قتل الأبرياء وتدمير أهداف مدنية، مثل المجلس التشريعي الفلسطيني ووزارتي العدل والتعليم، ربما بات يشكل تهديداً أمنياً خطيراً على دولهم ومواطنيها ومرافقها الحيوية من مطارات ومحطات قطارات. فإذا كانت الخسائر البشرية الضخمة في العراق أثناء الاحتلال الأمريكي الحافز المباشر لتفجيرات قطارات لندن صيف عام 2005، ومريد قبلها بعام، فإن صور أطفال غزة الشهداء الذين حولت الصواريخ الاسرائيلية اجسادهم الغضة الى اشلاء قد يكون وقعها اشد على المتشددين الاسلاميين الغاضبين في القارة الأوروبية، حيث الخلايا النائمة والصاحبة لتنظيم 'القاعدة' وفرعه في شمال افريقيا (المغرب الاسلامي)، وربما نشهد بزوغ تنظيمات اخرى اكثر تشدداً ودموية.

اوروبا يجب ان تتأى بنفسها عن هذا العدوان بالوقوف ضده، لأنها قد تدفع ثمناً باهظاً مقابل ان تحصل السيدة تسبيبي ليفني وزيرة الخارجية الاسرائيلية او ايهود باراك وزير الدفاع الاسرائيلي على مقعد اضافي في البرلمان الاسرائيلي (الكنيست). فالانانية السياسية البشعة لدى بعض السياسيين الاسرائيليين قد تفقد العالم بأسره، وليس منطقة الشرق الأوسط فقط الى مرحلة خطرة من عدم الاستقرار والعنف والارهاب.

المسؤولون الأوروبيون يجب ان يتذكروا جيداً ان هناك بركاناً من الغضب على الشاطئ الآخر من المتوسط، عبر عن نفسه في مظاهرات حاشدة، باتت تشكل ضغطاً على الحكومات 'المعتدلة' المتعاونة مع الاتحاد الأوروبي في مخططاته لمواجهة 'الارهاب'، ومنع الهجرة السرية غير الشرعية. وعلينا ان نتصور تجاوب هذه الحكومات مع الضغوط الشعبية وتقليص، ولا نقول وقف تنسيقها الأمني مع نظيراتها الأوروبية في هذين الملفين، وكيف ستكون انعكاسات ذلك على الأمن الأوروبي؟

التحرك الدبلوماسي أمر مطلوب، شريطة ان يكون مدعوماً بأوراق ضغط عربية، وليس مستنداً الى اساليب الاستجداء، والمبادرات الارتجالية. فالغرب هو بحاجة الى العرب هذه المرة، حيث يعيش ظروفاً مالية واقتصادية صعبة، والعرب هم من بين دول قليلة تستطيع المساهمة في إخراجهم من هذا الوضع المزري. مشكلة النظام العربي الرسمي انه يصدر ازماته الى الآخرين لحلها، فقد اراد من امريكا ان تخلصه من نظام حكم صدام حسين، ويريد الآن من اسرائيل ان تخلصه من المقاومة الاسلامية في غزة، وهو جاهز لدفع التكاليف كافة، مع قيمة الخدمة المضافة، مع الفوائد المصرفية أيضاً. فكم هم كرماء مع امريكا واوروبا وربما مع اسرائيل أيضاً.

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العدوان الاسرائيلي على غزة هو اكثر انواع العدوان بشاعة ووقاحة وجبناً. فالغارات الاسرائيلية وبأحدث الطائرات تلقي بحممها على شعب 'مسجون' خلف قضبان الحصار. تخيلوا ان يطلق انسان النار على اسد في قفص صغير ثم يدعي الانتقام او النصر بعد ان يرديه قتيلاً؟ فعلوا ذلك بالشعب العراقي، وهاهم يعيدون الكرة مع قطاع غزة. انها المدرسة نفسها والجنرالات انفسهم، والثقافة نفسها. ان يصمت الزعماء العرب وقادة جيوشهم، فهذا امر متوقع من اناس ادمنوا الهوان والتدلل، وقمع شعوبهم، لكن ان يصمت العالم الغربي الديمقراطي 'المتحضر' على هذه المجازر في قطاع غزة، وهو الذي ظل يحاضر ويلقي الوعظ علينا طوال العقود الماضية حول حقوق الانسان، والقيم الاخلاقية، فهذا امر معيب بكل المقاييس، فالقادة الغربيون شنوا حملة شرسة ضد نظام موغابي بسبب انتشار الكوليرا في بلاده، وطالبوا العالم بأسره للتدخل للاطاحة بنظام حكمه، وهم يعلمون جيداً ان وباء الكوليرا هذا هو نتيجة حصارهم لبلده. فلماذا لا يتخذون الموقف نفسه وهم يرون الاطفال الفلسطينيين يبادون بصواريخ وطائرات هم صانعوها؟

اسرائيل انتصرت على جيوش ثلاث دول عربية في ستة أيام، عبر سلاحها الجوي، واستخدام الحد الأدنى من الدروع في هزيمة عام 1967. وها هي تعترف الآن بأن القصف الجوي لن يحسم حربها مع حركات المقاومة

في غزة، رغم غارات الترويع التي تشنها على الأبرياء والتي لم تقتل مجاهداً واحداً من قوات القسام أو سرايا القدس أو اللجان الشعبية أو كتائب الأقصى. فقد تعلمت هذه الكتائب جميعاً من تجربة 'حزب الله'، ولجأت الى الأرض تحتمي باتفاقها انتظاراً للحرب الحقيقية.

وهذا ما يفسر عدم مشاهدتنا مجاهداً واحداً في الشوارع ملوحاً ببندقيته، مثلما كان عليه الحال في الماضي، فهم ينتظرون الهجوم البري على أحرّ من الجمر، أو هكذا نعتقد. لا نستطيع ان نتنبأ بنتائج اي مواجهة برية، ولكن ما يمكن قوله هو ان الدبابات الاسرائيلية لم تستطع ان تتقدم بضعة امتار عندما وصلت الى ابواب المنطقة الغربية في بيروت اثناء اجتياح صيف عام 1982. واستمرت المقاومة ثمانين يوماً، والشيء نفسه حدث اثناء اجتياح صيف عام 2006، وقبلها في مخيم جنين، حيث احتاجت الدبابات الاسرائيلية لعشرة ايام لتتقحمه، وخسرت 26 ضابطاً وجندياً.

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رجال المقاومة المدافعون عن اهلهم وعرضهم في غزة قد يكونون امام معجزة صمود جديدة، مرشحة لكي تشعل الشوارع العربي بالمظاهرات والمواجهات مع قوات الحكومات العربية المتواطئة، و'المضبوغة' من اسرائيل وامريكا.

فالأممات العربية والاسلامية تنتظران الشرارة التي قد تحدث التغيير الذي يعيد اليها كرامتها وعزتها، ويمحو عار الهزائم من تاريخها الحديث.

اتصلت بأشقائي وشقيقتي وأبناء عمومتي في غزة على مدى الأيام الستة الماضية للاطمئنان والاطلاع على الأوضاع، واستمداد العزم... الصورة مؤلمة، فلا ماء، ولا كهرباء ولا طعام ولا غاز، ولا حطب. احد اشقائي تسأل: اين اطنان المساعدات العربية التي يتفاخرون بارسالها عبر الفضائيات؟ واين مئات الشاحنات هذه التي قالوا انها عبرت الحدود؟ لا يوجد كيس طحين واحد في السوق، ووقفت، والقول لشقيقي، في طابور الخبز لمدة ساعتين وعندما وصلت الى البائع قالوا ان الكمية نفدت.

ابن عم لي قال ان المشكلة الاكبر التي يواجهها ليست نقص الطعام او انعدامه، ولا انقطاع الكهرباء، ولا زجاج البيت المدمر بسبب الغارات، والبرد القارس، فعلى الأقل ما زال له جدران بالمقارنة مع من نسفت بيوتهم، وانما المشكلة في كيفية التعامل مع اطفاله المرعوبين من الطائرات الاسرائيلية واصواتها المخيفة وهي تغير على اهدافها وتطلق صواريخها. فهو لاء الذين سيقفون على قيد الحياة ولم تكتب لهم الشهادة، سيتحولون الى معاقين جسدياً ومصابين بأمراض نفسية مزمنة.

ما اجمع عليه جميع من اتصلت بهم، هو انتصارهم للمقاومة، واستعدادهم للتضحية دفاعاً عن قطاعهم المستهدف. وما لفت نظري اكثر، انهم لم يسألوا هذه المرة عن الجيوش العربية، ولم يوجهوا اي لوم لأحد. ربما لأنهم ينسوا، وربما لأن عزة أنفسهم ابت عليهم العتاب، ربما لأنهم يترفعون بكبر عن الصغار. عبارة واحدة ظلت تتردد في أذني، قالها احد اطفال ابن اخي، 'يا عم نموت واقفين دفاعاً عن عرضنا وكرامتنا برصاص الاسرائيليين او شظايا صواريخهم اشرف من ان نموت جوعاً او مرضاً'. انها عبارة أبلغ من كل بيانات وزراء الخارجية العرب ومؤتمرات قممهم.. أسف لا مجال للمقارنة...لله درهم انهم لمينتصرون حتماً، واسود غزة سيقاومون حتما حتى وهم داخل قفصهم، فهاهم يصمدون ستة ايام تحت جحيم النيران والقنابل.. مئة طن من المتفجرات القيت عليهم في اكواخهم المتهالكة، ومع ذلك لم يرفعوا رايات الاستسلام، وواصلوا اطلاق الصواريخ دون توقف، وواصلوا في الوقت نفسه دفن شهدائهم بباء وشمم، انهم من اشرف شعوب الارض قاطبة.

4) غزة الغارقة بالدم ... والهدف أبعد من صواريخ حماس!!

عبدالله القفاري - صحيفة الرياض

الخامس من كانون الثاني من العام 2009

أمام شلال الدم ومشاهد التدمير والإبادة الجماعية في غزة المحاصرة، تحتبس حتى القدرة على التعبير.. فصراخ غزة طغى على صراخ المتظاهرين، وتجاوز قدرات المنددين.. مشاهد تعصف بك من الداخل حتى ترميك في أقصى زاوية تجتر هذا العجز المقيم والألم الجريح.. وإذا اجتمع الحصار والإبادة بقوة النار المصبوبة من اعنى الأسلحة وأكثرها فتكاً تتوارى القدرة لدى كثيرين على التحليل ناهيك عن البقاء الطويل في دائرة الحيرة والألم والتوقف المريع .

من يجرو اليوم على استعادة صواريخ حماس ضعيفة الفاعلية في مواجهة هذه النار المصبوبة على رؤوس الغزيين ليتحدث عن الأسباب والدواعي ويقسم مسؤولية الدم بين حماس وإسرائيل.. هو لا يجازف ببقية كرامة أو عدالة، فهذا النوع من القياس باهظ الكلفة وغير إنساني وغير أخلاقي وهو يتجاوز حقائق المنطق

والتاريخ. الحرب على غزة اليوم تتجاوز قصة تهدة جديدة، ولم يبدأ العدوان الإسرائيلي على الفلسطينيين مع صواريخ حماس ولن ينتهي بها .

من يعتقد أن تدمير إسرائيل لغزة هو من أجل إيقاف بضعة صواريخ قتلت عجزاً أو ارهبت مستوطناً، فهو واهم، ومن يريد أن يقتلنا بطريقة أو بأخرى بأن حماس تدفع ثمن تحالفاتها مع قوى تزايد على الدم الفلسطيني، وهي في حالة صراع مع إسرائيل والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية فهو لا يتجاوز بعض طنين الإعلام العربي، وهو يقدم التبرير على التحليل، وهو لا يختلف بحال أيضاً عن بيع الوهم من الطرف الآخر الذي يزايد على الدم الفلسطيني من عواصم تدرك معنى توظيف الدم الفلسطيني على طريقة توظيف حالة الصراع ما أمكن من أجل مصالح نظام ومشروع نظام .

وقعت حماس في خطأ استراتيجي كبير، ليس عندما رفضت التهدة أو بدأت تطلق صواريخها ضعيفة التأثير على مستوطنات محاذية لقطاع غزة، بل كان هذا الخطأ في اللحظة التي اتخذت فيها قرار تصفية فتح في غزة، والافراد بالقطاع لتحصن في بقعة ضيقة وخائفة. لقد وقعت حماس في الشرك - مهما كانت المسوغات - فماذا كانت النتيجة؟ تم عزل غزة وتركت لعذابات الحصار أكثر من عام ونصف، وعندما أصبح هذا الحصار مسألة تقلق الضمير العالمي، ولم تفت في قوى الحركة، وأمام مشروع آخر ابعد من قصة صواريخ حماس، وهو إنهاء أي حالة المقاومة وعلى الطريقة الإسرائيلية، أصبحت تصفية حماس في القطاع هدفاً إسرائيلياً بانتظار تسوية قادمة .

هناك إشارة ربما لم يلتفت لها الكثيرون في خطاب الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك، فقد قال بوضوح إن مصر لن تسمح لإسرائيل بتحقيق هدفها وهو توريط مصر بالقطاع، وأن القطاع والضفة هي مشروع الدولة الفلسطينية. هذه المسألة بالغة الأهمية ليس من باب التبرير كما قد يظن البعض، انها حقيقة تاريخية منذ رعت مصر الناصرية إنشاء منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية وقبل حتى ظهور فتح على السطح .

انها إشارة بالغة الأهمية إلى هدف آخر تسعى إليه إسرائيل، فبعد هذه الحرب الشاملة على القطاع تستمر الضغوط على مصر من أجل فتح المعبر على مصراعيه، وبالتالي توريط مصر في العودة إلى القطاع الذي كان تحت الإدارة المصرية قبل حرب 67، وهذا يعني أيضاً فصل جزء مهم من الدولة الفلسطينية القادمة وابتلاع مصر لطعم القطاع .

وقعت حماس في شرك الحصار في غزة وهي التي كانت شريكة في حكومة، ولم تكن الدماء والأشلاء والضحايا الأبرياء وطوابير المجندين الذين تساقطوا بفعل الغارات مشهداً يمكن تخيله أو تصوره إلا في عقول تترك أبعاد حالة صراع ليس فقط بين حماس والكيان الإسرائيلي ولكن بين قوى تريد أن تحسم ورقة حماس. هذا من جهة، ومن جهة أخرى إعاقه مشروع الدولة الفلسطينية عبر جر مصر لمأزق القطاع .

تدرك حماس حتماً أن حصارها في هذه البقعة الضيقة والمكتظة، لم يكن يعني في النهاية سوى أن يتعرض القطاع لعمليات تصب النار بلا هوادة على رؤوس الغزيين. وتراهن حماس اليوم على حالة صمود وقدرتها على مواجهة ضربات الجوية بانتظار الهجوم البري على القطاع، لكن هل تملك مقومات الصمود؟ وهل تقوى فعلاً على حالة نزال تعيد للمشهد للمرة الأولى الكلفة العالية لهذه الحرب حتى على الجانب الإسرائيلي، وربما هي من المرات القليلة في تاريخ المقاومة الفلسطينية تقوى حركة على حماية قادتها في الصف الأول وهي محاصرة وتعرض لهجوم جوي واسع ومكثف ودقيق .

لا أعتقد أنه من السهولة تكرار سيناريو صيف 2006 في لبنان، من حيث قدرة المقاومة في القطاع على إجبار الكيان الإسرائيلي على دفع جزء من كلفة الحرب على القطاع. فالقطاع المحاصر والضيق والمكثف أصبح مشروع مذبحة كل ساعة تزف العشرات من الشهداء. فحزب الله حينها لم يكن وحيداً في الساحة اللبنانية، كان يتحرك في فضاء واسع بكثير من قطاع صغير مكثف ومحاصر، وكان يحظى بدعم إقليمي من أطراف تمدد

بالمال والسلاح والمعلومات الاستخباراتية ولديه مجال واسع للمناورة.. لكن هذا التحليل يعتمد على قراءة لا ترى أن حماس ربما استعدت للمواجهة البرية منذ وقت مبكر، وادركت انها فرصتها التاريخية لوضع العدو في مشهد المواجهة المباشرة بعد أن يعجز عن تصفية المقاومة عبر تصفية قادتها وأجهزتها عبر الهجوم الجوي المكثف .

إذا استطاعت حماس امتصاص ضربات الجوية عالية الكلفة، وحافظت على قياداتها، واستعدت لمواجهة مباشرة مع القوات الإسرائيلية البرية في قطاع مكتظ ويشكل بيئة مناسبة لحرب العصابات، حتى تبدأ إسرائيل باكتشاف صعوبة إنهاء الحالة لصالحها والقبول بورقة هدنة طويلة الأمد، فهي لن تحقق أهدافها من هذه العملية الكبيرة التي أعلنت أنها تستهدف اقتلاع حماس من القطاع. أما إذا استطاعت أن تحسم هذه الحرب لصالحها بالوصول إلى قيادات حماس وتدمير بنيته التحتية بالكامل، فهي ستترك حينها على الطاولة تخريج حل الدولة على الطريقة الإسرائيلية .

حالة الصراع تتجاوز تأمين بضع مستوطنات من صواريخ حماس، كما يحاول أن يوهننا البعض.. هذه الحرب التدميرية هي فصل كبير في هذه المرحلة، تقدم فيها إسرائيل مشروعها لكيان فلسطيني بلا مقومات وشروط الدولة، تجعلها مجرد كانتونات يحشر فيها الفلسطينيون في القطاع وبعض أجزاء الضفة. هذا إذا لم يكن هناك إمكانية لمشروع آخر تعمل إسرائيل من خلاله على سلخ القطاع عن الضفة الغربية عبر توريث مصر بالقطاع، ومحاولة إحياء فكرة كنفيدرالية الضفة الغربية مع المملكة الأردنية، وبذلك تتخلص أيضاً إسرائيل من عبء مشروع الدولة الفلسطينية .

الهدف الاستراتيجي لدى إسرائيل هو إنهاء أي حالة مقاومة أو ممانعة لمشروع سلام مفصل على الطريقة الإسرائيلية، وطالما حماس دخلت مع السلطة الفلسطينية في حالة صراع، ولم تقوى السلطة على استعادة زمام المبادرة في القطاع، وطالما حماس بلا مشروع سوى مشروع البقاء على قيد الحياة والممانعة في القطاع المحاصر.. عندها أصبحت الظروف مناسبة لإنهاء حالة وليس لاستعادة مبادرة .

لا مستقبل لأي حركة مقاومة بلا شروط المقاومة وعناصر الإبقاء على استدامتها وهي تحمل أيضاً مشروعاً سياسياً له أفق ومستقبل. ولم تكن حركة حماس سوى حركة مقاومة ساهمت كثيراً في ارباك مشروع استيطاني وتوسعي، لكن ماذا عن مشروعها السياسي. وهذه قصة تأخذ كثيراً من الإسلاميين بعيداً عن فقه الواقع السياسي، ولم يكن يضير الحركة لو تعاملت بمرونة كافية مع سلطة فلسطينية تعرف انها تحظى بالدعم العربي والدولي، ولم يكن من الرشد السياسي تصفية الوضع داخل القطاع لتقع في شرك الحصار والخنق البطيء، ولم يكن لها أن تراهن على دعم مادي من قوى إقليمية تستفيد من حالة صراع لكنها في النهاية لن تقوى على دعم صمود الحركة سوى من خلال مشاعر الجماهير الغاضبة التي تتلاشى في الهواء بعد ساعات من الصراخ الضاج .

مواجهة الكيان الإسرائيلي ليست مهمة مقاومة معزولة ومحاصرة وبلا امتداد عربي يفتح لها أفق المقاومة والصمود الطويل، ولم تكن مواجهة كيان غاضب منذ البدء إلا بتوافر توازن قوى ولو نسبي قادر على إلحاق الأذى بالكيان الإسرائيلي، أو حركة مقاومة مدنية وسياسية كالانتفاضة الفلسطينية التي عبرت عن روح الرفض والصمود والممانعة وكانت تحظى بدعم عربي وتعاطف دولي قادر على استدامتها .

إذا ما حققت إسرائيل أهدافها في القطاع، سنرى من يتبرع لإعادة إعمار بعض ما دمرته إسرائيل من مبان ومرافق، ولكن من يقوى على إيقاف هذه الآلام في نفوس الغزيين الذين ستلاحقهم نتائج هذا العدوان الكارثي طيلة أعمارهم. بقدر ما نشعرنا مشاهد الدم والدمار والضحايا الذين يتساقطون في غزة كل ساعة بالعجز واليأس، بقدر ما نحاول أن نستعيد عقلاً لمواجهة التحليل، حتى لا نقع في ذات الشرك دائماً وحتى لا نكون أسرى فقط لمن يروج لقصة صواريخ حماس.. أو من يدعو لإيقاف النار المتبادل بين طرفين...!! وهذه من نواذر السياسيين الدوليين وبعض المحللين الصحفيين في مستقبل عام جديد لا أحد يعلم كيف سيمضي وإلى أين سيقود هذه المنطقة المنكوبة.

5) غزة.. وحيدة أمام العدوان

د. عبدالمحسن جمال/ الوطن الكويتية

التاسع والعشرون من كانون الأول من العام 2008

ما يحدث في غزة من اعتداءات صهيونية بالطائرات وقصف الاهالي ما هو الا قانون الغاب، حيث يعتدي القوي على الضعيف لمجرد انه يملك اسباب الاعتداء.

غزة هي تحت الاحتلال الصهيوني الغاصب، ووفق القانون الدولي فإن الصهاينة هم المسؤولون عن سلامة اهاليها، وان تجويعهم وقصفهم بالطائرات ومنع المواد الغذائية والوقود عنهم يدخل تحت عنوان القتل الجماعي والجرائم الدولية التي يحاسب عليها القانون.

وهذا الحصار هو ما يدعيه العدو الصهيوني الغاصب نفسه من ان الالمان حاصروا اليهود في الحرب العالمية الثانية وابدوا عددا كبيرا منهم في ما يسمى بالهولوكوست او المحرقة الجماعية.

وها هو العدو الصهيوني الغاصب يلجأ الى الابادة الجماعية نفسها الذي يشتكي منها ويدعو العالم إلى انكارها.

اما الادهى من كل ذلك، فهو الضعف العربي الواضح الذي وصل الى حد التواطؤ والخذلان، وهو ما يذكرنا بالموقف العربي في حرب تموز التي شنّها العدو الصهيوني الغاصب على لبنان لابطاد حزب الله وافنائه، حيث كان العرب يتفرجون على المأساة ودينونها من دون ان يفعلوا شيئا.

ومن الواضح ان السيناريو نفسه يتكرر هنا لإضعاف حركة حماس واجبارها على الرضوخ للشروط الصهيونية والقبول بها، او ابعادها عن السيطرة على قطاع غزة.

والسيناريو اصبح مفضوحاً بدرجة كبيرة، ومتكرراً امام العالم الذي يقف عاجزاً امام الاسرائيليين وهم يتلقون الدعم الاميركي والغربي المباشر، وامام الصمت العربي.

اما الصورة الايجابية التي نراها امامنا، فهي صبر الشعب في غزة وتمسكه بحق الحياة رغم الصعوبات المعيشية والحصار الظالم وتخلي الصديق وهمجية العدو.

وهنا لا نملك الا ان ندعو الله سبحانه ان يعينهم على تحمل الاذى ويساعدهم على الصبر، وان يأتيهم بالفرج العاجل.. فلا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم.

English Articles

1) Hamas is the obstacle to Middle East peace

Israel's critics have got it wrong - extremists in Gaza must be defeated before a better future can be built, writes Ron Prosor, Israel's Ambassador to the UK.

Ron Prosor/ The Telegraph

2:46PM GMT 31 /Dec/ 2008

Every soldier was withdrawn. Every Jewish settlement was evacuated, in a process requiring 45,000 police and costing \$2.5 billion. Politicians staked their reputations on a courageous step towards peace. They hoped Gaza could provide a blueprint of Palestinian autonomy, a precursor to a Palestinian state.

Tragically, Hamas chose violence, rejecting the chance to develop Gazan society and opting instead to attack ours. Missiles from Gaza have blighted the lives of Israeli civilians since 2001. The withdrawal should have brought calm, but 5,000 missiles and mortars have since rained down on Israel.

As I write, Hizbollah flags flutter in the Kensington streets outside my Embassy. Agitators hail the Hamas leadership that created the crisis. In Gaza, protestors dissenting against Hamas face the death sentence. With the blessing of Iran and Hizbollah, Hamas has turned Gaza into a theocratic nightmare.

Al-Hayat last Wednesday reported Hamas's new laws enforcing punishments of whipping for drinking, dismembering for theft, and executions for a host of ambiguous crimes. "Games of chance" are also to be punished with the whip. Ironically, Hamas continues to gamble with Palestinian lives.

Hamas is committed to Islamism at its bloodiest, and Israel is not its only target. In June 2007 Hamas turned its weapons on its brethren, chasing the Palestinian Authority from Gaza. According to the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights, 161 people died during the bloody coup, including 41 civilians. Brutality has characterised Hamas's rule. In November 2007, seven demonstrators were killed, as Hamas police fired into an unarmed Fatah rally commemorating the death of Yasser Arafat. Last summer, Hamas killed 11 Fatah members as 200 more fled to Israel for safety. Yet while Hamas kills Palestinians, the megaphones remain mute.

Hamas has betrayed the Palestinian cause. The Palestinian national movement, previously based on secular, nationalist aspirations has been hijacked by religiously inspired lunacy. Every missile fired at Israel, every Fatah rival shot dead, has steered the Palestinians further from statehood, and closer to brutal theocracy and interminable conflict.

The megaphones crow selective demands to end the violence but Israel has been demanding calm for years. Our concerns have been treated with complacency. The realities faced by Israel's southern citizens have been downplayed. Their life under missile fire relegated to small-print, a footnote in the reams of condemnation of Israel's search for solutions to the Hamas menace.

500,000 Israelis live within range of Hamas's missiles. The piercing warning siren dominates the daily routine in towns like Sderot, Ashkelon and Ashdod. Anywhere within 40km of Gaza, communities raise their children in bomb shelters. Israel cannot sit back while Hamas improves the size and range of its arsenal.

No democratic government in the world would tolerate this. No population would permit it. No army would allow an implacable foe to launch missiles at its citizens and improve its capabilities. As the Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas has pointed out, the loss of life in Gaza was "avoidable". Without the destructive actions of Hamas there would have been no reaction from Israel. As Israel targets Hamas's terrorist infrastructure, we continue to supply Gaza with electricity and aid. Thousands of tonnes of food and medical supplies have passed through the border in recent days. The provision of electricity, aid and support to the civilians of an enemy territory, during a time of war, is a unique phenomenon. Our fight is not with the people of Gaza, but with the terrorist body holding them hostage.

Cries of "disproportionate" fill the airwaves, based largely on the difference in death tolls. Yet Hamas's disregard for the lives of civilians is the key to the difference. Israel provides shelters underneath its communities to protect its citizens. Hamas places missiles in shelters underneath civilians.

Hamas fires missiles with the express intent of murdering civilians. Israeli intent is directed solely at Hamas combatants.

The challenge of Hamas reflects the wider struggle between moderates and extremists that defines the dynamics of our region. Extremist cheerleaders parrot their usual rhetoric. Hamas's political leader Khaled Meshal preaches martyrdom from his throne in Damascus. Hassan Nasrallah of Hezbollah bellows "resistance", while imposing ideological tyranny on Lebanon.

Meanwhile, in Tehran, the operational head-quarters of Middle Eastern terror, President Ahmadinejad writes new verses of pseudo-religious justification for the murder of Jews. Shamefully, Channel 4 executives made him their Christmas guest of honour, insulting the intelligence and integrity of the British viewer. Their alternative Christmas message will go down in history as a disgrace to British broadcasting.

It is time to recognise that the tactics and ideology of Hamas and its backers are the foremost obstacle to Middle East peace. The moderates in the Arab world understand this better than some European observers.

For too long, Hamas has held progress to ransom, choosing war over peace, destruction over development. Israel's objective is to take the initiative away from Hamas. The pragmatic moderates of all sides need a new reality from which to find a diplomatic solution. Unless we weaken Hamas, the moderates cannot succeed. The international community, Israel and the pragmatic leadership of the Arab world must

stand up to the extremism that threatens us all. We must start the New Year in the spirit of Churchill. If we are divided, we all stand to lose; "If we are together nothing is impossible."

2) Inside Gaza's secret smuggling tunnels, the underground route to riches - or to death

With several tonnes of the world's most war-torn soil between us, the shouts of the Palestinian smuggling gang at the top of the tunnel's 30-foot deep shaft had become almost inaudible.

**The Independent: Kim Sengupta and Ben Lynfield
January 6, 2009 08:29 AM**

Not that their lead tunneller had whispered particularly encouraging words as he lowered me down.

"The tunnels are very dangerous - they can easily collapse," smiled Ibrahim Abu Sazzar, 23, whose small, wiry build is just right for digging the 300 yard long passageways underneath the sandy border from the Gaza to Egypt. "One time a day a tunnel caved in on my body and I was stuck for an hour, thinking I was about to die. But what can I do - I need the money to feed my family."

Welcome, if that is the word, to Gaza's "Tunnel Town", where with every perilous scoop of earth they dig, human moles like Mr Sazzar are quite literally undermining Israel's economic blockade.

Imposed last year after Gaza fell under the control of the militant Palestinian faction Hamas, the blockade was designed to make Hamas unpopular with Gaza's 1.4 million residents by banning virtually all trade with the outside world.

But deep beneath the watchtowers and fences of Gaza's 10-mile long border with Egypt, a sprawling warren of hand-dug burrows now supplies everything from food, petrol and designer jeans through to guns, drugs and black market Marlboro cigarettes. Tunnel gangs charge premiums of up to 150 per cent on their cargos, raking in tens of thousands of dollars a week and making the excavation business one of Gaza's few growth industries.

"We bring through laptops, clothes, computers, medicines, mobile phones and even people," said Hisham al Loukh, 23, another tunneller. "There was even a bride from Egypt who came through one recently to get married to a man in Gaza."

The first tunnels underneath Gaza's perimeters were dug years ago, when they were they were primarily to smuggle weapons and explosives for use against Israel. But it is during the blockade of the past year that the tunnellers' hazardous craft has really come to the fore. On some estimates there are now up to 500 passageways across to Egypt, mostly clustered around the town of Rafah, which straddles the border.

The tunnels usually surface in the gardens of villas on the Egyptian side of Rafah, where many residents are either sympathetic to the Palestinian cause or willing to lend their properties in return for a share of the lucrative profits.

Each member of a tunnelling gangs, usually working in day and night shifts of 10 men each, earns around \$15 per metre of passageway dug, which counts as a decent wage in an area which currently has 80 per cent unemployment. But as even the briefest of sojourns down into one of the tunnels makes clear, it is a risky living.

Entering one requires perching precariously on a makeshift wooden chairlift, which is then lowered down the 30 foot deep shaft by a winch powered by a sputtering petrol generator. As in the Second World War film classic *The Great Escape*, the tunnel's walls are propped up with makeshift wooden planks, and equipped with ventilation pumps to freshen the musty, damp air at the bottom. Diggers then use small electric drills to carve a path through the thick clay soil, steering their way by hand-held compass.

But otherwise, the engineering expertise has advanced little since the days of Tom, Dick and Harry. Tunnel collapses have led to dozens of fatalities - so many that some local shops honour tunnellers in the same fashion as "martyred" local militants, displaying pictures of them clutching spades and drills rather than assault rifles.

The threat is not just from earthfalls. The Egyptian government, which has traditionally turned a blind eye to the tunnels because of historic sympathy for Gaza's Palestinian residents, is now under growing pressure from both Israel and the US to shut them down, and in recent months Egyptian border guards have started dynamiting any entrances that they discover. "They also pump in water, poison gas, and even sewage," said Mr Sazzar. "But they do not stop us. If part of one tunnel gets blocked, we just dig a new branch in a different direction."

On the Gaza side, little effort is made to hide the tunnels, which lurk under a network of tents and jerry-built shacks along the border. Israel, which withdrew its forces from Gaza in 2005, has occasionally sent warplanes to bomb the passageways, but has not done so since striking a cease-fire deal with Hamas three months ago.

Hamas itself used to impose strict controls on the tunnels' numbers, but has allowed them to proliferate in recent months, mindful that too much economic privation will dent its already wavering popularity with Gaza's impoverished residents. There are also rumours that Hamas rakes in millions of dollars by imposing an unofficial "tax" on all tunnelled goods, although Dr Ahmed Yousef, a senior advisor in Hamas's foreign ministry, denies such claims. "The tunnels have become a necessity with everybody tightening the rope around our necks," he said. "It is a safety valve to make goods available, because we cannot get them from Israel."

Tunnel entrepreneurs are now enjoying such good business, however, that they now have a vested interest in the status quo. In recent months a ceasefire between Hamas and Israel has raised hopes that the economic blockade might be eased, but some in Gaza fear that should that ever look like happening, local tunnel owners will sabotage it by paying militants to fire rockets into Israel again.

Meanwhile, the list of tunnel "martyrs" continues to grow. The day after *The Sunday Telegraph* visited, a neighbouring tunnel at Rafah collapsed, killing three people and injuring five others.

3) A ceasefire would be in Israel's interests

When Israel began its assault on Gaza a fortnight ago, we made the point that much of the responsibility lay with Hamas.

The Telegraph: The editorial

January 9, 2009

It has fired thousands of rockets into Israeli territory in recent years, apparently with the intention of provoking the very response that has reduced buildings and villages in Gaza to rubble. In reaction, Israel has exercised its legitimate right to self-defence and to destroy the military power of Hamas. But there comes a point beyond which an operation of this sort becomes counter-productive and morally unjustifiable. And now we have reached that point.

The humanitarian crisis in Gaza is so severe that a ceasefire is essential, irrespective of whether Israel feels it has achieved its military objectives. It goes without saying that there will always be civilian casualties in urban warfare; but the deaths of hundreds of people, including scores of children, cannot be countenanced. Israeli army commanders have clear-cut obligations under international law to ensure that civilian casualties are kept to a minimum; and those obligations are binding even if civilians are being used as human shields by unscrupulous Hamas fighters. It cannot be right to seek to protect the innocent victims of southern Israel by the killing of the innocents of Gaza.

For those, including this newspaper, who sympathise with Israel's predicament and understand the motivation for the Gaza offensive, it has become increasingly difficult to watch the unfolding catastrophe with any degree of equanimity. If Israel appears to ignore the suffering of ordinary Palestinians, its enemies benefit. In all humanity, it must facilitate the movement of sufficient food and medical relief to the people of Gaza. The UN Security Council resolution 1860, drafted by the United Kingdom and passed on Thursday night with one abstention – that of America – offers a way forward, though only if other agreements now being negotiated can ensure Israeli's security. It proposes an immediate ceasefire and the unimpeded provision and distribution throughout Gaza of humanitarian assistance, including food, fuel and medical treatment. It also calls for a durable peace based on an Egyptian initiative, leading to a solution where two democratic states, Israel and Palestine, can live side by side "with secure and recognised borders". Israel is understandably suspicious of this wording: it remembers that the 2006 ceasefire resolution in southern Lebanon failed to deliver the promised disarmament of Hizbollah. But if the bombardment of Gaza is prolonged, then it will harm Israel in the long term. In the end, a political answer must be found. No military solution will last.

4) Hamas rockets block the birth of a Palestinian state

Peace in the Middle East will be more likely if the attacks against the Gaza Strip succeed, thus ensuring the election of a moderate government in Israel, says Sir Malcolm Rifkind.

By Sir Malcolm Rifkind /THE GURADIAN

5:19PM GMT 03 Jan 2009

The conflict in Gaza should not be seen or judged in isolation. Its purpose is to stop Hamas attacks but its timing is linked to three elections. Israel faces a general election in February; Iran will choose its next president in June; and Barack Obama, the victor of the US elections, becomes president in 16 days.

As well as an attempt to stop missiles being launched against its own citizens, the Israelis have a wider, strategic objective. They are seeking to create conditions on the ground that will enable a negotiated peace between Israel and the Palestinians and the creation of a Palestinian state.

No Israeli government can negotiate withdrawal from the West Bank without the consent of its citizens. Tzipi Livni and her moderate coalition must, therefore, win the election. But the politician who leads the opinion polls in Israel is Benjamin Netanyahu, the hardline leader of the opposition, who is strongly opposed to the creation of a Palestine state.

The Israeli attacks on Hamas are not unreasonable, regardless of electoral considerations. Imagine missiles being fired, most days, across the 21 miles of the English Channel and landing in the towns and villages of Kent. Imagine if, for several years, the IRA had been allowed to fire missiles into the villages of Northern Ireland from the Irish Republic with the consent and approval of the Irish government.

Of course, it is controversial to make such comparisons, as Israel's conflict in Gaza has a very different historic background. But every government has a first duty to protect its citizens.

Israel evacuated Gaza in 2005, removing not only its soldiers but all Israeli settlements, despite bitter resistance from the settlers and their political allies. If Hamas, with total power in Gaza, had been willing to concentrate its energies on the economic development of the region and cease cross-border attacks, the Israeli government and public would have been much more willing to make a similar withdrawal from the West Bank where the majority of Palestinians live. We could have been seeing, by now, the birth of a new Palestinian state.

Instead, about 5,000 missiles and mortars have been launched from within Gaza against Israeli civilian targets over the past three years. The latest missiles have a range of around 25 miles and have been used to attack Beersheba. Over half a million Israelis live within range of these new, more powerful BM-21 Grad missiles.

Against that background the Israeli onslaught against Hamas targets in Gaza is entirely understandable. But is it wise? That, in part, depends on the Israelis' objectives.

The Israeli air attacks cannot, by themselves, eliminate the missile and mortar attacks launched from within Gaza. Hamas is constantly moving its missile launchers and cannot be prevented from doing so.

The Israelis know this, but by pounding a range of Hamas political and government targets, are demonstrating that Hamas will pay an increasingly heavy price for its attacks. The Israelis also know that the Arab governments, despite their protests, are indifferent to Hamas's plight. Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia loathe Hamas, as do those Palestinians who give their loyalty to Fatah.

The secular Arab states are hostile because Hamas is an Islamist movement; the Saudis because they see Iranian meddling and interference not just with Hizbollah in Lebanon but, increasingly, with Hamas as well.

But the Israeli government's objectives are not just to influence Hamas. They are equally anxious to influence Israeli public opinion. Israel is a genuine democracy. It is due to have a general election on February 10. If that election results in Tzipi Livni as prime minister with Ehud Barak, the Labour leader and former prime minister, as her deputy, the peace process has a serious prospect of getting somewhere. The attacks on Hamas are already helping Livni and Barak in the opinion polls. The international community might not approve, but if we wish to see a Palestinian state in the foreseeable future this is likely to be the best route.

An Israeli government re-elected just 21 days after President Obama takes office would create an unprecedented opportunity to relaunch the peace process. George W. Bush only seriously engaged in the issue in his last year in the presidency, when his authority was disintegrating. Obama is likely to have eight years of power ahead of him and will carry more weight with both Israelis and Arabs than any previous president for many years.

Having Hilary Clinton as his Secretary of State is an additional asset. She is a powerful figure in her own right, well thought of in Jerusalem, and respected by the Palestinians. If the new US administration is willing to engage and help guarantee any successful negotiations, the Middle East could at last turn a vital corner.

Finally, there is the Iranian dimension. Iran may not be a proper democracy but no one can predict whether Ahmadinejad will get a second term in June or be ousted by a moderate opponent. If he goes, much of his rhetoric on liquidating Israel will go with him. A peaceful resolution of Iran's nuclear aspirations would also be more likely, especially as Obama has promised a serious dialogue with Iran to try to meet its security concerns. If the United States, under Bush, has been able to do a deal with Gadaffi's Libya then a new relationship with Iran, brokered by Obama, is not inconceivable.

So the stakes are high. An Israeli-Palestinian peace will not ensure, as is sometimes asserted, that Iran will become peace-loving, that al-Qaeda will disband or that terrorism will be a thing of the past. But no one can doubt that Israel-Palestine, Iran

and terrorism are linked both in the political psychology of the Middle East and in the strategy of many Western governments.

Stopping Hamas launching missiles at Israeli civilian communities will not ensure peace nor an independent Palestine. But Israel will never concede a Palestinian state unless the Palestinians provide an absolute guarantee of an end to hostilities by all Palestinian parties.

It is time Hamas showed some maturity and recognised this basic fact of political life.

ملخص الدراسة

تناولت هذه الدراسة وجهتي نظرٍ مُختلفتين في تحليل النصوص التي كُتبت في صُحف عربية و أجنبية (باللغة الإنجليزية) عن القصف الإسرائيلي لقطاع غزة من العام 2008/2009 وقد أظهرت الدراسة أنّ النصوص التي كُتبت في الصحف العربية تبنت موقفًا يستمد من الخلفية التاريخية والدينية للصراع الفلسطيني الإسرائيلي. وقد ظهر ذلك الموقف من خلال اعتبار المعلقين على القصف بأنه عدوانيّ و وحشي و اعتبار الغزيين ضحايا هذه الحرب. و قد أظهر التحليل أنّ المعلقين عبّروا عن مواقفهم من خلال اختيار المفردات والتعابير ذات البُعد الأيديولوجي والديني والتاريخي، إضافة إلى استثمار التراكيب اللغوية من تقديم وتأخير لخدمة أهدافهم في إيصال موقفهم إلى القارئ.

كما أظهرت الدراسة بُعداً آخر و موقفاً آخر للمعلقين في الصحف الأجنبية (باللغة الإنجليزية) يُعبّر عن تفسيرهم للقصف الإسرائيلي وتبريره على أنه ردة فعل مُبرّرة لإطلاق صواريخ المُقاومة الفلسطينية على البلدات الإسرائيلية. و اعتبر المُعلقون أنّ المواطن الإسرائيلي هو ضحية لصواريخ المقاومة. و ظهر ذلك من خلال اختيار المُعلقين للمفردات والتعابير والتراكيب اللغوية التي تخدم أهدافهم في التعبير عن مواقفهم إزاء الحدث. اتبعت الباحثة نظرية مايكل هاليدي في نظرية Transitivity بشكل رئيسي لتحليل النصوص إضافة إلى نظريات قانديك و غيره في تحليل النصوص.