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**Political Narratives in the Media Statement of the
Palestinian-Zionist War: A Comparative Study
between Army Official Spokesmen**

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Master's
Degree in Literature and Civilization**

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Dedication

This work is dedicated

to Abu Oubeida, Essinouar, and the soul of the martyr Ismail Hania,

to the Palestinian resistance, Hamas, and all fighters and martyrs in Palestine

to all supporters of freedom, justice and liberation in the whole world,

to condemners of occupation and oppression everywhere and throughout history.

To our dear parents and loyal professors.

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Abstract

This thesis provides an analysis of the official speeches of Abu Oubeida (the spokesperson for Hamas) and Avichai Adraee (the spokesperson for the Israeli Occupation Defense Forces) during the 2021 Gaza War. The study used Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model to examine how both spokesmen construct their statements to influence public opinion and reinforce political ideologies. The analysis reveals how each one uses language to justify their actions and denounce the opponent. It is found that both of them used similar linguistic and ideological

strategies, but the speech of Abu Oubeida is more authentic and influential because his arguments are based on real historical background and strong political ideologies. The study highlights the role of language as a strategic tool in reporting war stories and the implications of discourse in justifying military action.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Gaza War, Hamas, Israeli Occupation, Official Spokesman.

Table of Contents

Dedication	I
Acknowledgement	II
Abstract	III
Table of Contents	IV
General Introduction	1
1. Background of the Study	1
2. Statement of the Problem	2
3. Aims of the Study	2
4. Research Questions	3
5. Research Methodology	3
6. Significance of the Study	3
7. Limitations of the Study	4
8. Structure of the Study	4

Chapter One: Literature Review

Introduction	6
Section One: Historical Overview of the Occupation of Palestine	6
I.1. The Nakba and the Establishment of a State for Israeli Occupation	6
I.2. The 1967 War and Occupation of Palestinian Territories	7
I.3. Palestinian Resistance and Failures of Peace	8
I.4. Blockade on Gaza and Expansion in the West Bank	9
I.5. Role of the United Nations in the Palestinian Refugee Crisis	11
Section Two: Media and its Role in Representation of Narratives	13
I.6. History of Media Development	13
I.7. Types of Media	16
I.7.1. Traditional Media: Print, Broadcast, and Cinema	16
I.7.2. Digital Media: The Internet, Social Media, and Mobile Media	17

I.7.3. Emerging Media: Virtual Reality, Augmented Reality, and AI-Driven Media	18
I .7.4. Hybrid Media: The Convergence of Old and New	18
I.8. Characteristics of Media	19
I.8.1.Characteristics of Traditional Media	19
I.8.2. Characteristics of Digital Media	20
I.8.3. Characteristics of Emerging Media	21
I.8.4. Characteristics of Hybrid Media	21
I.9. Western Media Representation of the Palestinian Conflict	22
Conclusion	23

Chapter Two: Data Analysis and Interpretation

Introduction	26
. II.1. Research Methodology of this Study	26
. II.2. Data Analysis	28

II.2.1 Analysis of Avichai Adraee's Official statements	28
II.2.2 Analysis of Abu-Obaida's Official statements	38
II.3. Discussion and Interpretation of the Results	49
Conclusion	51
General Conclusion	52
References	54
المخلص	58

General Introduction

1. Background of the Study

The roots of the Palestinian conflict can be traced back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Khalidi (2020) argues that "the Balfour Declaration set in motion a series of events that would lead to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948" (Khalidi, 2020, p. 37). The declaration of establishment of this Colonial state led to immediate military conflict with Arab countries (Masalha 2021). Since 1967 war, the Israeli occupation pursued illegal settlement expansion policy by force in the Palestinian territories, which has had devastating effects on Palestinian communities and have fueled resentment among Palestinians (Morris, 2021), and this led to Palestinian uprisings and resistance against the Israeli occupation.

The First Intifada of 1987 till 1993 was a mass uprising against Israeli occupation, which led to the Madrid Conference and subsequent Oslo Accords, which aimed to achieve a two-state solution. The two-state solution, which was the cornerstone of the Oslo Accords, has since become increasingly unattainable. Masalha (2021) points out that the failure of these negotiations led to the outbreak of the Second Intifada of 2000 till 2005 following the collapse of peace talks at Camp David and Ariel Sharon's controversial visit to the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound.

Israeli occupation's and Egypt's blockaded of Gaza led to severe humanitarian conditions. The blockade has led to several military confrontations between the Israeli occupation and Hamas, including major conflicts in 2008-2009, 2012, 2014, 2021 and 2023. These wars have resulted in significant civilian casualties, widespread destruction, and further exacerbation of the humanitarian crisis in Gaza (Pappé, 2022). The recent normalization agreements between the Israeli occupation and several Arab States Accords have shifted the regional dynamics but have

not addressed the core issues of the Palestinian- Israeli conflict. Masalha (2021) argues that these accords benefitted the Israeli occupation only and sidelined the Palestinian cause.

The role of the United Nations (UN) and international law in this conflict, particularly regarding the right of return for Palestinian refugees, has been a subject of intense scrutiny and debate. The UN's resolutions and the broader international legal framework are always criticized for their inconsistent application, biased enforcement, and failure to secure justice for Palestinian refugees.

2. Statement of the Problem

The contrasting speeches in the Palestinian-Israeli-occupation conflict from official spokesmen on both sides by Abu Oubeida of Hamas and Avichai Adraee of the Israeli Occupation Army shape public opinion and influence international perceptions about the conflict. A critical analysis of these speeches during the 2021 Gaza War helps in understanding how each side constructed its discourses, mobilized support, and justified its actions. This research seeks to explore the underlying themes, strategies, and techniques employed by both Abu Oubeida and Avichai Adraee. It aims to analyse how their speeches influence public opinion and justify their actions. By analyzing these speeches through the lens of critical discourse analysis, this study will provide insights into how language and rhetorical strategies are used to represent the conflict.

3. Aims of the Study

1. To analyze how Abu Oubeida and Avichai Adraee justify their actions, portray the opponent, and construct their speeches during the 2021 Gaza War.
2. To explore the implications of the speeches of Abu Oubeida and Avichai Adraee to understand how their statements influence public opinion of the war.

4. Research Questions

1. How did Abu Oubeida and Avichai Adraee construct their speeches during the 2021 Gaza War, and what rhetorical strategies do they use to justify their positions and actions?
2. What are the implications of their speeches, and how do they influence public opinion about the war?

5. Research Methodology

This study is qualitative. The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the primary method used to examine the official statements of Abu Oubeida and Avichai Adraee during the 2021 Gaza War. It analyses the linguistic and ideological strategies in their speeches. The data consists of public statements from each spokesman. The analysis focuses on the use of linguistic devices that reinforce their arguments. The study explores how they framed their narratives to influence the public. This methodology allows for a deep examination of how language operates as a tool of power in the context of war, revealing the practices that sustain conflict narratives.

6. Significance of the Study

This study is significant as it provides a critical analysis of the discourses employed by key spokesmen during the 2021 Gaza War, offering insights into how language and rhetoric shape public perception of the war. It highlights the role of discourse in constructing narratives by analyzing the statements of Abu Oubeida and Avichai Adraee. It contributes to the understanding of how political communication during conflicts influences public opinion. This study also adds to the field of critical discourse analysis by demonstrating how linguistic strategies are used as tools of persuasion in war.

7. Limitations of the Study

This study faces several limitations:

- It is limited only to specific official statements from the speeches of Abu Oubeida and Avichai Adraee during the 2021 Gaza War.
- It focuses on the application of Van Dijk's CDA model only.
- It is based on personal interpretations that might be subjective.

8. Structure of the Study

This thesis contains a general introduction, a theoretical chapter, a practical chapter, and a general conclusion. Chapter one covers a historical overview of the occupation of Palestine, the 1967 war and occupation of Palestinian territories, Palestinian resistance and failures of peace, blockade on Gaza and expansion in the west bank, and the role of the united nations in the Palestinian refugee crisis. This chapter covers also media and its role in representation of narratives, history of media development, types of media, characteristics of media, western media representation of the Palestinian conflict. Chapter two provides the methodology of this study, analysis of the speeches of Hamas spokesman (Abu-obaida) and the speeches of Israeli Occupation spokesman (Avichai Adraee) and the discussion and interpretation of the results.

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LITERATURE REVIEW

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Introduction	6
Section One: Historical Overview of the Occupation of Palestine	6
1.1. The Nakba and the Establishment of a State for Israeli Occupation	6
1.2. The 1967 War and Occupation of Palestinian Territories	7
1.3. Palestinian Resistance and Failures of Peace	8
1.4. Blockade on Gaza and Expansion in the West Bank	9
1.5. Role of the United Nations in the Palestinian Refugee Crisis	11
Section Two: Media and its Role in Representation of Narratives	13
1.6 History of Media Development	13
1.7. Types of Media	16
1.7.1. Traditional Media: Print, Broadcast, and Cinema	16
1.7.2. Digital Media: The Internet, Social Media, and Mobile Media	17

1.7.3. Emerging Media: Virtual Reality, Augmented Reality, and AI-Driven Media	18
1.7.4. Hybrid Media: The Convergence of Old and New	18
1.8. Characteristics of Media	19
1.8.1. Characteristics of Traditional Media	19
1.8.2. Characteristics of Digital Media	20
1.8.3. Characteristics of Emerging Media	21
1.8.4. Characteristics of Hybrid Media	21
1.9. Western Media Representation of the Palestinian Conflict	22
Conclusion	23

Introduction

The history of the occupation of Palestine is a deeply complex and multifaceted issue that has been a focal point of Middle Eastern politics for over a century. Western media has played a significant role in shaping global perceptions of this conflict, often presenting it through a particular lens that has sparked considerable debate among historians, scholars, and media analysts. This literature review provides a comprehensive overview of the history of the conflict and occupation of Palestinian land from 1948 to the present and examines how Western media has portrayed the conflict, highlighting the biases that have emerged in these representations.

Section One: Historical Overview of the Occupation of Palestine

The history of the occupation of Palestinian land by Jewish settlers is a deeply complex and contentious issue that has evolved over several decades. It has been marked by wars, uprising, peace processes, and ongoing occupation and settlement expansion since the illegal establishment of the Israeli occupation state in 1948 to the present day.

I.1. The Nakba and the Establishment of a State for Israeli Occupation

The roots of the Palestinian conflict can be traced back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Balfour Declaration of 1917, in which the British government expressed support for the establishment of a "national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine, marked a turning point in the region's history. Historian Rashid Khalidi argues that "the Balfour Declaration started a series of events that would lead to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948" (Khalidi, 2020, p. 37).

The 1948 Arab-Israeli War, also known as the Nakba (catastrophe), led to the mass displacement of about 800 0000 Palestinians from their homes. The creation of the so-called Israel and the subsequent wars in 1967 and 1973, supported by the Western powers in support of the invasion and its expansion, solidified the occupation and led to the ongoing conflict and brutal

massacres and wiping out of the indigenous Palestinian people of their land that continues to this day. In his book “The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine” published in 2006, the prominent Israeli historian Ilan Pappé describes the systematic expulsion of the Palestinian population during the creation of the illegal State of Israel. The author elaborates on this theme by providing a detailed account of the events and actions taken by the Zionist leadership during that period. He describes the events of 1948 as an "ethnic cleansing" of Palestine, arguing that "the Zionist leadership, with the support of the British, systematically expelled the indigenous Palestinian population to create a Jewish-majority state" (Pappé, 2006, p. 01).

The war, which followed the biased UN’s partition plan, led to the creation of the Colonial State of Israel and laid the foundation for the Palestinian refugee crisis (which remains unresolved to this day) as a result of the mass displacement of Palestinians, approximately 700,000 to 800,000 Palestinians were expelled or fled from their homes during the war, resulting in the destruction of over 400 Palestinian villages (Khalidi, 2020). The establishment of the illegitimate state called Israel was accompanied by significant geopolitical shifts in the region. The declaration of establishment of this Colonial state in May 1948 was met with immediate military conflict with neighboring Arab states, leading to a series of armistice agreements that solidified colonial territorial gains beyond the original UN partition plan (Masalha (2021). This expansionist approach, driven by Zionist ideology, set the stage for future conflicts and territorial disputes.

I.2. The 1967 War and Occupation of Palestinian Territories

The Six-Day War of 1967 was a pivotal moment in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This war marked the beginning of a persisting Israeli expansion over and occupation of other Palestinian territories, following the Israeli preemptive strikes against Egypt, Syria, and Jordan that resulted in the rapid and decisive occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, and the Golan Height (Pappé, 2022). The occupation of these territories has been widely condemned by the international community (but of course without taking any real action), particularly with regards to

Israeli colonial expansion activities. Finkelstein (2012) maintains that UN Security Council Resolution 242 called for the withdrawal of Israeli colonial forces from occupied territories, and the recognition of every state's right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. The later was emphasized in order to give legitimacy to the Israeli occupation while deliberately leaving the resolution in an ambiguous language that has led to differing interpretations and has been a source of ongoing tension, solely serving for biased purposes.

Since 1967, the Israeli occupation has pursued a policy of settlement expansion by force in the occupied Palestinian territories, particularly in the West Bank and East Jerusalem under misleading pretexts of securing territorial control and maintaining a Jewish demographic majority. This expansion of settlements, considered illegal under international law, has been a major obstacle to peace and have fueled resentment among Palestinians (Morris, 2021) and has had devastating effects on Palestinian communities. Masalha (2021) highlights that the construction of settlements has led to the expropriation of Palestinian land, the demolition of homes, and the fragmentation of Palestinian territories into isolated enclaves. This has not only displaced thousands of Palestinians but has also hindered their ability to access essential services and resources.

I.3. Palestinian Resistance and Failures of Peace

The First Intifada, which began in 1987 till 1993, was a grassroots uprising against Israeli occupation, characterized by widespread protests, civil disobedience, and violent confrontations. This intifada highlighted the deep-seated frustrations of Palestinians living under occupation and brought international attention to their plight (Khalidi , 2020). It also led to the Madrid Conference and subsequent Oslo Accords, which aimed to achieve a two-state solution.

The Oslo Accords of the 1990s marked the first time that Israeli occupation and Palestinian leaders formally recognized each other and agreed to a framework for negotiations, but while initially promising, the Oslo process ultimately failed due to continued settlement expansion,

distrust, and the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin (Finkelstein, 2012). The two-state solution, which was the cornerstone of the Oslo Accords, has since become increasingly unattainable.

The 2000 Camp David Summit, hosted by U.S. President Bill Clinton, was another significant but ultimately unsuccessful attempt to resolve the conflict. Masalha (2021) points out that the failure of these negotiations, particularly over key issues such as Jerusalem, refugees, and borders, led to the outbreak of the Second Intifada. Subsequent peace efforts, including the Roadmap for Peace and the Annapolis Conference, have similarly failed to produce lasting solutions.

The Second Intifada (2000-2005), also known as the Al-Aqsa Intifada, erupted in 2000 following the collapse of peace talks at Camp David and Ariel Sharon's controversial visit to the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound. More violent than the first, this intifada led to thousands of deaths and further entrenching the conflict (Pappé, 2022), and resulted in increased militarization of the conflict and the construction of the Israeli West Bank barrier, which has further isolated Palestinian communities.

I.4. Blockade on Gaza and Expansion in the West Bank

The 2006 Palestinian legislative elections, which saw the victory of Hamas, a revolutionary Islamist organization, led to a significant shift in the dynamics of the conflict. Morris (2021) discusses how Hamas' victory led to a political and geographic split between the West Bank, governed by the Palestinian Authority, and Gaza, controlled by Hamas. Israeli occupation, along with Egypt, imposed a blockade on Gaza, leading to severe humanitarian conditions. The blockade has led to several military confrontations between the Israeli occupation and Hamas, including major conflicts in 2008-2009, 2012, 2014, 2021 and more recently Tofan Elaqa of October 07th, 2023. These wars have resulted in significant civilian casualties, widespread destruction, and

further exacerbation of the humanitarian crisis in Gaza (Pappé, 2022). Although the international community has repeatedly called for an end to the blockade and the lifting of restrictions on Gaza, the situation remains dire.

The international community has largely condemned Israeli occupation and settlement activities, viewing them as obvious violations of human rights and international law. The role of international bodies, such as the United Nations, in addressing these issues has been weakened due to the challenges posed by the lack of enforcement mechanisms and the political influence of powerful states like the United States (Finkelstein, 2012). Besides, the recent normalization agreements between the Israeli occupation and several Arab states, known as the Abraham Accords, have shifted the regional dynamics but have not addressed the core issues of the Palestinian- Israeli conflict. Masalha (2021) argues that while these accords have led to economic and diplomatic benefits for the Israeli occupation, they have sidelined the Palestinian cause and further diminished the prospects for a negotiated settlement.

With the international community only expressing concern over these expansion developments plans without concrete actions to prevent them, recent years have seen a resurgence in settlement expansion and discussions of formal annexation of parts of the West Bank by the Israeli occupation. Khalidi (2020) warns that these actions could further entrench the occupation at the expense of Palestinians. With the international bodies destabilized to enforce international law, the humanitarian situation in the occupied Palestinian territories remains dire, with ongoing restrictions on movement, access to resources, and economic opportunities. Pappé (2022) highlights the enduring impact of the occupation on the daily lives of Palestinians, including the psychological toll of living under constant threat of violence and displacement.

1.5. Role of the United Nations in the Palestinian Refugee Crisis

The United Nation's (UN) involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict began with the 1947 UN Partition Plan, which proposed the division of Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states. Masalha (2021) notes that the plan, while accepted by the Jewish leadership, was rejected by the Arab states and the Palestinian Arabs, leading to the 1948 Arab-Israeli War and the subsequent displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. In the wake of the mass displacement, the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 194 in December 1948, which called for the return of Palestinian refugees to their homes and compensation for those choosing not to return. While Resolution 194 is often cited as the legal basis for the Palestinian right of return, its implementation has been blocked by Israel and its allies, particularly the United States and the West, thereby rendering it ineffective (Khalidi, 2020).

One of the most significant criticisms of the UN's role in the Palestinian- Israeli conflict is the selective enforcement of its resolutions. Pappé (2022) argues that while the UN has passed numerous resolutions affirming the rights of Palestinians, including the right of return, these resolutions have largely been ignored or selectively enforced. In contrast, resolutions favorable to Israel have been more rigorously enforced. The bias in the application of resolutions and international law is often attributed to the influence of major powers within the UN, especially the United States. Finkelstein (2012) discusses how the U.S. has consistently used its veto power in the UN Security Council to block resolutions critical of Israel, thereby undermining the UN's ability to act impartially in the conflict. This biased act is seen live even today during the current war on Gaza where the U.S. not only continues to use its veto power to block pro-Palestinian resolutions, but also by providing generous funding and sending tons of heavy weapons to support the Israeli war crimes and the genocide of tens of thousands of civilians. This has led to accusations that the UN is complicit in the ongoing occupation and displacement of Palestinians.

Despite the existence of international legal instruments affirming the right of return, such as Resolution 194 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Palestinians have faced significant legal and practical barriers in exercising this right. Morris (2021) notes that Israeli occupation's refusal to acknowledge the right of return, coupled with the lack of enforcement mechanisms within the UN, has effectively rendered these resolutions symbolic rather than actionable. The failure to implement the right of return has had profound implications for Palestinian refugees, many of whom continue to live in severe and miserable conditions of statelessness and marginalization. Khalidi (2020) argues that the UN's inability to enforce its resolutions has perpetuated the refugee crisis, leaving generations of Palestinians in limbo and without a clear path to justice or restitution.

International human rights law, including conventions like the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, theoretically supports the right of return as a fundamental human right. However, Finkelstein (2012) highlights the inconsistency in applying these principles to the Palestinian case. While international law recognizes the rights of refugees to return to their homes, the unique political context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has led to the erosion of these principles when it comes to Palestinian refugees. The application of international law concerning Palestinian refugees is often criticized for its double standards. Zertal (2019) points out that while the international community has facilitated the return of refugees in other conflicts, such as in the Balkans or Rwanda, it has ignored to apply the same principles to Palestinians. This double standard has undermined the credibility of international law and has further marginalized Palestinian refugees.

The failure to enforce the right of return has contributed to the normalization of the status quo, where Palestinian refugees are expected to integrate into their host countries or resettle elsewhere, rather than return to their ancestral homes. This approach not only ignores the historical injustices suffered by Palestinians but also absolves Israel of its responsibility to address

the refugee issue (Masalha, 2021). Nonetheless, despite these challenges, there have been ongoing diplomatic and legal efforts to advocate for the right of return. Palestinian activists and legal scholars continue to engage with international bodies, including the International Criminal Court, to hold the Israeli occupation accountable for violations of international law (Peteet, 2021). However, these efforts have been met with significant resistance, both from the Zionist lobbies and their allies, limiting their effectiveness.

Section Two: Media and its Role in Representation of Narratives

Media, in its broadest sense, refers to the various means of communication that reach or influence people widely. It includes traditional forms such as print, television, and radio, as well as new forms such as digital and social media. According to McQuail (2010), media can be understood as channels of communication through which information, entertainment, and other forms of content are delivered to audiences. The evolution of media has expanded its definition to include any technology that allows for the distribution of information on a wide scale, including the internet and mobile devices (Lievrouw & Livingstone, 2010). The history of media development is a complex and multifaceted narrative that traces the evolution of communication technologies from ancient times to the digital age. Here we will explore the significant milestones in media development, emphasizing the transformative impact of technological innovations and societal changes on the ways information is disseminated and consumed.

1.6. History of Media Development

The development of media can be traced back to the invention of the printing press in the 15th century, which revolutionized the dissemination of information. The subsequent centuries saw the emergence of newspapers, radio, and television, each marking significant milestones in the evolution of media (Briggs & Burke, 2010). The late 20th century and early 21st century have witnessed a dramatic transformation with the advent of digital media, leading to what is often

referred to as the digital age. The internet has become a dominant platform, enabling new forms of media such as social media, blogs, and streaming services (Pavlik & McIntosh, 2021).

The origins of media can be traced back to oral traditions, where storytelling and verbal communication were the primary means of sharing information and preserving culture, laying the foundation for the development of more complex communication systems. The most transformative development in early media history was the invention of the printing press, described by Eisenstein (2012) as a catalyst for the spread of knowledge, facilitating the mass production of books and the rapid dissemination of ideas. This innovation played a crucial role in the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment, marking the beginning of the modern era of media.

The 19th and early 20th centuries saw the rise of mass media, driven by industrialization, urbanization, and advances in communication technologies. Newspapers became the dominant form of mass communication, reaching large audiences and influencing public opinion. The role of the penny presses in democratizing news by making it affordable and accessible to the masses (Schudson, 2015). The rise of the modern newspaper industry also led to the professionalization of journalism and the establishment of norms such as objectivity and editorial independence. Also, the development of radio in the early 20th century enabled real-time broadcasting of news, entertainment, and propaganda, reaching audiences that were previously inaccessible. Hilmes (2020) argues that radio played a crucial role in shaping public opinion during key historical events, such as World War II, by providing a direct line of communication between governments and citizens. Similarly, television, which emerged in the mid-20th century, further transformed the media landscape by combining visual and auditory communication. Spigel (2018) notes that television became a central part of everyday life, influencing cultural norms and values. The rise of television networks and the advent of color broadcasting expanded the reach and impact of media, making it a powerful tool for both information dissemination and entertainment.

The late 20th and early 21st centuries have been characterized by the digital revolution, which has fundamentally altered the nature of media. The development of the internet in the 1960s and its commercialization in the 1990s ushered in a new era of media that is characterized by interactivity, immediacy, and global connectivity. The internet is a "network society," where information flows freely across borders and traditional media hierarchies are disrupted (Castells, 2010). The rise of digital media has enabled new forms of communication, such as email, blogs, and online forums, which allow for greater participation and collaboration among users. Digital media also democratized content creation, allowing individuals and organizations to reach global audiences without the need for traditional media gatekeepers. Social media, which emerged in the early 21st century, represents the latest stage in the evolution of digital media. Platforms like YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, Tiktok, and Instagram have transformed the way people communicate, share information, and engage with content. Van Dijck, Poell, and de Waal (2018) argue that social media platforms have created a "platform society," where algorithms and data-driven technologies play a central role in shaping public discourse and influencing societal trends.

The digital revolution has also led to the convergence of different media forms, blurring the boundaries between traditional and new media. Jenkins (2022) introduces the concept of "convergence culture," where media content flows across multiple platforms, and audiences play an active role in shaping media narratives. This convergence has given rise to hybrid media forms, such as podcasts, streaming services, and interactive media, which combine elements of print, broadcast, and digital media. Bolter and Grusin (2020) describe this process as "remediation," where new media constantly refashion older media forms, creating a dynamic and ever-evolving media landscape. The convergence of media has also led to the emergence of transmedia storytelling, where narratives are told across multiple platforms, each contributing to a larger, interconnected story.

I.7. Types of Media

Media can be broadly categorized into four different types. The first is Traditional Media, which includes print, broadcast, and cinema. The second is Digital Media, which included the Internet, social media, and mobile media. The third is Emerging Media, which includes virtual reality, augmented reality, and AI-driven media. The fourth is Hybrid Media, which includes the convergence of old and new.

I.7.1. Traditional Media: Print, Broadcast, and Cinema

Traditional media includes print media, broadcast media, and cinema. These forms have played a foundational role in mass communication, each evolving over time to adapt to new technologies and societal needs. Including newspapers, magazines, and books, print media is one of the oldest forms of mass communication. According to Picard (2015), it offers in-depth coverage and analysis that often appeals to readers seeking detailed information on particular topics. The decline in circulation of newspapers and magazines in recent years has been offset by the growth of niche publications and the digitization of print content; but despite the decline, it remains a vital source of information for certain demographics (Conboy, 2021).

Cinema, as a form of media, combines visual storytelling with auditory elements to create a powerful medium for entertainment and communication. As highlighted by Balio (2019), cinema has not only been a major cultural industry but also a platform for social commentary and artistic expression. The rise of streaming services has changed the distribution and consumption patterns of films, yet theatrical releases still play a critical role in the film industry. Broadcast media, comprising radio and television, revolutionized communication by enabling real-time dissemination of information to large audiences. Hilmes (2020) emphasizes the cultural impact of radio and television, noting their role in shaping public opinion, particularly during significant historical events such as wars and political elections. Although the internet has transformed how

people consume broadcast content, traditional TV and radio continue to hold significant sway, especially in regions with limited internet access.

I.7.2. Digital Media: The Internet, Social Media, and Mobile Media

The advent of the internet has introduced a new era in media, characterized by digital and interactive platforms that enable real-time communication, user-generated content, and global connectivity. Digital Media refers to content that is delivered digitally via the internet, including websites, social media, and streaming services. Digital media has revolutionized how information is consumed and shared, offering immediacy and interactivity (Napoli, 2011). Internet media includes websites, blogs, online news portals, and digital publications. These platforms have disrupted traditional media by offering immediacy, interactivity, and a global reach. According to Deuze (2020), the internet has democratized content creation, allowing individuals and small organizations to compete with established media outlets. The internet has also facilitated the rise of alternative media, providing a voice to marginalized groups and fostering a more diverse media landscape.

A subset of digital media, social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and TikTok have become central to contemporary communication. Van Dijck, Poell, and de Waal (2018) describe social media as "platform societies," where user-generated content and algorithms drive the flow of information. Although social media has transformed the nature of news dissemination, marketing, and public discourse, these platforms raise concerns about misinformation, privacy, and the concentration of power in a few tech giants. The consumption of media content via mobile devices such as smartphones and tablets is referred to as mobile media. As Campbell and Park (2021) note, mobile media has led to the rise of "snackable content" that caters to users' shorter attention spans and the need for instant gratification. Mobile apps, mobile games, and mobile streaming services have expanded the media landscape, offering new ways for audiences to engage with content.

I.7.3. Emerging Media: Virtual Reality, Augmented Reality, and AI-Driven Media

Emerging media technologies such as virtual reality (VR), augmented reality (AR), and artificial intelligence (AI) are pushing the boundaries of traditional media, creating immersive and interactive experiences. VR and AR represent new frontiers in media, offering immersive experiences that blend the physical and digital worlds. VR media places users in entirely digital environments, while AR overlays digital content onto the physical world. Having applications in gaming, education, journalism, and marketing (Goggin & Hjorth, 2020), these technologies are changing how audiences interact with media, providing opportunities for experiential storytelling and enhanced user engagement. AI-driven media involves the use of artificial intelligence to create and distribute content through algorithms that recommend content on platforms like YouTube and Netflix, AI-generated news articles, and chatbots that interact with users. According to McStay (2021), AI is transforming media production and consumption by enabling personalized content, automating tasks, and facilitating real-time analysis of user behavior. However, the use of AI in media also raises ethical concerns, particularly regarding bias, transparency, and the potential for manipulation.

I.7.4. Hybrid Media: The Convergence of Old and New

The convergence of traditional and digital media has given rise to hybrid media forms that combine elements of both leading to the creation of trans-media storytelling, where narratives unfold across multiple platforms that engage audiences in new and innovative ways (Jenkins, 2022). Hybrid media also includes phenomena such as podcasts, web series, and interactive documentaries, which blend the characteristics of various media types to offer unique experiences. As they offer diverse content ranging from news and education to entertainment and niche topics (Berry, 2020), podcasts have emerged as a popular hybrid media form, combining the intimacy of radio with the on-demand nature of digital media. Web series and interactive documentaries represent other examples of hybrid media, blending traditional narrative structures with interactive

and participatory elements. These formats allow for greater audience engagement and the exploration of complex topics in a dynamic, multimedia environment. Murray (2018) states that these forms are pushing the boundaries of traditional storytelling, offering new ways for audiences to interact with content.

I.8. Characteristics of Media

The characteristics of media have evolved with technological advancements. Digital media is accessible to a global audience at any time, which was not possible with traditional forms of media. The rise of social media has introduced a high degree of interactivity for audiences to engage with content and participate in discussions. Modern media often combines text, audio, and video, providing a richer and more engaging experience for the audience. Information can now be disseminated instantly across the globe, influencing public perception in real-time.

I.8.1. Characteristics of Traditional Media

Traditional media, including print, broadcast, and cinema, are often characterized by their one-way communication model, mass distribution, and editorial control. These features have defined traditional media for centuries and continue to influence how these media are perceived and utilized today. They are typically based on a one-way communication model, where information flows from the producer to the consumer without immediate feedback. According to McQuail (2013), this model positions the audience as passive recipients of information, with limited opportunities for interaction or participation. This characteristic is particularly evident in print media, such as newspapers and magazines, where content is curated and distributed without direct input from readers. Traditional media are also designed for mass distribution, reaching large audiences through standardized content. As highlighted by Boyd-Barrett (2015). This characteristic enables traditional media to exert significant influence on public opinion and culture. The ability to reach wide audiences with a single message has made traditional media

powerful tools for advertising, political communication, and socialization. Moreover, editorial control is another characteristic of traditional media, where content is produced, selected, and edited by professionals before being published or broadcast. Although it ensures that content adheres to established journalistic standards and is free from inaccuracies or bias (Schudson, 2015), this control limits the diversity of perspectives presented in traditional media, as content is shaped by editorial decisions and institutional agendas.

I.8.2. Characteristics of Digital Media

Digital media, including internet-based platforms, social media, and mobile media, are characterized by interactivity, personalization, and real-time communication. These features distinguish digital media from traditional forms, offering new possibilities for engagement and content creation. One of the most significant characteristics of digital media is its interactivity, which allows users to engage with content, provide feedback, and participate in online communities. Transforming the audience from passive consumers into active participants by enabling a more dynamic and participatory media environment (Jenkins, 2022), this characteristic is particularly evident in social media platforms, where users can like, share, and comment on content, thereby influencing its visibility and reach. Digital media also enables personalization, where content is tailored to individual users based on their preferences, behavior, and demographics. Made possible by algorithms that analyze user data to deliver targeted content, advertising, and recommendations (Turow, 2017), personalization enhances user engagement by providing relevant content but also raises concerns about privacy, data security, and the potential for echo chambers. Real-time communication is the last defining characteristic of digital media that allows for the instant transmission of information across the globe. Castells (2010) describes it as a key driver of globalization, where events and news can be shared and discussed in real-time, transcending geographical boundaries. Real-time communication is particularly evident in social

media and live-streaming platforms, where users can engage with content and each other in the moment.

I.8.3. Characteristics of Emerging Media

Emerging media technologies, such as virtual reality (VR), augmented reality (AR), and artificial intelligence (AI), are characterized by immersion, augmentation, and automation. These features represent the cutting edge of media development, offering new ways to experience and interact with content. First, immersion is a characteristic of VR and AR media, where users are placed in an environment that feels real or augmented with digital elements. Creating a sense of presence and involvement that traditional and digital media cannot replicate (Goggin & Hjorth, 2020), this characteristic of immersion is transforming entertainment, education, and training by providing experiential learning and storytelling. Second, as a characteristic central to AR media, augmentation refers to the enhancement of the physical world with digital information and is being applied in various fields to enhance user experience and provide contextual information. As discussed by Azuma (2021), AR overlays digital content onto the real world, allowing users to interact with both simultaneously. Third, automation is becoming an increasingly important characteristic of media. McStay (2021) notes that AI-powered algorithms can generate news articles, recommend content, and even create personalized advertisements with minimal human intervention. While automation increases efficiency and scalability, it also raises ethical questions about the role of humans in media production and the potential for algorithmic bias.

I.8.4. Characteristics of Hybrid Media

Hybrid media, which combine elements of traditional and digital media, are characterized by convergence, multi-platform storytelling, and user-generated content. These features reflect the blending of old and new media forms, creating a media environment that is increasingly fluid and interconnected. Convergence refers to the merging of different media forms into a unified

experience. It is the process by which content flows across multiple media platforms, allowing users to engage with stories and information in different ways (Jenkins, 2022). This characteristic is evident in transmedia storytelling, where a single narrative unfolds across books, films, games, and social media, each contributing to the overall story. Multi-platform storytelling is another characteristic of hybrid media, where narratives are designed to be experienced across various platforms. While allowing for deeper engagement and exploration of content, as each platform offers a unique perspective or aspect of the story (Murray, 2018), multi-platform storytelling is increasingly used in different domains. User-generated content is a defining characteristic of hybrid media, where users create and share content alongside professional producers. Blurring the line between producers and consumers while fostering a more collaborative and participatory media culture (Burgess & Green, 2018), this characteristic is particularly prominent on platforms like YouTube, Instagram, and TikTok, where user contributions play a central role in shaping the content landscape.

1.9. Western Media Representation of the Palestinian Conflict

Western media coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has been widely criticized for its biased portrayal of the events. Numerous studies have shown that Western media outlets often present the conflict from a pro-Israel perspective, downplaying the suffering of the Palestinian people and framing the narrative in a way that justifies Israeli actions. The way how news and stories are reported by journalists play a crucial role in shaping public opinion. Scholars have noted that the choice of words can significantly influence how an event is perceived.

For example, the use of the term "settlement" to describe Israeli communities built on occupied Palestinian land downplays the illegality of these actions under international law. Similarly, the term "clash" is often used to describe violent encounters between Israeli forces and Palestinian protesters, suggesting a sense of equivalence between the two sides, despite the power

imbalance. In this line, in his book “Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict” published in 2003, Finkelstein highlights the impact of media framing on public perception. He argues that there has been misinformation and misrepresentation of the conflict in the media in favor of the Israeli occupation due to the selective coverage and framing of the events, leading to a narrative that demonizes the indigenous population and sympathizes with the occupiers (Finkelstein, 2003).

Edward Said, a leading scholar in post-colonial studies, critiqued the Western media's portrayal of the Middle East arguing that the media has constantly portrayed Arabs and Muslims as violent, irrational, and backward, while presenting Israeli colonial state as a beacon of democracy and civilization in a hostile region, leading to a distorted understanding of the conflict among Western audiences (Said, 1981). Similarly, based on their analysis of news broadcasts, Philo and Berry (2004) found that British television coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict was heavily biased in favor of Zionist invasion: "the language used to describe Israeli actions was often neutral or positive, while Palestinian actions were described in negative terms, with a focus on violence and terrorism" (Philo & Berry, 2004, p. 149). This linguistic bias reinforces the perception of Israeli occupation as the victim and Palestine as the aggressor, skewing public perception.

Conclusion

The history of occupation of Palestinian land by Jews since 1948 is a story of displacement, resistance, and oppression. The establishment of the illegitimate Israeli state and the subsequent wars and uprisings have led to the ongoing occupation of Palestinian territories and the expansion of Israeli settlements. Despite numerous peace efforts and international interventions, the failure to achieve a lasting peace continues to exacerbate the humanitarian crisis in Palestine and poses a major challenge to international law and human rights. The role of the United Nations and international law in addressing the right of return for Palestinian refugees has been marked by bias, selective enforcement, and a lack of political will. The Western media's representation of this

conflict has been criticized for its bias in favor of the Israeli occupation, which has often obscured the realities of the situation by selectively reporting events and using language that favors one side to influence public opinion.

CHAPTER TWO:
Data Analysis and Interpretation

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Introduction	26
. II.1. Research Methodology of this Study	26
. II.2. Data Analysis	28
. II.2.1. Analysis of Avichai Adraee's Official statements	28
. II.2.2. Analysis of Abu-Obaida's Official statements	38
. II.3. Discussion and Interpretation of the Results	49
Conclusion	51

Introduction

This chapter provides a analysis of the speeches of Israeli spokesperson Avichai Adraee and Hamas spokesperson Abu Oubeida during the 2021 Gaza War. By analyzing their official statements, we can understand how each one constructs his speech to achieve specific political, military, and social goals. The focus of this chapter revolves around the common themes of justification, glorification, threats, and the construction of ideologies to gain support.

II.5. Research Methodology of this Study

This study is qualitative and relies on a thematic analysis of two different speeches made by the spokesmen of Hamas and Israeli Occupation in the War of 2021 in Gaza. We will use van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to analyze the official statements of Abu Obeida and Avichai Adraee. Van Dijk's approach focuses on the relationships between discourse, power, and ideology. To apply this approach, we should start by selecting speeches delivered by army official spokesmen during the war. This approach involves analysis of the overall structure of the speeches and their specific linguistic features, such as word choice, metaphors, and rhetorical strategies.

The speeches will be situated within the context of the war and the role of the media. We will analyze how the spokesmen emphasize positive qualities of themselves and highlight the negative qualities of the opposing group. This can be done by:

1. Highlighting positive actions or qualities of the spokesman's group;
2. Highlighting negative actions or qualities of the opposing group.
3. Downplaying negative actions or qualities of the spokesman's group.
4. Downplaying the positive actions or qualities of the opposing group.

The videos and transcripts of the spokespersons' official statements were downloaded from the internet. The links to Abu Obeida's official statements:

<https://youtu.be/G3ASxFnADWY>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4NHMDAjb3vU>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SpBu3G201qk>

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j_1Y5a_t61Q

The links to Avichai Adraee's official statements:

<https://youtu.be/6R6jFbfjUHs>

https://youtu.be/7TYVO-dVk_4

<https://youtu.be/bh6hXBex8Cg>

<https://youtube.com/shorts/7iJEAiQN9K4?feature=share>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GesajYr+5-k>

We will explore how the speeches shape collective memories, stereotypes, and ideologies among the audience. This will help in understanding the role of language in the political process during the war, leading to answers to the following questions:

1. How do Abu Oubeida and Avichai Adraee construct their speeches during the 2021 Gaza War, and what are the different strategies they used to justify their positions and actions?
2. What are the implications of their speeches, and how do they influence public opinion about the war?

II.6. Data Analysis

II.6.1. Analysis of Avichai Adraee's Official statements

The Israeli occupation has long considered itself as more dominant, democratic and technologically advanced than the countries in the Middle East. For instance, it highlighted its modern arsenal (like the Iron Dome, precision-guided missiles, and advanced aircraft) and described its soldiers as intensely trained and equipped with modern weapons. The Israeli occupation military representatives regularly announce their successes in the conflict against Hamas by trying to convince the public that they target and destroy Hamas positions in Gaza. They strive to portray themselves as victorious and to showcase their military strength and achievements. These are highlighted in the following examples from the statements of Avichai Adraee:

“حقق جيش الدفاع الاسرائيلي خلال ال 24 ساعة الأخيرة انجازات ميدانية تمثلت باستهداف أهداف تعد كنزاً استراتيجياً لحركة حماس”.

“The Israeli Defense Forces achieved significant battlefield accomplishments in the past 24 hours by targeting objectives deemed strategic assets for the Hamas movement.”

He presents the achievements in a positive light and demonstrates the capacity of the Israeli occupation military to defend itself and eliminate Hamas forces. The way events are described often reflects personal viewpoints and those outside one's own group are portrayed negatively, whereas members within the group are depicted neutrally or positively. He tries to downplay negative traits of those within his group while emphasizing the negative characteristics of others in the group of the resistance.

“واستهدف جيش الدفاع خلايا ارهابية كانوا ينوون إطلاق صواريخ على اسرائيل فيما أحبط محاولات حماس بإرسال طائرات مسيرة”.

“The Israeli Defense Forces targeted terrorist cells planning to launch rockets at Israel, while thwarting Hamas' attempts to send drones.”

Here he tries to inform settlers and the public that the Israeli occupation attacks on Hamas are reactions to Hamas’s missile launches toward the occupied lands. He claims that the military of the Israeli occupation can intercept and neutralize these missiles, presenting this capability as a strategic advantage in its war against Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. His statement clearly favors Israeli occupation citizens, portraying them as always being in the right and as peace advocates. In contrast, it depicts Hamas as rejecting peace and embodying terrorism within their occupied land.

“لقد ضربنا أكثر من ألف هدف ارهابي لغاية الآن في جميع انحاء قطاع غزة من منازل القادة التي استخدمت كمخازن وبنى تحتية ارهابية لإدارة المعركة وحتى الانفاق الارهابية الهجومية وشبكة المترو العملاقة التي اقامتها حماس تحت البيوت في قطاع غزة لإدارة القتال وما الى ذلك”.

“We have struck over a thousand terrorist targets so far across Gaza, including commanders' homes used as storage facilities, terrorist infrastructure to manage the battle, offensive terrorist tunnels, and the extensive metro network Hamas constructed beneath Gaza's homes to conduct combat operations and more.”

In this statement, he claims that the Israeli occupation military can strike a thousand targets in Hamas-controlled areas of the Gaza Strip at their discretion. He highlights their capability to target the homes of Hamas leaders and other locations, including those underground to emphasize the strength and military expertise of the Israeli occupation military.

“فاليوم احبطنا محاولة لتنفيذ اعتداء عبر المجال البحري واستهدفنا النشطاء واستهدفنا الآلية وهي عبارة عن قطعة بحرية ذات قدرات الغوص”.

“Today, we foiled an attempt to carry out an attack via the maritime domain, targeting militants and a vehicle that was a maritime unit with diving capabilities.”

He tries to emphasize Israeli occupation’s display of power to Hamas forces, Palestinian civilians, and international observers by demonstrating its ability to eliminate any Palestinian target. He wants to reference an incident where Israeli occupation military forces prevented a Palestinian attempt to launch an attack on the occupied lands via the sea by destroying the attackers’ ship. He tries to showcase Israeli occupation military capabilities.

The continuous use of military force against Palestinians is a way to portray the Israeli occupation military as a powerful force. The following examples illustrate this use of this strategy to portray the strength of the army:

“تواصل احباط المفاجآت التي أعدتها حماس.”

“We continue to thwart the surprises prepared by Hamas.”

This statement is a threat to Palestinians that the Israeli occupation army is always prepared to prevent attacks. This tries to portray Israeli occupation army as able to achieve its objectives and its readiness to counter any threats from Hamas.

“فخلال الاربع والعشرين ساعة الاخيرة استهدف سلاح الجو الاسرائيلي أكثر من 130 هدفا تابعا للمنظمات الارهابية في القطاع.”

“During the last 24 hours, the Israeli Air Force targeted more than 130 objectives affiliated with terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip.”

Here he tries to illustrate Israel occupation’s efforts to demonstrate its achievements by exerting military power against Gaza soldiers, consistently targeting over 130 Palestinian locations in the Gaza Strip. He seeks to portray the status of the Israeli occupation as a strong military force

that can defeat any opposition in conflicts with the resistance in Gaza. The intention is to showcase Israel occupation's successes by prevailing over Gaza whenever necessary.

“تواصل توجيه هذه الضربات نواصل هذه العملية العسكرية نواصل حماية المدنيين الإسرائيليين”

“We continue to carry out these strikes, continue this military operation, and continue to protect Israeli civilians.”

He tries to emphasize that Israeli occupation army is powerful and is always prepared to combat what he calls “terrorists” and protect Israeli occupation civilians. The choice of words in this statement is to reinforce the message of being always ready.

“تحقق الإنجازات الميدانية ساعة بعد ساعة”

“We achieve field accomplishments hour by hour.”

Avichai refers to the continuous military operations against Hamas during the Palestinian War. His statement highlights the successful engagements of the military throughout the conflict in order to express pride in these victories. He suggests that these victories should be a source of pride and security for Israeli occupation citizen during the Gaza War.

“سنستمر في توجيه ضربات قاسية لهذه المنظمات كما حصل خلال الـ 24 ساعة الأخيرة”

“We will continue to deliver strong strikes against these organizations, as occurred during the last 24 hours.”

Through this statement, he tries to express satisfaction with their readiness to deliver brutal blows to Palestinian forces in Gaza. This stance reflects a commitment to punishing their adversaries for ongoing rocket attacks on the occupied territory, using power-based language to assert satisfaction with Israeli occupation military successes.

Certain statements, like the following ones, are fabricated to justify the conflict against Palestinians:

“نحن مستمرّون في التصدي لكل الاعتداءات الإرهابية بيد من حديد حتى استعادة الاستقرار والأمن لمواطنينا وسيادتنا”

“We continue to confront all terrorist attacks with an iron fist until stability and security are restored for our citizens and sovereignty.”

This statement appears justifiable to the Israeli Occupation Forces for those who do not fully understand the context of the Gaza War. It suggests that Israeli occupation forces have the right to retaliate against Hamas due to rocket attacks on innocent Israeli occupation civilians. This is to persuade people that Israeli occupation attacks in Gaza are acts of self-defense and that these actions are necessary for regaining security, depicting Hamas as the aggressor due to persistent rocket fire. This portrayal influences public opinion by presenting Israel occupation's military actions as justified responses to ongoing aggression from what is perceived as terrorist acts by Hamas.

“يوصل جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي شن سلسلة غارات على قطاع غزة ردا على الاعتداءات الصاروخية المستمرة من داخل القطاع باتجاه البلدات الإسرائيلية والمتمثلة بمئات القذائف الصاروخية التي تصدت لمعظمها منظومة القبة الحديدية أنتم (حماس) الإرهابيون ونحن أهل السلام وسننتصر عليكم.”

“The Israeli Defense Forces continue to launch a series of airstrikes on Gaza in response to ongoing rocket attacks from inside the territory towards Israeli towns. Hundreds of rockets have been fired, with most intercepted by the Iron Dome defense system. You (Hamas) are terrorists, while we are advocates of peace, and we will prevail over you.”

He tries to portray that Hamas forces continuously launch rockets at occupied lands, prompting Israeli occupation forces to respond with a series of raids on the Gaza Strip. While these justifications may seem valid to Israeli occupation civilians, they are not perceived as

justified by Arabs and others who are more familiar with the broader context. His statement that "we uphold peace, while you (Hamas forces) are terrorists" tries to position Israeli occupation citizens as peaceful and justified in their actions, while portraying Hamas as rejecting peace and embodying what he refers to as "terrorism". The message tries to convince Israeli occupation citizens and the international community that Palestinians are not proponents of peace but are instead terrorists, while Israeli occupation citizens have the right to defend themselves even by military action in Gaza. This perspective is intended to gain sympathy and support for Israeli occupation citizens from people who believe in Israeli occupation's right to peaceful existence.

"Welcome from Tel Aviv, the city that never sleeps." "أهلا بكم من مدينة تل أبيب المدينة التي لا تنام"

Avichai Adraee here tries to praise Tel Aviv as a vibrant and lively city, depicting it as a hub of constant activity and prosperity for its residents. He tries to glorify it to suggest that it possesses unique qualities unmatched by any other city.

"جيش الدفاع سيستمر بحملاته حتى استعادة الاستقرار والهدوء"

"The Defense Forces will continue their campaigns until stability and calm are restored."

Now the spokesperson shifts the narrative regarding the initiation of military strikes, claiming that Hamas first attacked the occupied territories. Consequently, Israeli occupation strikes on Gaza are presented as defensive responses to Palestinian aggression. This narrative seeks to convince the public that Hamas is responsible for starting the conflict, while Israel occupation's actions are aimed at restoring stability.

Israeli occupation tries to view its people as divinely chosen with divine right to live in Palestine and they believe that others are slaves. These people try to present themselves with pride and boast that their entity is powerful and wealthy, with well-trained and equipped military forces. Let's take a look into the statement below from Avichai Adraee's speech;

“الحمد لله القبة الحديدية تعترض معظم القذائف الصاروخية المعادية ونحن ماضون في توجيه هذه الضربات”.

“Thank God, the Iron Dome intercepts most of the enemy rockets, and we continue to deliver these strikes.”

Adraee tries to emphasize the military and technological power by highlighting the Iron Dome as a formidable and reliable defense system during conflicts. He tries to convey a message of superiority, suggesting to Palestinians that resistance is futile and that Israel occupation is strong.

“لا يمكن لأعدائنا أن يكسروا ارادتنا نحن شعب إسرائيل حي”.

“Our enemies cannot break our will. We, the people of Israel, are alive and strong.”

In this statement, Adraee praises the Israeli occupation people, trying to portray them as resilient and deserving of a secure existence. Their decisions are depicted as wise and strong, contrasting with the perceived weakness of others, whom they are capable of overcoming.

“الاعتداء السافر من غزة تجاه الأراضي الإسرائيلية ما هو إلا دليل على حجم الخسائر التي تكبدها المنظمات الإرهابية في القطاع والتمن الباهظ الذي دفعته وسوف تدفعه فهذا ما جنت على أهلها. براقش

“The blatant aggression from Gaza towards Israeli territory is nothing but evidence of the significant losses suffered by terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip and the heavy price they have paid and will continue to pay. This is the result of their actions against their own people.”

In these statements he tries to display that the Israeli occupation military is strong, justifying their strikes by labeling Hamas and Islamic Jihad as terrorist organizations. He tries to justify these actions and portray them as necessary responses to ongoing rocket attacks from Gaza. His aim is to convince others that Hamas and Islamic Jihad are responsible for starting the war.

The Israeli occupation military always threatens Palestinians in order to deliver a message that the Israeli occupation is in control of everything and imposes its ideology. The following statements illustrate the threats against the forces of Hamas and Islamic Jihad:

“من قلب مدينة تل أبيب”

“From the heart of Tel Aviv City.”

He continues the praise of Tel Aviv, depicting it as a fascinating and exceptional city that entices listeners to explore its wonders.

“نحن مستمرون في التصدي لكل الاعتداءات الإرهابية بيد من حديد .”

“We continue to confront all terrorist attacks with an iron fist.”

Here he focuses on glorifying Israeli occupation military strength, serving as a threat to adversaries that Israeli occupation military forces maintain the upper hand and are always prepared to confront any threat with unwavering resolve.

To gain support, the Israeli occupation speech uses a strategy of portraying Hamas in a negative manner by calling them terrorists. This involves the pronouns "I," "we," and "us" versus "you," "he," and "them." to create a narrative of the outsider as different and excluded. This approach is in line with Van Dijk's (2006) argument that the use of "we" strengthens solidarity in response to perceived threats. The Israeli spokesperson always tries to find a way to justify the actions of the Israeli occupation military against Hamas and Islamic Jihad that he tries to portray them as terrorists and adversaries. The examples below illustrate this.

“نواصل اصطيد النشطاء .”

“We continue to hunt down the militants.”

He tries to portray Israeli occupation forces as powerful by likening them to a predator hunting its prey and relentlessly pursuing their enemies.

“جنود جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي يواصلون ضرب أوكار الإرهاب في قطاع غزة ويوجهون لحماس والجهاد صفعه بعد صفعه.”

“Israeli Defense Forces soldiers continue to strike terrorist strongholds in Gaza, delivering blow after blow to Hamas and Islamic Jihad.”

Adraee tries to magnify the strength of the Israeli occupation military against Hamas and Islamic Jihad, showing how soldiers consistently target Palestinians in their hideouts, delivering decisive strikes without recognizing Palestinian forces as equal adversaries.

The following statements outline Israeli occupation's reasoning for its war against Hamas and Islamic Jihad, trying to portray them as terrorists in order to convince the public that Palestinians deserve to be killed.

“في اليوم الثامن للعملية العسكرية ضد أوكار الإرهاب في قطاع غزة نواصل توجيه الضربات والصفعات إلى حركتي حماس والجهاد الإسلامي.”

“On the eighth day of the military operation against terrorist strongholds in Gaza, we continue to deliver strikes and blows against Hamas and Islamic Jihad.”

This statement tries to portray Hamas and Islamic Jihad as hiding in their so-called terrorist hideouts, portraying them as being afraid of Israeli occupation military actions.

“فلا حصانة لأحد يفعل الإرهاب ضد المواطنين الإسرائيليين.”

“There is no immunity for anyone who perpetrates terrorism against Israeli civilians.”

This statement is a direct threat to the Palestinian resistance by indicating that Israeli occupation forces will show no leniency towards those who pose a threat to Israeli occupation citizens.

“فلا مكان آمن تحت الأرض لقادة ونشطاء حماس والجهاد الإسلامي”

“There is no safe haven underground for leaders and activists of Hamas and Islamic Jihad.”

Adraee tries to deliver another threat to Hamas and Islamic Jihad activists and soldiers, declaring that Israeli occupation army forces can strike them even if they attempt to hide underground.

“تماديتم فادفعوا الثمن.” *“You persisted, so now you must pay the price.”*

He expresses a threat and tries to convey that the Israeli Occupation forces have severely hit Hamas fighters, stating that if the resistance continues attack back the Israeli occupation forces will continue severe bombing and strikes.

“حماس تتحمل مسؤولية ما يجري في قطاع غزة وينطلق منه وستحمل تداعيات اعتداءاتها ضد سيادة إسرائيل ومواطنيه.”

Hamas bears responsibility for what is happening in Gaza and originates from it. It will also bear the consequences of its attacks against the sovereignty of Israel and its citizens.

This statement is meant to denounce the ongoing rocket launches from the Gaza Strip as if the resistance is the one responsible for the Israeli brutal actions. Adraee is threatening Hamas and Islamic Jihad fighters to demonstrate the capability of the Israeli occupation forces to execute brutal military strikes against the Gaza and its citizens.

II.2.1. Analysis of Abu-Obaida’s Official statements

In contrast to Adraee’s speeches, Abu-Obaida’s official statements during the Gaza War in 2021 present a different and more authentic narrative. As Hamas's spokesperson, he responded to the false Israeli claims that attempted to downplay and justify their attacks on the Gaza Strip. His speeches touched on many topics such as achievements, self-defense, ongoing actions, and glory.

He focused on delivering positive messages that were important for Palestinians and the broader audience to hear.

Abu-Obaida's statements included praise for their achievements in the conflict against the Israeli occupation, as follows:

“فبالرغم من فارق القوة الكبير بيننا وبينكم في الإمكانيات العسكرية إلا أننا وجهنا بعون الله ضربات صاروخية هائلة لم تجرؤ دول وأنظمة منذ النكبة ان توجه عشرها لكم.”

“Despite the significant disparity in military capabilities between us and you, with the help of God, we have launched massive missile strikes that no countries or regimes have dared to direct at you since the catastrophe (Nakba).”

He commends Hamas fighters for successfully launching rockets and missiles at Israeli occupation forces, viewing these achievements as positive outcomes for Palestinians amidst the ongoing conflict. He addresses the speech directly to the Israeli occupation leader and people indicating that Hamas is powerful and could launch a great number of missiles and rockets despite the big difference in power. He continues saying with pride that Hamas could humiliate the Israeli occupation in an unprecedented way that no regimes could ever do since the catastrophe (Nakba).

“لقد تمكنا بعون الله من إزلال العدو وكيانه الهش وجيشه الهمجي .”

“With the help of God, we have succeeded in humiliating the enemy, its fragile entity, and its barbaric army.”

This statement illustrates Hamas's effort to convey to Palestinians and Arabs that it can strike the Israeli occupation with missiles and rockets to demonstrate its military capability as a strategy of the resistance against Israeli occupation forces in Gaza. Abu-Oubeidah emphasizes their preparedness to defend themselves, framing their actions as those of a peaceful people resisting occupation and its terrorism. He portrays the Israeli occupation as the aggressor and

starter of the conflict while terrorizing civilians and Palestinian territories. The message presents Palestinians as defenders of peace against the aggression of the Israeli occupation, this message is intended for both Israeli occupation and international audiences.

“من غزة ينطلق في هذه اللحظات صاروخ عياش 250 بمدى أكبر من 250 كم وبقوة تدميرية هي الأكبر بفضل الله.”

“From Gaza, at this moment, the Ayyash 250 missile is launched, with a range exceeding 250 kilometers and destructive power, by the grace of God, greater than ever before.”

Here, Abu-Obeidah continues to highlight their military might and successes against Israeli occupation forces by focusing on their ability to deploy rockets like the Ayash 250 against Israeli occupation targets. This terrifies the Israeli occupation audience, and resonates positively with Palestinian citizens who view these acts as significant accomplishments for Hamas.

“تستمر معركة شعبنا مع الاحتلال البغيض منذ أن وطأت أقدامه هذه الأرض وكانت القدس دوما هي محور الصراع وأيقونة الانتفاضات ومفجرة الثورات. واليوم نخوض إحدى هذه المعارك معركة سيف القدس التي جاءت استكمالا للانتفاضة أهلنا في القدس والأقصى وانتصارا لحي الشيخ جراح المهدد بالتهجير والتهويد واستجابة لصرخات أهلنا في ساحات وميادين المدينة المقدسة.”

“Our people's struggle against the odious occupation has continued since its footsteps first touched this land. Jerusalem has always been the focal point of the conflict, an icon of uprisings, and a catalyst for revolutions. Today, we engage in one of these battles, the Battle of the Sword of Jerusalem, which follows our people's uprising in Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa, and stands as a victory for Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, threatened with displacement and Judaization. This battle responds to the cries of our people in the squares and fields of the holy city.”

Through this statement, Abu-Obeidah directly responds to Israeli claims made during the War by asserting Hamas's readiness to launch rockets at Israeli occupation targets as an act of self-defense against the ongoing brutal strikes and aggression of Palestinians, arguing that the

conflict began from Israeli occupation and will not stop until all Palestinian lands are liberated and the Israeli occupation returns from where it came in different western countries. He emphasizes that defending Al-Aqsa Mosque is central to their mission and reaffirms their commitment to protecting Palestinian territories from Israeli occupation.

“إن كل ثمن ندفعه وسندفعه هو فداء للأقصى والقدس فلا معنى لوجودنا إن لم تنفر من أجل الأقصى ومنتصر للقدس، فسلحنا ومواكبنا للقوة وإعدادنا على مدار سنوات طويلة إن هي إلا من أجل أرضنا والدفاع عن شعبنا والانتصار لمقدساتنا . “

“Every price we pay and will pay is a sacrifice for Al-Aqsa and Jerusalem. There is no meaning to our existence if we do not strive for Al-Aqsa and triumph for Jerusalem. Our weapons, strength, and long years of preparation are all dedicated to our land, defending our people, and securing victory for our sanctities.”

In this statement, he is delivering a clear message to Israeli occupation that Palestinian lands must eventually be liberated and reminds that Israelis are occupiers who have no legitimate right to attack Palestinians and take their territories by force. He asserts that Palestinians have the right to defend their lands even if it requires sacrificing themselves and all they have. Abu-Oubeida employs the strategy of self-defense to persuade both Palestinians and the international community that their cause is just, while the occupiers are in the wrong. He contends that Israeli occupation has no right to occupy Palestinian lands, and Palestinians are justified in defending their territories against what they see as terrorism from Israeli occupation forces.

Going for war should have valid reasons and credible justifications must be given for engaging in it. Some reasons are widely accepted, but others are not. Hamas has strong justifications for defending itself against the Israeli occupation aggressions. Abu-Obaida clarifies the reasons of Hamas as follows:

“واليوم نخوض إحدى هذه المعارك معركة سيف القدس التي جاءت استكمالاً لانتفاضة أهلنا في القدس والأقصى وانتصارا لحي الشيخ جراح المههد بالتهجير والتهود واستجابة الصرخات أهلنا في ساحات وميادين المدينة المقدسة.”

“Today, we are engaged in one of these battles, the Battle of the Sword of Jerusalem, which continues the uprising of our people in Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa. It stands as a victory for the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, threatened with displacement and Judaization, and is a response to the cries of our people in the squares and fields of the holy city. “

Abu-Oubeida clarifies that fighting Israeli occupation is a response to the cries of the Palestinian people in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood in the Holy City and the arrogant Israeli assaults on Al-Aqsa Mosque. It is a continuation of the uprising of Palestinians in Jerusalem against the occupation. These justifications are widely accepted and considered as legitimate because when people see these events, they accept the reasons provided by Hamas.

“إن كل ثمن ندفعه وسندفعه هو فداء للأقصى والقدس فلا معنى لوجودنا إن لم ننفّر من أجل الأقصى وننتصر للقدس.”

“Every price we pay, and will continue to pay, is a sacrifice for Al-Aqsa and Jerusalem. Our existence has no meaning if we do not rise for the sake of Al-Aqsa and triumph for Jerusalem.”

He asserts that Hamas continues defend itself by launching rockets at the Israeli occupation forces because the conflict was caused by the Israeli occupation of Palestine and its territories. He explains that that the fight will not stop until all occupied lands are fully liberated, including Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa Mosque. He reaffirms that defending Al-Aqsa Mosque is the most important priority, meaning that Palestinians are ready to protect their rightful territories at any cost.

“يخرج هذا الصاروخ الآن نصرة للأقصى وجزئاً من ردنا على اغتيال قادتنا ومهندسينا الإبطال.”

“This rocket is now launched in support of Al-Aqsa and as part of our response to the assassination of our brave leaders and engineers.”

Here, Abu-Obeidah stated with pride that the motivations behind the missiles and rockets launched at Israeli occupation targets are a retaliation for the brutal Israeli attacks on Al-Aqsa and the killing and assassination of Palestinian heroes.

The theme of glorification is central to Hamas and Islamic Jihad as they take pride in showcasing their military achievements during the Gaza War. Their efforts to glorify themselves resonate both with their citizens and as a message to Israeli occupation forces. The following examples illustrate this:

“ولقد شاهدتم خلال الأيام الماضية يا أبناء شعبنا المرابط الصابر بعضا مما أعدناه وراقبناه في سنوات طويلة لم نقف فيها ساعة عن الإعداد لك حصون العدو ومعاقله.”

“You have witnessed, over the past few days, O sons of our steadfast and patient people, some of what we have prepared and watched over during long years without resting for a moment from preparing to break down the enemy's fortresses and strongholds.”

Abu-Obeidah talks to Palestinians and celebrates the preparedness of the resistance to confront the enemy. He expresses pride in the preparedness of Hamas and its readiness and capability to attack back and dismantle Israeli defenses when this is required. This is a big source of pride and triumph for the movement of Hamas and the people.

“فقرار قصف تل أبيب والقدس وديمونة وعسقلان والسدود وبئر السبع وما قبلها وما بعدها من مدننا المحتلة أسهل علينا من شربة الماء إذا استبيح أقصانا وانتهكت كرامتنا وإذا تعلق الأمر بالرد على عدوانكم والانتصار لأهلنا ومقدساتنا فلا خطوط حمراء ولا قواعد اشتباك مقدسة ولا حسابات معقدة.”

“The decision to bombard Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Dimona, Ashkelon, the dams, Beersheba, and all our occupied cities is easier for us than drinking a glass of water, when our sanctities are violated and our dignity is compromised. When it comes to responding to your aggression and securing

victory for our people and our sanctities, there are no red lines, no sacred rules of engagement, and no complicated calculations.”

He demonstrates the readiness of Hamas forces to retaliate against Israeli occupation citizens whenever the Israeli occupation violates their dignity or violates the rights of the Palestinian citizens. He stresses the readiness of the resistance by showcasing the strength of Hamas and its resilience as a clear warning to their enemy.

“فهل أرهبتنا الاغتيالات يوماً أو هل شاهدتم طفلاً فلسطينياً يخاف من جبروتكم وهل أوقفتم يوماً مقاومتنا بعدوان أو حصار أو دمار؟”

“Have assassinations ever frightened us, or have you ever seen a Palestinian child fear you might? Have you ever halted our resistance with aggression, siege, or destruction?”

This statement displays the strength of Hamas and all the Palestinian people and affirms that they are determined to stand firm and undeterred by Israeli brutal assassinations, aggressions, massive destruction and oppression.

“وما كان لنا ان نتخلف عن نصره القدس والأقصى وما ينبغي لنا أن نراكم من قوتنا ونملك سلاحنا ثم لا ندافع به عن درة وطننا وعاصمتنا المقدسة ونستجيب لاستغاثة وصرخات أهلنا وشعبنا المقهور المظلوم في الشيخ جراح وغيرها من مدننا وقرانا المحتلة.”

“It was incumbent upon us not to falter in defending Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa. How could we possess our strength and weapons and not use them to defend the jewel of our homeland and our holy capital? We respond to the cries and pleas of our oppressed and downtrodden people in Sheikh Jarrah and other occupied cities and villages.”

The statement reflects the unwavering commitment of Hamas to protect their sacred Palestinian sites and people at all cost, emphasizing their readiness to stand for the Palestinian community.

“لقد اعدنا أنفسنا بفضل الله جيدا لهذه المعركة ولازال لدينا المزيد والمزيد بإذن الله مما سي سوء وجوه الغاصبين الصهاينة إذا تجرعوا على شعبنا وأهلنا ومقدساتنا.”

“We have prepared ourselves well for this battle, by the grace of God, and we still have more and more, God willing, that will further trouble the faces of the Zionist occupiers if they dare to confront our people, our families, and our sanctities.”

He continues stressing that Hamas is determined and fully prepared to attack back Israeli occupation forces whenever necessary. This underscores the resolve of Hamas to fight Israeli aggression against Palestinians and their sacred places and lands.

Threats are a crucial element in warfare, serving as warnings that demonstrate power and readiness to unleash severe consequences if demands are not met. This is illustrated in the following statements:

“وان ضرباتنا ستكون حاضرة متى عدتم للعدوان او تماديتهم فيه .”

“And our strikes will be present whenever you return to aggression or persist in it.”

This is a serious warning to Israeli occupation forces that the consequences would be grave on them if they thought of another attack against Gaza. This threat is a strategy to limit future actions from the enemy.

“وعلقنا هذه الضربة الصاروخية لنرقب سلوك العدو حتى الساعة الثانية من فجر الجمعة.”

“We have suspended this missile strike to monitor the enemy's behavior until 2 AM on Friday morning.”

This statement asserts that Hamas is capable and ready to carry out its threats by launching rockets on Israeli targets during the night in case the enemy decided to break rules and attack Citizens again in Gaza strip.

Future objectives work as a motivational message to all Palestinians, emphasizing the importance of honoring and remembering the brave martyrs who faced the enemy and sacrificed their lives. The following statements highlight this theme:

“تحية لشهداء معركة سيف القدس الإبرار وعهدا لهم إن نواصل الطريق الذي بدأوه .”

“Salute to the martyrs of the Battle of the Sword of Jerusalem, and a pledge to continue the path they started.”

This statement focuses on a future aim of honoring the honorable martyrs of the Battle of Saif Al-Quds and promising to continue the mission they set forth, showing continuous reverence for their sacrifice.

“وإنما النصر صبر ساعة وسيعلم الذين ظلموا أي منقلب ينقلبون .”

“And victory is but an hour of patience, and those who have wronged will soon know what fate awaits them.”

He expresses an ongoing devotion to honoring all Palestinians killed by Israeli occupation forces, stressing the significance of commemorating their honorable actions and the lasting impact they have on the community.

Abu-Oubeida pointed out the misdeeds of Israeli occupation forces during the war. These misconducts are conveyed through the following statements:

“لقد شاهد كل العالم حجم الخزي والعار لهذا الكيان الذي تتبجح قيادته بقصفها الأبراج السكنية .”

“The whole world has witnessed the extent of shame and disgrace of this entity whose leadership boasts about targeting residential towers.”

This highlights the massive bombing of residential towers in the Gaza Strip by Israeli occupation forces. These actions are portrayed not as commendable achievements but as shameful acts that reflect Israeli occupation forces' bad reputation.

“وتتفاخر إسرائيل بقصف المنشآت المدنية وقتل الأطفال والنساء كأهداف مشروعة وإنجازات عظيمة.”

“Israel boasts about bombing civilian structures and killing children and women as legitimate targets and great achievements.”

Abu-Oubeida illustrates the brutal actions of the enemy. He exposes the annihilation of Palestinian children and women by Israeli occupation forces which target civilians on purpose rather than legitimate military targets.

“لقد شاهد العالم كله خيبتكم وعاركم فيما لها من دولة مزعومة تروج لنفسها كقوة أولى في المنطقة بينما تصب كل غضبها وصواريخ حقدتها نحو الشقق الأمانة والأبراج السكنية المدنية والمؤسسات العامة وتستهدف الأطفال والنساء والمنشآت المدنية للاستعراض بحجم الدمار وقوة النار.”

“The whole world has witnessed your disappointment and shame, as you claim to be a major power in the region while directing all your anger and rockets of hatred towards safe apartments, residential towers, and public institutions. You target children, women, and civilian structures to showcase the extent of destruction and the strength of your firepower.”

Abu-Oubeida highlights ongoing Israeli horrible actions that targets only Palestinians in their homes and bombs public institutions because it failed to have any specific military objectives. He emphasizes the destruction of Palestinian residences on top of civilian inhabitants including women and children.

He also denounces the justifications of Israeli occupation for the war on Gaza because they are clearly false. He illustrates with this statement:

“خضنا ونخوض هذه المعركة بكل شرف وإرادة واقتدار بمعية الله تعالى نيابة عن امة بأكملها شاهدت وتشاهد مسرى نبيها
وقدسها العظيم يدنس من شذاذ الأفاق وحثالة البشرية.”

“We have waged and continue to wage this battle with all honor, determination, and strength, with the help of Allah Almighty, on behalf of the entire nation that has witnessed and continues to witness the desecration of its prophet's sanctuary and its great Jerusalem by the outcasts and the dregs of humanity.”

He points out to the violations of Israeli occupation forces against Al-Aqsa Mosque, which the Israeli forces themselves openly admit. And he addresses the Arab leaders and nations particularly but also all Muslims that the sacred mosque is being desecrated by the Israeli occupation without shame, trying to waken the people to react.

“وقد اعدنا لكم أصنافا من الموت ستجعلكم تلعنون أنفسكم.”

“And we have prepared for you types of death that will make you curse yourselves.”

Abu-Obeidah is issuing threats in retaliation to Israeli threats, specifically in response to the continuing strikes on Gaza and Palestinian civilians.

“وان انطلاق هذه الضربة ووضعها حيز التنفيذ يحدده مدى التزام العدو بوقف تام لعدوانه حتى الثانية فجرا وقيادة الاحتلال أمام
اختبار هام وحقيقي خلال هذه الساعات وقرار توجيه هذه الضربة سيبقى على الطاولة حتى الثانية فجرا بعون الله تعالى”

“The launching and execution of this strike depend on the enemy's commitment to a complete cessation of its aggression until 2 AM, placing the leadership of the occupation under a crucial and real test during these hours. The decision to execute this strike remains on the table until 2 AM, with the help of Allah Almighty.”

This depicts that Hamas is ready to respond to any Israeli strikes against Gaza strip especially that the Israeli occupation is known for its lies and breaking of agreements and rules.

Abu-Oubeida communicates that the launch of the ready missiles depends on whether the Israeli occupation provokes any attacks and that this is a real test to see if they dare to start any other strikes.

The future ambitions of Hamas concerning Palestinian land, with a focus on the belief that Jews will eventually be expelled. The following statement clarifies this view:

“يا أبناء شعبنا ويا جماهير امتنا إن ا هذا الكيان الضعيف يمكن أن يهزم بل سيهزم يقينا ويندثر حتما لأنه كيان قائم على غش وباطل وظلم وعدوان.”

“O sons of our people and O masses of our nation, indeed this weak entity can be defeated, and surely it will be defeated, because it is an entity based on deceit, falsehood, injustice, and aggression, and it will inevitably perish.”

This is a direct address to the people in Palestine and in the Arab world and all Muslim nations that the Israeli occupation is a weak and illegal entity that is going to perish because it is illegitimate because it is built on the land of Palestinians and is immoral. Abu-Oubeida affirms that Israeli occupation will be wiped out of the Palestinian rightful territories soon or later.

The intentional use of plural pronouns like “We” and “they” emphasizes differentiation from others. This use of plural pronouns draws divisions and distinguishes identities. Both spokesmen used “they” to create distance from their opponents.

Adraee stated: *“They are terrorists who deserve death. They have continuously tried to harm us, but we are always ready to defend ourselves.”* Adraee referred to Hamas soldiers as “they” to portray them as the opponents to create a negative image of them, and referred to the Israeli occupation soldiers as “we” and “us” as a try to convey unity.

Abu-Obeidah used “we” to highlight the power and authority of Hamas and used “they” to refer to the Israeli occupation enemy. He stated: *“Our people's ongoing struggle against the*

occupying forces began when they first arrived on this land, with Jerusalem remaining the focal point of the conflict. It symbolizes our uprisings and sparks revolutions. Today, we fight one of these battles, the Battle of the Sword of Jerusalem. Our enemies must be defeated." Here, there is focus on the plural pronouns "we," "us," and "our" to express unity, determination, strength and capability in defending their homeland against occupation, and used "they" and "them" to refer to the enemy.

II.3. Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

Each spokesman constructed his speech to justify and glorify the actions of his side and to threaten the opponent. However, the basis for their justifications and glorification differed significantly. Both Abu Oubeida and Adraee used threats to assert dominance and deter future actions. The division between "us" and "them." was integral to both spokesmen's efforts to rally their audiences and dehumanize the opponent.

Adraee tried to portray Hamas and Islamic Jihad as terrorist organizations that are not strong in order to dehumanize Palestinians and tried to portray Israeli military actions as a defensive response to ongoing rocket attacks from Gaza. In contrast, Abu Oubeida focused on the right to self-defense against Israeli occupation, particularly emphasizing the defense of Al-Aqsa Mosque and Palestinian lands as central to Hamas's cause. For Abu Oubeida, the conflict was not about terrorism but about resisting an illegal occupation and defending sacred Palestinian sites. This allowed Hamas to position itself as a defender of the terrorized Palestinian people and their land.

Adraee tried to emphasize Israeli occupation's military superiority through its technological advancements like the Iron Dome and precision strikes. He portrayed the Israeli occupation military as capable of neutralizing threats. Adraee sought to portray Palestinian resistance as futile, suggesting that any attempts to confront Israeli occupation would fail. Abu Oubeida, on the other hand, glorified the resilience and courage of Hamas fighters, celebrating their ability to launch

rockets and conduct military operations against Israeli occupation forces. He emphasized Hamas as a powerful and capable force that was undeterred by Israeli strikes. This sought to boost the morale of the Palestinian people and depict Hamas's military actions as heroic efforts in a larger battle for liberation from occupation. The celebration of military achievements, such as the use of advanced rockets like the Ayash 250, highlights Hamas's progress and capability in warfare.

Adraee's threats were direct and targeted Hamas leaders and fighters in order to portray Israeli occupation military as able to attack without mercy. He aimed to create fear among Hamas fighters in that any continued resistance would be met with more bombing and killing. In contrast, Abu Oubeida's threats were implied in the language of resistance to warn Israeli occupation that Hamas is ready to retaliate for any attacks on Palestinian civilians or sacred sites. This highlights the asymmetry between the two sides, with Israeli occupation positioning itself as the dominant aggressor and Hamas as the retaliatory force fighting to protect its people and land.

Adraee used "we" and "us" to unify Israelis against Palestinians that he tried to refer to as terrorists. By this he tried to present the Israeli collective identity as a threatened population standing against threats. The use of "they" to describe Hamas is a try to portray it as the existential threat that it posed to Israeli occupation. Abu Oubeida also used "us" versus "them" but in a different context. His use of "we" united Palestinians in their struggle against Israeli occupation, portraying them as fighters defending their homeland. And his use of "they" referred to Israeli forces that he depicted as occupiers and aggressors. This allowed Hamas to claim moral superiority, casting their struggle as a fight for liberation against an illegitimate and immoral occupier.

Conclusion

The discourse strategies of Adraee and Abu Oubeida during the 2021 Gaza War illustrate the ways in which language can be used to justify actions and gain support. Adraee's speech tried to dehumanize Palestinians, justify Israeli military actions, and portray the Israeli occupation as strong. Abu Oubeida emphasized resistance, self-defense, and the right to protect Palestinian land and sacred sites against illegitimate occupation. Both sides relied on the use of "us versus them" to portray their actions as justified while casting the opposition as immoral. Both spokesmen presented persuasive narratives in their speeches, but the speeches of Abu Oubeida were more powerful and authentic, especially for those who know the history of the conflict and occupation. Although Abu Oubeida was truthful and more convincing, the media's amplification of these messages largely benefited the Israeli occupation side during the Palestinian-Zionist war of 2021 in Gaza. This bias enhanced the global impact and influence of their speeches on people, and countered and limited Palestinian voices from conveying their messages to a wider international audience effectively despite their fervent rhetoric and dedication to Palestinian rights. Despite all these restrictions, Hamas could gain more support and reveal the true image of the brutal actions of the occupation.

General Conclusion

The focus of this research examined the rhetorical tactics and discursive strategies used by Hamas spokesman Abu Obeida and Israeli Occupation Defense Forces spokesman Avichai Adraee during the Gaza War in 2021. In formal speeches, language serves multiple purposes to deliver certain ideologies that align with the speaker's intentions. This is why linguistic and ideological strategies were analyzed in this thesis.

Both spokesmen made strategic use of language in their speeches to strengthen their positions and shape public opinion. They sought to legitimize the military actions of their side and undermine the actions of the opponent. The Israeli occupation spokesman portrayed Hamas as a terrorist group and tried to use false arguments to justify that the Israeli occupation is defending itself. On the other hand, Hamas's spokesman used similar rhetoric and provided proofs of the brutal killing and bombing of civilians in their homes in Gaza strip by the Israeli occupation forces, portraying the Israeli army as terrorist and labeling Palestinian reactions from Gaza towards the occupied Palestinian lands as self-defense against brutal aggression and liberation from occupation.

Groups were categorized based on their views and actions that are assigned with either positive or negative traits, which formed various themes in the speeches of both spokesmen. The Israeli spokesman highlighted achievements and justification of the war, ongoing operations, glorification, and threats. On the other hand, Abu-Obeida's speeches centered around self-praise and glorification, along with themes of justification for the war and making threats, showcasing achievements and ongoing activities, and future aims. These tactics involved the use of personal pronouns. These pronouns shaped positive self-representation and negative portrayals of the opposition. Pronouns like 'We', 'our', and 'us' generally carried positive connotations, while 'they', 'their', and 'them' implied negativity. These strategies were primarily used for the speakers' aims to

convince the public and gain support while denouncing the opponent and portraying it in negative light.

Some suggestions for further research can be useful in this study. This thesis is important for those concerned with analyzing the war between Palestinian resistance and the Israeli occupation. Further research could be done on topics related to the War in Palestine and other conflicts. Future research should investigate how media represent the official speeches presented in war to better understand the role media in shaping public opinion. Future research can also apply Van Dijk's approach to other wars around the world and compare the results. It is recommended to explore how people react to these speeches.

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المخلص

تقدم هذه المذكرة تحليلاً للخطابين الرسميين لكل من أبو عبيدة (الناطق باسم حركة حماس) وأفيخاي أدري (الناطق باسم قوات الإحتلال الإسرائيلي) خلال حرب غزة عام 2021. استخدمت الدراسة نموذج التحليل النقدي للخطاب لفان دايك لدراسة كيفية بناء كل من المتحدثين لخطاباتهم بهدف التأثير على الرأي العام وتعزيز الأيديولوجيات السياسية. يكشف التحليل كيف استخدم كل منهما اللغة لتبرير أفعالهما واتهام الخصم. ووجد أن كلاهما استخدم استراتيجيات لغوية وأيديولوجية متشابهة، ولكن خطاب أبو عبيدة كان أكثر أصالة وتأثيراً لأن حججه تستند إلى خلفية تاريخية حقيقية وأيديولوجيات سياسية قوية. تسلط الدراسة الضوء على دور اللغة كأداة استراتيجية في نقل روايات الحروب وأثار الخطاب في تبرير الأعمال العسكرية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي، الناطق الرسمي، حماس، الإحتلال الإسرائيلي، حرب غزة