

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

The current study is an attempt to explore the function of intertextuality as a social practice associated with the use of language in reproducing the underlying ideologies and power in the news articles on Palestinian-Israeli conflict published in the websites of Aljazeera English (AJE) and CNN. The study aims to examine intertextuality in a broader political context in which the news articles of AJE and CNN are embedded.

Following the news coverage of two prominent international news websites, namely Aljazeera English (AJE) and CNN, on issues about the "war on terror", war on Afghanistan, Iraq and more particularly the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, have been studied in various disciplines including Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, previous studies using CDA as an approach investigated and compared the outputs of the news Websites of AJE and CNN by focusing mainly on the analysis of different political ideologies and stances. However, such studies did not give much attention to the function of language that often reproduces the underlying ideologies and power in the news discourse. Wodak (1996) argues that language plays an important role in shaping the social practice of societies. In the light of exploring intertextuality in the news articles of the news websites of AJE and CNN under the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, it is worth to mention that CDA aims to disclose power and discrimination in political, cultural and societal contexts to uncover the ideological bias of the news texts (Van Dijk, 2001). "Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute in establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation", (Fairclough, 2003, p. 10).

By referring back to the function of language in media discourse, Chomsky (2002), states that the customs and attitudes of people are strongly shaped by the language used in the media. Shaping people's attitudes happens in accordance to the country's ideology that hosts the media institution. In this regard, Fairclough (2001) sees that discourse is a social practice. It can be said that the language used in the news articles of AJE and CNN and the underlying ideologies and power it reproduces can significantly play an essential role in formulating the international awareness and attitudes towards the social, cultural, political issues and problems on Palestinian- Israeli conflict. Wodak and Meyer (2009, p. 88) note that:

*“Ideologies serve as an important means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations through discourse: for example, by establishing hegemonic identity narratives, or by controlling the access to specific discourses or public”*

Taking into account what Chomsky has proposed, it can be said that the news coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by AJE and CNN happened in accordance with the agenda and the ideologies of the host countries. For instance, AJE is based in Qatar and CNN is based in the U.S, (Barkho, 2008). In the midst of the ideological conflict, AJE and CNN have recruited professionals and trained journalists, writers and editors to write and report sensitive issues about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In addition, AJE and CNN follow a flexible method in the selection of linguistic/language forms, features and devices where they occupy a significant role in the reproduction of ideologies and power relations in the news discourse, (Barkho, 2008). Consequently, it can be said that “every text (or utterance) is dialogical, in the sense that it gains its meaning in relation to other texts”, (Bakhtin, 1986). CDA argues that language is manipulated by people or media institutions in a society as a means to attain certain ideologies and power. According to Khan (2003), this happens through the conscious selection of particular linguistic/language forms and features. In this regard, the output

of media is essential in formulating the international awareness through the practical techniques of employing language in the news articles.

In view of that, a study on Critical Discourse Analysis of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as reported in AJE and CNN news websites is conceptualized. The current study adopted Fairclough's (1995) approach to CDA, the Three Dimensional Framework, to explore and investigate the use and function of intertextuality as one of the pervasive features associated with the use of language in the news articles of AJE and CNN. It is expected that a Critical Discourse Analysis of the news articles of AJE and CNN may reveal the way discourse constructs intertextuality in the news articles and the role they play in reproducing the underlying ideologies and power of AJE and CNN.

## **1.2 Background of the Study**

### **1.2.1 The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict**

The ongoing conflict between the Israeli and the Palestinian began at the beginning of the twentieth century when Britain gave a promise to the Jews to establish a national home for them on the Palestinian territories (Tessler, 1994). The period followed this attempt have witnessed many wars that changed the interface of the Middle East. The first of these catastrophes followed the 1948 war between Arabs and Israeli where millions of Palestinians were deported from their territories (Tessler, 1994). The number of Palestinian refugees nowadays is 6 million, distributed across Lebanon, Syria and Jordan (Dumper, 2006). Then followed by 1956, 1967, 1972 wars and the last one was 1976's war between Egypt and Israel which ended with signing of the Camp David peace agreement between Egyptians and Israelis (Herzog & Gazit, 2005). The peace agreement between Egypt and Israel ended decades of regional conflict between the

Arabs and the Israeli. However, conflict became limited between the Palestinian and Israeli, although, only two Arab countries have signed peace agreements with Israel (Price, 2003).

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict represented in the peace process, conflict on water, borders, security, rights of return for the Palestinian refugees, establishment of the Palestinian independent state and the recognition of the Palestinian rights, the expansion and the ongoing building of new Israeli settlements on the Palestinian territories in West Bank (Bassiouni & Ami, 2009). The conflict between the Israeli and the Palestinian led to the creation of international conglomerates jostling to control the Middle East, represented in the United States, Iran, Russia, and Europe. Consequently, this led to increase violence in the last two decades, especially the violence that followed the September 11 attack in New York (Effarah, 2007).

One of the most important issues regarding the Palestinian Israeli conflict is the peace process and establishment of the Palestinian independent state. The signing of Oslo peace agreement between the Palestinian and the Israeli allowed the Palestinian Liberations Organization, led by Arafat, to return to Palestine in 1993 and established an autonomous state for five years (Golan, 2008). Supposedly it would be followed by final negotiations that in turns lead to the establishment of a state for Palestinians, with Jerusalem as its capital, (Golan, 2008). However, the five years were followed by the second Intifada (Palestinian civil uprising against Israeli occupation) in which the Palestinians asserted and emphasized their rights of freedom. The uprising started in 2001 and ended in 2012 (Norman, 2010).

Those years included many international attempts, led by the U.S to heal the rift between the Palestinian and Israeli, which culminated to complete the negotiations and to continue the peace process, and establish the Palestinian Independent state, (Klein,

2007). However, those attempts failed and this failure was attributed always by the international community to the Israeli intransigence (Klein, 2007).

One of the main issues which dominated the scene of the Palestinian Israeli Conflict is the Israeli's siege in Gaza after Hamas took over the government in the Gaza Strip. In the mid of the siege, Israelis launched war in Gaza in 2009. The war left 1400 killed Palestinians and more than 5000 people were injured (Pappe & Chomsky, 2010). The Israeli claimed that they lunched the war to stop the Palestinian rocket attacks; however, many countries condemned the war and claimed it as unjustified war that targeted civilians. Consequently, the whole world has made several attempts to break the Israeli siege and many claimed it as illegal. These efforts characterized in the Turkish attempts to send flotillas to Gaza via the Mediterranean Sea (Bayoumi, 2010). The most recent was in 2010 where the Turkish flotilla came under the Israeli attack in the Mediterranean Sea. The attack left 10 dead, which led to international quarrels and to a great rift between Israel and Turkey (Bayoumi, 2010). It is noted that the siege in Gaza is still ongoing and the conflict between the Palestinian and the Israeli is enclosed under the issues mentioned earlier.

### **1.2.2 International Media Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict**

The media coverage of the Palestinian- Israeli conflict in the recent years has been associated with international political, economic and social ideologies (Tucker, 2008). This happened due to the efforts of the media of Iran, Europe, Middle East, America and Israel. The evolution and rapid changes that occurred in the world led to a great divergence of views and to an emergence of trends and beliefs that take media as a vehicle to pass ideologies and stances to the world. What matters in this regard is the

role of international media coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict which is considered to be loaded with ideological stances and bias (Johnson & Milani, 2010).

The beginnings of the Arab media coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict were not the level of efforts that were required. The news coverage in the Arab world was often confined on the radios and newspapers (Abdullah, 2007). Consequently, many events on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict were not been fully covered. This resulted to the absence of facts that could possibly change the situation and direction of the conflict at that time. However, entering the era of the internet and the rapid development that took place in the world created loads of news channels, websites, newspapers that took efforts to monitor the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and facts that occur on the ground, and this certainly led to the growing of the international attempts and represented in the United Nation, United States, Russia, Europe and Arabs- efforts to find solutions to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The most important news channel that emerged in the Middle East as a result of this development is the news channel of Aljazeera that was established in Qatar in 1995 to compete with the Western media in Europe and America. Aljazeera adopted the slogan “the opinion and other opinion” and claimed neutrality in terms of reporting the news of the world. The channel quickly became one of the major global media institutions that the world entrust all the accusations for letting the world hear for the first time people’s untold stories which resulted to unrest around the world (Barkho, 2008).

On the other hand, CNN has appeared in the eighties of the twentieth century in the US. The channel is considered the first that introduced the 24 hours continuous news broadcasting. The importance of CNN appears in the role it played through the news coverage of various events around the world and more importantly the impact it leaves to the American people. CNN reflects the viewpoints of the U.S. government on all the

issues such as the issues of “war on terror”, and the war on Afghanistan and Iraq, and particularly the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (Barkho, 2008).

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

In view of the fact that the language used in the news articles of AJE and CNN plays an important role in formulating the international awareness about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It is noticed that the use and function of intertextuality as a social practice associated with the use of language in the news articles of AJE and CNN is not widely studied. This study attempts to shed light in understanding the function of intertextuality as a language feature used in the news articles to reproduce the underlying ideologies and power of AJE and CNN news.

This study uses Critical Discourse Analysis as a tool to explore how ideologies and power in the news articles of AJE and CNN are pursued through the use of intertextuality, taking into account that language has a central position in the ideological and power process.

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The present study aims to investigate how intertextuality reproduces the underlying ideology and power in the news articles that cover issues on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict published in the news websites of AJE and CNN, more specifically, this focusing on how the news writers correspond their interpretations and views through use of intertextuality.

This study aims to:

1. Examine the use of intertextuality as reported speech and the voices included and excluded in the news articles published in AJE and CNN news websites.
2. Analyze and relate the voices in the news articles to the writers' own voice.
3. Analyze the use of intertextuality in the news articles and the underlying ideologies and power.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

The current study will answer the following questions:

1. What are the reported speech that frequently occurs in the news articles published in AJE and CNN news websites?
2. Whose voices are included and excluded in the news articles in AJE and CNN?
3. Why the voices are included in relation to other voices in the text and to the writers' own voice?
4. How the use of intertextuality in the news articles of AJE and CNN reflects and reproduces the underlying ideologies and power?

### **1.6 Significance of the Study**

The current study aims to examine the function of intertextuality in reproducing the underlying ideologies and power in the news discourse. Moreover, a Critical Discourse Analysis of intertextuality in the news articles published by AJE and CNN helps to illustrate the use of CDA as an instrument to reveal the relationship between language, ideology and power.

The present study aspires to contribute to the existing pool of knowledge and broader theory in relation to language, ideology and power in the media discourse. The study will be significant in promoting good understanding of ideologies of the news articles published in AJE and CNN on Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This research can be beneficial to those who are pursuing their degree in language and linguistics for it provides background knowledge about the discourse in the media which focuses on how intertextuality is used to portray certain ideologies and power. The study also provides new information to politicians, journalists and mass media writers who are interested in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

### **1.7 Limitation of the Study**

The scope of the study is limited to the analysis of intertextuality by using the analytic method of Critical Discourse Analysis in a corpus consisting of 6 published news articles on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by two international news Websites, namely AJE and CNN. By contrasting and comparing the use and function of intertextuality in the news Websites of AJE and CNN, it is anticipated that due to divergence in ideology and political position, inconsistencies and differences can be found in respect to the use of intertextuality.

### **1.8 Conclusion**

The current study on Critical Discourse Analysis analyzes the intertextuality employed in the news articles of AJE and CNN, most particularly on the reproduction of underlying ideologies and power in the news articles. This study includes the news articles that cover the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by the two international news websites, namely Aljazeera English (AJE) and CNN.

This chapter has provided the background to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as well as a summary of the news coverage of AJE and CNN. The following chapters address the issues put forth in this chapter. Thus, a background review of intertextuality, CDA, its objectives and relevant findings from past studies are discussed in Chapter 2. The research methods are explained in Chapter 3, while the analysis and discussion are found in chapter 4. The conclusion and recommendations are discussed in Chapter 5.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviews the issues on Critical Discourse Analysis, intertextuality, discourses in the news, discourse and news in the Middle East, discourse and news in Europe and followed by a synthesis of the review of literature.

#### **2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis**

The last three decades witnessed a number of studies conducted under the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis on language and ideology in media discourse. The studies were led by the pioneers Critical Discourse Analysis, such as Fairclough, Van Dijk and Wodak. Each of these CDA's proponents has established their own methods and frameworks when analyzing the relationship between Language and ideology in media discourse. Garret and Bell (1998) state that Critical Discourse Analysis "is best viewed as a shared perspective encompassing a range of approaches rather than just one school". However, Fairclough, Wodak and Van Dijk have commonalities in principles and frameworks when analyzing discourse. Van Dijk (2008) points out that "given the common perspective and general aim of Critical Discourse Analysis, we may also find over all conceptual and theoretical frameworks that are closely related".

Many definitions have been given to Critical Discourse Analysis, but all of them seemingly provide similar definitions. Van Dijk (1998) for instance defines CDA as an approach which follows certain actions to investigate, explore and analyze the written or spoken discourse to reveal the discursive source of ideology, bias and power. In addition, Fairclough (1993) defines it as an approach:

*“aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts, and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.” (p. 135)*

Wodak (1989) explains that Critical Discourse Analysis is “an interdisciplinary approach to language study within a critical point of view for the purpose of studying language behaviour in natural speech situation of social relevance”. Consequently, it can be said that CDA focuses on the analysis of text and its context to expose the ideologies and power that are hidden in the language. According to Wodak and Fairclough (1997), one of the main functions of CDA is to reveal the hidden ideologies in discourse by investigating how language was used and presented. CDA pays much attention to the ‘structures’ that make up the news discourse. Moreover, Luke (1997) states that ‘Critical discourse analysis is an approach which aims to analyze text ‘discourse’ in order to understand how they are used everyday ideology and power relations’.

Kress (1990) argues that CDA ties the text with the ‘underlying power structures’. Van Dijk (1993) illustrates that CDA focuses on studying ideology, power and resistance that are interceded in discourse by the use of the ‘linguistic systems’. Discourse in general is considered as a form of social practice’, (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). In this regard, Wodak (2001) argues that the ‘context of language use’ is an essential to ‘discourse’.

It can be said that CDA is not classified as an approach that follow a particular methodology in the analysis of discourse. However, analysts believe that CDA is a comprehensive approach which follows different standpoints and different methods in studying the relationship between ‘language and the social context’. Wodak (1997) argues that the relationship between language and society is strongly built. She explains that the relationship is seen in the exchange of roles where language is born created by

the society and shortly it takes the role of society, which functions to change the essence of societies and shapes all the aspects of social life.

One of the most important works of CDA is the analysis of ideologies in the news discourse (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). CDA explains how ideologies are produced in the text. Therefore, in order to understand the production of ideologies in the text, analysts have examined the reader's interpretations of the text and how the text affects them and in what way the social and cultural context where texts are embedded (Wodak and Fairclough, 1997). Our thoughts, beliefs, books, speeches, actions, behaviours and the way we deal with people and the way we react, are filled with ideologies and power (Fiske, 1994). CDA explains how this happen, through what, and in what way, whether in speech or written texts (Fiske, 1994).

It can be said that language is important for news writers that helps them to pursue certain ideologies. Everyone has his own special way to achieve ideologies through the use of language, whether it's through the spoken or written texts. Khan (2003) believes that linguistic forms, features and devices are often used in the news text loaded with hidden ideologies. According to Fiske (1994), words, whether written or spoken, are filled with ideologies.

In fact, the language used in the news helps to pursue the ideologies of the news writers. In order to understand how it happens, it is essential to discuss the concept of the power of 'elite'. Such term according to CDA refers to those who have the 'power' that probably affects societies positively or negatively. For instance, the prime ministers, publishers, governments, judges, schools and journalists are considered 'elites'. According to Van Dijk (1995), elites use language to influence and control the minds of people through the use of media.

The strength of the hidden ideologies in the news discourse is attributed to the ability and the characteristics of a language. Therefore, the employment of proper language enables discourse to reproduce ideologies and power that consequently

influences societies, directly or indirectly, which lead to social, cultural, political changes. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) assert that CDA explores the consequences of the societies' problems. For instance, problems related to how language is used in societies and to what extent language has effects to shape the attitudes, beliefs and cultures of societies.

Wodak & Fairclough (1997), argue that CDA lays the foundations and frameworks that uncover power relations in discourse. This is exemplified in the approach that Wodak & Fairclough (1997) take in showing how power relations and ideologies are hidden in the text. Fairclough in this regard argues that language plays a role in constituting 'societies and cultures'. He attributes that to the ability of language to reproduce, transform and shape all the social, cultural, political phases of societies.

Wodak (1997) argues that CDA analyzes the text in reference to the historical and social contexts which according and it plays an important role in shaping the text. The function of this approach is represented in the interpretation of how power and ideology are mediated in the news text through the use of specific platforms.

CDA looks at discourse as a structure which helps to constitute the societies and their culture. In this context, the language use makes its own contribution to reproduce and transforming society and culture, including relations of power. CDA tries to expose the 'social problems'. Fairclough (1992) states that in order to study the relationship between 'text and society' analysts should look at the 'orders of discourse'.

Accordingly, language is considered as a tool for journalists, writers and editors to reproduce ideologies and power. This happens through the selection of particular linguistic forms, devices and lexical features. The language used in the media reproduces ideologies and power. Van Dijk (1995) explains that the media is usually governed by a group of people who have certain beliefs and thoughts. The media enables some specific people to control some specific 'communicative events' in societies. Fowler and Hodge (1979) illustrates that when people speak they take into

consideration the choices of the “vocabulary and grammar” that are “principled and systematic’. This is to say that the lexical items chosen one based on the underlying ideology of the speakers. Therefore, it can be said that language is ideologically motivated.

The relationship between language and ideology has attracted many studies. For instance, the work of Fowler (1979), Van Dijk (1997), and Fairclough (1997). The results of their studies have shown that news does not give the audience the true facts about the reported events. Fowler (1979), Van Dijk (1997) and Fairclough (1997) demonstrate that news is exposed to amendment, alteration and manipulations for the purpose of serving the ideology of the news writers. In addition, they demonstrate that the news depend on the recipients (audience) and the purpose of targeting them.

Therefore, Fairclough (1995) suggests when analyzing discourse it is essential to go beyond the text. In this regard, Boyed-Barret (1994) illustrates that there is a tendency to explore the readers themselves and the effects that the media leaves in them, and explores how the newsreaders interpret the reported events. Fairclough (1995) explains that ‘the interpretive practice of audiences’ is important in the analysis of the news text. The way readers interpret the text is different from that of the analysts’. Therefore, the reader’s point of view should be taken in consideration during the analysis of media discourse (Fairclough, 1995).

## **2.2 Intertextuality**

When adopting the discourse in the media particularly the news text, the occurrence of intertextuality plays an important role. The term “intertextuality” is associated with Bakhtin and has appeared in the 1969. intertextuality is used and studied under many sciences including Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough (1992) illustrates that ‘intertextuality means that the property of a texts have of being full of snatches of other

texts [...] which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo and so forth'. Intertextuality is one of the most outstanding language features employed in the news articles as it functions to reproduce the underlying ideologies and power. Many studies recommend to investigate its function under the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis. Bell (1991) illustrates that in the news text, people speak more than they make actions.

Fairclough (2003) defines Intertextuality:

'Intertextuality of a text is the presence within it of elements of other texts ( and therefore potentially other voices than the author's own) which may related to ( dialogued with, assumed, rejected ,etc.) in various ways[.] the most common and pervasive form of intertextuality is reported speech(including reported writing and thought), though there are others(including irony). Reported speech may or may not be attributed to specific voices, and speech (writing, thought) can be reported in various forms, including direct (reproduction of actual words used) and indirect report (summary)' (Fairclough 2003 et. al. & Seghezzi, 2007)

Intertextuality is commonly used by news writers to provoke the reader's emotions. News writers always ensure that the use of intertextuality in the news articles reflects the thoughts, opinions, feelings of people about the issues that are summed up in the news articles. Such reported feelings and opinions probably exposed to manipulation by the news writers in order serve their underlying ideologies.

*"Every day, directly or indirectly, by statement and omission, in pictures and words, in entertainment, news and advertisement, the mass media produce fields of definition and association, symbol and rhetoric, through which ideology becomes manifest and concrete."* (Gitlin 2003, p. 4).

Fang (2001) and Wang (1993) explain that the news constructs the truth in a way that matches the fundamental ideologies of the broadcasters, reporters and news writers and the audience. Consequently, the same news event would be written and reported to

public in a different way by various newspapers depending on the ideology of the news writers.

Fairclough (2003) explains that each text has an equivalent, or has some particular patterns of another text as he sees texts are associated or integrated into the context of each other. Therefore, it is difficult to identify the incorporated voices in the news articles accurately (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough attributes that to the complex structures that build up news texts. Fairclough sees that in such case the normal reader would not easily be able to detect the incorporated voices. Therefore, Fairclough (2003) urges to investigate intertextuality in the news discourse. Fairclough (2003) illustrates that voices and texts are merged. Writers may or may not attribute the voices to the real source. He explains that in the analysis of the reported speech of the prime minister of Britain, Tony Blair after the September 11 attack in New York. Fairclough (2003) finds that there are a number of reported voices that are not attributed to any specific source. He explains that attribution comes in different ways: attribution to specific people (direct attribution) or to anonymous people (indirect attribution).

Fairclough (2003) illustrates that when journalist report people's message two different versions of point of views may possibly occur, therefore the representation on of voices in the news articles occur through two different perspectives and under different goals and interests represented in perspective of the reported speaker himself and the news writer. Fairclough (2003) argues that when we go into details of the process of intertextuality in which the reported voices of others represented in the news text in different forms, it becomes clear that the process of intertextuality in the news text is more complex than it is expected. It can be said that intertextuality includes a large part of trends and differences.

Davis (1985) believes that in intertextuality is laden with ideological prejudice. Therefore, Intertextuality is seen as an integral part of news discourse because of the

role they play in the presentation of news by the means of reporting the feelings, opinions and beliefs of people.

There are two patterns of intertextuality such as direct and indirect quotations. Direct quotations are believed to be a truer and fuller in reporting others' speech (Quo, 2007). However, it is assumed that such assumption is incorrect as the direct reporting/quoting is also subject to modification and manipulations. On the other hand, indirect quotations are considered extremely far from reflecting the truth, since indirect reporting of speech in the news is filtered and subjected to manipulations. Reporting the feelings, voices and points of view has never been simply a process of copying, but a process of illustration, in which the reported opinions and voices are exposed to manipulations and distortion by the news writers to pursue certain ideologies and power (Fairclough, 1992).

Foucault (1992) illustrates that texts are not always perfectly equivalent to their predecessors. The reported voices in the news are subject to distortion that commensurate with ideological bias enjoyed by news writers. Therefore, Fairclough (1992) sees that the analysis of intertextuality is one of the important issues that help to understand the contradictions of social, cultural political stances through penetrating deep into analysis of the context of the new articles.

## **2.4 Discourses in the News**

Craig and Lee (1992) compared the news coverage that was carried out on three major American newspapers, such as the Washington Post, Wall Street Journal and New York times. The study focuses on the news coverage of the workers' strike in Poland and South Korea. The political and economic ideology governed the situation and put points on the characters in the context of media coverage at that time. The American news

coverage of workers strike in South Korea was not the same as that which dealt with the workers strike in Poland. The news coverage of the strike in South Korea was more flexible and moderate and in turn this shows that the news dominated biases with the Korean government against the workers, as they were described as aggressors in many situations. On the other hand, the media coverage of the strike in Poland was heavily biased in terms that the American stood with the workers against the Polish government which was blamed by the American newspapers for the deterioration of the situation in Poland. The American newspapers accused the Polish government of neglecting the rights of workers which led to chaotic situation and problems in Poland. Craig and Lee (1992), focus on the analysis that greatly interest in investigating the language used in the American newspapers. This in turn aimed to stand on the ideologies that stood behind the news coverage of the strikes in Poland and South Korea. The study reveals that ideologies control the media, taking into account that the study also concluded the U.S government and the U.S media which are crowned by political, economic and social ideologies.

Studying the printed media is an important topic that should be studied under the perspective of critical discourse analysis. In parallel with the study of Craig and Lee (1992), Fang (1994), examine the Chinese media coverage, represented in the newspapers of Chinese's Office Representative, namely "The People's Daily". By exploring the rhetorical strategies used in the news coverage of the world's issues, it is found that the Chinese media uses words that are appropriate to the ideology of the Chinese government, represented in the description of the conflict in the other foreign countries as 'riot'. The study concludes that the Chinese media tends to do that in order to show the policy of the Chinese government toward the other foreign countries. Fang (1994) used CDA to examine the rhetorical strategies used in the reporting of riots and demonstrations in the foreign countries. The results of his study show that similar events

may be labelled and interpreted differently by the same newspaper, depending largely on the reports or media's ideology and point of view.

Similarly, Yaghoobi (2009) compared the Iranian and the American newspapers to investigate the relationship between language and ideology through exploring and examining the use of various strategies such as passivization and nominalization. The corpus of the analyzed data is articles related to the coverage of the 2006 war between Hezbollah and Israel. The study reveals that the writers use such strategies to manipulate and reproduce the news. Such manipulation and reproduction of news produces meanings that are not clear to all readers, which are loaded with ideological bias.

At present, it is not common to see the media coverage of two newspapers that are consistent in terms of news coverage and in terms of the ideologies that the newspapers try to seek. Wang (1993) compared the news coverage by between New York Times in the U.S. and Remin Ribao in China about the coup that took place in Russia. Wang (1993) concludes that the news coverage of the coup by the American and the Chinese newspapers are structurally and quantitatively different. The news coverage of the coup by the New York Times was structurally complete, while the Chinese omitted all the background and the contextual information of the events. The changes in terms of coverage are attributed to the differences in the ideological views of both China and America. It is assumed that such differences in terms of the news coverage of the Russian coup by the American and Chinese newspapers reflect the ideological interests the U.S and China alike. Taiwo (2007) has conducted a study on the language, ideology and power relations on six Nigerian newspaper headlines. The study examines three hundred Nigerian newspaper headlines. The study examines the vocabulary and rhetorical devices used in the headlines in order to identify the ideology which lies behind their construction in the headlines. Taiwo (2007) concludes that the choice of vocabulary and rhetorical devices in the Nigerian newspapers headlines are hidden

ideological meanings. He also states that the use of vocabulary and rhetorical devices in the headlines serve as inducing strategy for the editors/writers to achieve certain political and social ideology which it results to linguistic manipulations.

On the other hand, Fang (2001) examines the discourse features used in the Chinese language in the news coverage of the civilian unrest that took place in South Africa and Argentina by two ideologically opposed Chinese newspapers, namely People's Daily and Central Daily. Both newspapers serve the assumption that there is a strong relationship between the news coverage and the ideological interest of the media institutions. The study shows that the differences in the news coverage does not only come in terms of the lexical choices to serve the interest of the ideologies of the Chinese newspapers, the Chinese newspapers have consistently omitted many unrelated topics from news reports and articles. In other words, all that do not serve the higher ideological interest of the Chinese newspapers has been omitted from the news coverage. In the end, the news coverage was framed and with political and the ideological views of the ruling powers in China.

Previous studies on the subject show that there is a close relationship between the state political, cultural and economical ideologies and the media coverage. The media serves as a tool for the politicians and power gatekeepers of the states. Therefore, it is difficult to find a neutral media institution. Yu (1995) examines the media coverage of Taiwan's provincial governor's inauguration by different Taiwanese newspapers shows that the media coverage gives a different interpretation of events from each other according to the agenda and political ideologies. Soong and Shiah (1998) conduct a study on the headlines of the Taiwanese newspapers. They found that the Taiwanese newspapers have significantly used code-mixing to a great extent in spite of the differences in the political and ideological stances of the newspapers. Such

difference in the code mixing could be attributed to the ideological differences in Taiwan since Taiwanese have stopped working under the martial law in 1988.

Similarly, Kuo (2007) employ the analytical method of Critical Discourse Analysis on two ideologically opposed Taiwanese newspapers, the study examines and investigates the quotations patterns, direct/indirect, in the news coverage by the United Daily News and Liberty Times. The study investigates how the newspapers deploy quotations in the news coverage of Taiwan president's statement. Moreover, both newspapers quoted the speakers, and what are the motives behind its production in the news. The direct quote is the most widely used the representation of direct and indirect serve the ideological purposes of the newspapers effectively and thus the presentation of the news is loaded with ideological bias.

## **2.5 Discourse and News in the Middle East**

Barkho (2008) conducted a study on the social power of the news discourse which specifically deals with the coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and war on Iraq. Textual analysis of the news output of Aljazeera English and Arabic is used in comparison and parallel with the BBC and CNN. By adopting the analytic method of Critical Discourse Analysis and triangulating it with ethnographic research, it is found that new style of discourse emerges.

In another study, Barkho (2007) examines the relationship between the language of the writers and the differences of the news coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Barkho focuses on investigating each of AJE, CNN and BBC's news coverage of the Palestinian Israeli conflict. He has adopted Fairclough and Fowler's seminal texts in the analysis of the news output. The findings reveal that the AJE, CNN and BBC perform four layers which are represented in the quoting, paraphrasing, background and

comment. Moreover, the layers are discursively and structurally different in the production of the news. After careful analysis of these layers, Barkho concludes that AJE, BBC and CNN use different linguistic patterns which reflect the social political assumptions and practices as well as economic conditions which are seemingly due to different ideological purposes differences.

Wenden (2005) examines the role that the language play in the social life, particularly the political struggle. The study concludes that the language used by AJE in the news coverage of the conflict between the Palestinian and Israeli reinforces the discourse to maintain the conflict between the Israeli and Palestinian. It is evident that the language is essential to achieve peace between the Israeli and Palestinian.

In another study carried out by Javed and Mahmoud (2011) on the news headlines of Pakistani newspapers. The study uses Critical Discourse Analysis to analyze the newspaper headlines that cover the budget of the Pakistani government for 2011-2012. The news coverage of the Pakistani budget is found to be inconsistent and this is attributed to the ideological differences. The news are subjected is manipulated by the news writers to serve their political preferences.

In another study similar to the Ghannam (2011) examines the relationship between language and ideology using Critical Discourse Analysis as the framework. The study examines six newspapers in Lebanon. The study shows how the language is used in the news coverage by the Lebanese newspapers which serve as a vehicle for spreading ideology. The events covered by the Lebanese newspapers serve the political ideology of the newspapers.

Similarly, Sato (2001) has found the Japanese news coverage tend only to report the voice of the 'elites' represented in voice of the Japanese imperial family as addressor and the voice of the addressees. The study concludes that the Japanese media tends to

report the voices of elites to generate power relations in the Japanese community. The study also concludes that the Japanese journalists try to develop some signs of strength on the speakers and the addressee.

## **2.6 Discourse and the News in Europe**

Van Dijk (1991) has studied the European media. He examines the issue of the media coverage and its relation to the apartheid in Europe. The study shows that the European media always strive to put the voice and issues of the ethnic minorities in Europe on the sidelines. He found that the minorities in Europe are marginalized and their voices are less reported than the whites although they have the voice in the news. The study reveals that the media does not give their voice an appropriate space in the news. This happens through various uses of different forms such as direct/indirect reported speech.

Teo (2000) has brought the attention to prove that Van Dijk's assumptions that journalists are aspired more and more to marginalize the voice of minorities in the communities. Teo (2000) investigated the news coverage of the Vietnamese gangs in Australian newspapers. The study reveals that the voice of the minorities (Vietnamese) is always marginalized by the Australian newspapers in the news coverage of the local issues.

On the other hand, Cladas-Courlthard (1993) found that the British newspapers deliberately tend to use the direct reported speech to report the voice/speech of men more than women's voices. These results are obtained after investigating the reported speech in 200 news items in the most famous and influential British newspapers. The results indicate that the total numbers of voices that are given to men are strikingly higher than women. The number of voices given to women is only 76 while men are

given 451 voices. There is a huge difference which shows that women are given a voice, but they were not given an adequate space.

Based on Bell's (1991) assumption that people rely on speaking more than they rely on actions. It is evident that the reported speech is one of the most important components of news texts that attract many researchers who attempt to investigate some social issues using critical discourse analysis. Reported speech plays an important function in constituting the news text and it is viewed as an essential tool used by the journalists in order to establish distance between the between the reported speech and opinions of people and their personal opinions. The most important area being studied overly in this context is the relationship between the reported speech and power relations in societies.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

The reviewed literature about discourse and the media in various countries provided sufficient information how the news writers manipulates their writing to serve their ideologies. Such background provided an in-depth knowledge on how the news in AJE and BBC will be analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

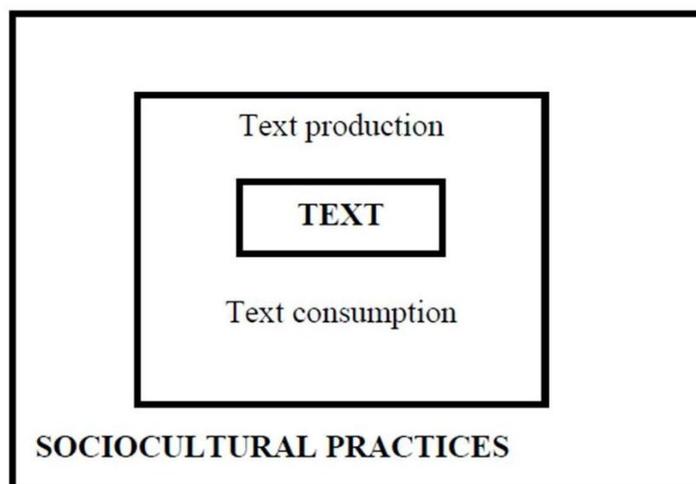
This chapter discusses the theoretical framework of the study, corpus of the study and data collection. The theoretical framework discusses the Three Dimensional Framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995). Towards the end of the chapter, discussion of the plan for analysis is provided.

#### **3.2 Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework is anchored from Fairclough's (1995), Three Dimensional Framework of Critical Discourse. The framework was used to examine the relationship between the use of language and the assertion of power (Fairclough, 1989). Later, the framework was used as a tool to analyze the news discourse. Fairclough, (1995); Fowler (1991) and Van Dijk (1988), argue that there is a strong relationship between language, ideology and power in the news discourse. The ideologies of news writers are not always direct and clear but hidden in language through the use of various linguistic features and devices. For instance, intertextuality, which refers to 'anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position' (Fowler, 1991, p. 10).

The Three dimensional frameworks consist of three interconnected dimensions of analysis that are also tied to three interconnected dimensions of discourse: the object of analysis, the process by which the object is produced and received and the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes. Every single dimension involves a

diverse kind of analysis: text analysis which is mainly descriptive; processing analysis which can be presented in the interpretation of the text and socio-cultural analysis (Fairclough, 1995). The figure below illustrates Fairclough's framework.



**Figure 3.1 Three Dimensional Frameworks for CDA (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 59)**

### **3.2.1 Text:**

Fairclough's (1995) analytical framework focuses firstly on the text which engages a linguistic analysis of sentence structure, words, expressions, cohesion-organization, and sound system above the sentence level. The Linguistic analysis is related to text's lexical grammatical and semantic properties. According to Fairclough, the two properties have mutual impact on each other. In this regard, Fairclough sees that the sentence in a text is can be analyzed in terms of the articulation of these functions, which he has relabelled as the construction of *representations* of the social practice which assumes that such representation may carry some certain hidden ideological purposes, moreover, construction of the *relationship between readers and writers* and construction of *identities* of the readers and writers.

### **3.2.2 Discursive practice**

Fairclough (1995) sees that this dimension has two aspects represented in the discourse process (consumption and production of the text) and *institutional process* (e.g. editorial procedures), For Fairclough, "discourse practice straddles the division between society and culture on the one hand, and discourse, language and text on the other".

### **3.2.3 Socio-cultural practice**

For Fairclough (1995) the analysis in this dimension is related to three aspects of the socio-cultural context of a communicative event represented in the economic (i.e. economy of the media), political (i.e. power and ideology of the media), and cultural (i.e. issues of values). According to Fairclough, one does not have to carry out analysis at all levels but any level that might "be relevant to understanding the particular event" (p. 62).

Fairclough's (1995) framework as shown in figure 3.1 is divided into three parts: text, socio-cultural practice (text consumption) and discursive practice (text production). The relation that combines the three dimensions together is circular in which the dimensions affect one another.

Hence, the three dimensional framework offers an efficient process for a Critical Discourse Analysis. According to Wodak (1996), "Critical Discourse Analysis implies a systemic methodology and a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power relations".

Fairclough (1995) explains that Critical Discourse Analysis focuses on the analysis of the relationship between tangible language use and the wider social cultural structure. Therefore, it is important in the analysis of the news discourse to draw on the historical background of the text that possibly helps in shaping the news text, as well as taking into account the analysis of the production consumption of the news text.

Fairclough's (1995) framework implies that texts are restricted by social considerations, so the role of the analysts also stands in analyzing the text by reference to the social background which affects the production of the text and help in shaping it. Fairclough (1995) adds that the analysis of the text should answer the questions: "what wider socio-cultural process is this text a part of, what are its wider social conditions? and what are its likely effects?" Many analysts consider that Fairclough's (1995) approach allows a free space for the analysts to select and strike extra angles that are seen important for the analysis. However, Fairclough stresses that the analysis has to be for the reasons of explanation and interpretation.

The adopted analytic approach is a multidisciplinary method that has made a considerable role in enlightening the relationship between ideology and language in the news discourse (Fairclough, 1995, Flower, 1991, Van Dijk, 1988b, 1991). Therefore, Critical Discourse Analysis lays emphasis on the need to critically investigate the role of language in the newspapers. Intertextuality has become an integral part of news discourse that is treated as a general and suitable feature of news text. Therefore, it is through the investigation of linguistic categories in a critical way the ideological basis of news discourse can be disclosed.

### **3.3 Corpus of the Study**

The sample chosen as the data for this study consists of 6 news articles, which covers the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The selected articles cover three significant issues related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, such as: Articles 1 (CNN) and 2 (AJE) cover the United Nation's Report on the Israeli war on Gaza in October 2009, while Articles 3 (CNN) and 4 (AJE) cover the Israeli attack of the Turkish flotilla in the international water of Mediterranean sea in May 2010 and finally, Articles 5 (CNN) and 6 (AJE)

cover the ‘Palestinian Statehood Bid’ at the United Nations in September 2011. The news articles collected from the database of AJE and CNN are shown in table 3.2.

Article	CNN	Article	AJE	Date of publishing
1	U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report	2	UN backs Gaza war crimes report	Oct16,2009
3	Israeli assault on Gaza-bound flotilla leaves at least 9 dead	4	Israel attacks Gaza aid fleet	May31,2010
5	U.N. Security Council to send Palestinian state bid to admissions committee	6	UN debates Palestine statehood bid	Sep26, 2011

**Table 3.2 Titles and dates of the news articles of AJE and CNN**

The selected data were confined to six news articles because they had more comprehensive and objective view of the three issues (Palestinian statehood bid, attack of Turkish Flotilla and UN’s Report on war crimes) that were covered by the articles. Moreover, the details given by the writers of the articles are an opportunity to the researcher to conduct a more detailed analysis. The articles were chosen from different years (2009, 2010, and 2011) because the issues that were covered in the news articles were considered a turning points in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1).

### **3.4 Data Collection**

Electronic search was deployed to look for data relevant to the area of research. The electronic search was done directly by accessing the database search engines of the news Websites of AJE and CNN. 90 articles were collected randomly from the year 2009 to 2011, and then labelled according to the topic, date and year of publication.

After labelling the collected data, three important topics in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict were identified. Following that, 6 articles related to the topics were selected, 3 from AJE and another 3 from CNN, in which 1 article from AJE and another from CNN which cover similar issues. The data was selected according to the topic and taking into consideration that the articles from AJE are similar to those of CNN.

### **3.5 Data Analysis**

The analysis of intertextuality in the collected data which consists of 6 news articles extracted from AJE and CNN focuses on various voices that are incorporated in the news articles. The collected articles cover three issues which took place in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Two articles that cover similar issues from from AJE and CNN were selected and analyzed separately. The same process was applied on other news articles.

The current study focuses on the analysis of intertextuality by comparing six news articles from AJE and CNN to examine how the news writers in AJE and CNN handle the reported speeches go with their ideologies and power. In other words, the analysis focuses on how writers use the direct and indirect reporting of voices to seek their ideological purposes. Exploring the reported voices provide information about the relations between language, ideology and power in the News Websites of AJE and CNN.

The first part of the analysis identified the direct and indirect reported speech by comparing and contrasting the reported speech in each article: Article 1 (CNN) with Article 2 (AJE). Articles 1 and 2 cover the United Nation's Report on the Israeli war on Gaza in October 2009. Article 3 (CNN) with Article 4 (AJE), which cover the Israeli attack of the Turkish flotilla in the international water of Mediterranean Sea in May

2010. Finally, article 5 (CNN) with Article 6 (AJE), which cover the ‘Palestinian Statehood Bid’ at the United Nations in September 2011. After identifying the number of reported speech in each article, the voices that were incorporated in six articles from AJE and CNN were identified by comparing and contrasting Article 1 (CNN) with Article 2 (AJE), then Article 3 (CNN) with Article 4 (AJE), and finally Article 5 (CNN) with Article 6 (AJE). Thus, every two articles, one from the news Websites of AJE and another from CNN were contrasted, compared and analyzed separately.

In the second part, the analysis focused on the ‘voices’ that were used in each articles in order to find out if there is a link between the ‘reported voices’ and the way the ‘original words’ of the speakers were reported, whether the news writers reported them as direct or indirect quotes (recontextualization) and how they were framed in relation to each other and in relation to the writer’s own voice. The analysis of the effects that news writers try to pursue from presenting them in the news articles was analyzed. The intertextual analysis of the news articles of the news Websites of AJE explores how voices of people are framed in relation to each other and in relation to the writers, editors and reporters’ voices to reproduce certain ideologies and power in the news text. Moreover, the analysis examines the voices in the news articles, its intentional absence and what motives in the news articles and what made the writers to exclude them.

The analysis of the reported voices in the news text in the following articles shed light in understanding the importance of intertextuality in the news articles. More particularly, the indirect/direct reported speech and scare quotes also show if intertextuality in the news articles is important and effective in the distortion of facts and meanings of events.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

Chapter Three provides a brief review of the theoretical framework, corpus, research design, data collection and data analysis. The current study is based on Fairclough's (1995), Three Dimensional Framework. The framework represents the social practice (production and interpretation of the text), discursive practice (production), and text. The data is collected from database of the News Websites of AJE and CNN which cover prominent issues related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The collected data consisting from 6 news articles examined and explored the function of intertextuality by focusing on the reported voices in terms of exclusion and inclusion. In Chapter Four, the analysis of intertextuality in the news articles is provided.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents and analyzes the findings of the study. The first part of the analysis focuses on the occurrence of intertextuality in the news discourse of CNN and AJE, particularly on the use of direct, indirect speeches and scare quotes in the news text. Prior to the analysis of the voices in the news text through intertextuality, background information on the occurrence of direct speech, indirect speech and scare quotes in the news text is provided to foreground the use of intertextuality. The second part of the analysis focuses on the analysis of various voices in the news articles.

#### **4.2 Intertextuality in the News Discourse of AJE and CNN**

The analysis of intertextuality in AJE and CNN can be done by comparing the three articles from AJE with another three articles from CNN. This is an attempt to analyze how the news writers in AJE and CNN use the reported speech in the news articles to pursue their ideologies and power. In other words, it attempts to investigate and examine how writers use the forms of reported speech (direct/indirect) to seek their ideological purposes. Examining the reported speech provides more information about the relationship between language, ideology and power in the News Websites of AJE and CNN.

The analysis sheds light in understanding the importance of intertextuality in the news articles of AJE and CNN. Analyzing of direct/indirect reported speech and scare quotes in the news articles is of vital importance which is frequently used by news writers either to enhance or distort facts by giving their own interpretation of reported events and issues.

The analysis of the news articles in AJE and CNN are divided in two parts. The first part focuses on the use of ‘reported speech’ in each article while the second part focuses on the reported ‘voices’ of the United Nations, Israel, Palestinian and the voice of Palestinian authorities. The analysis examines how the voices are recontextualized (direct/indirect reporting) to find out if there is a link between the reported voices and the way writers reported the ‘original words’ quoted directly from the speakers. Moreover, the analysis also focuses the examination of voices included in relation to other’s voices and in relation to the news writers’ voice. The analysis also includes whose voices are included and whose voices are excluded.

The news articles cover three significant issues related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict: The first two articles cover the Goldstone’s Report on War Crimes, while the second two articles cover the Israeli attack of the Turkish flotilla in the international water of the Mediterranean sea in May 2010 and the last two articles cover the ‘Palestinian Statehood Bid’ at the United Nations in September 2011. Such selected news articles for the analysis of intertextuality vary in length.

#### **4.2.1 Direct and Indirect Reporting in the News Articles of AJE and CNN**

The differences that exist between direct/indirect reported speech and the way the writers quoted the words of others are given more emphasis in this study. By taking a simple analysis of the news text, it can be deliberately noticed how the voices of the Israeli officials were directly reported and indirectly reported as shown in example 1.

Direct Speech	Indirect Speech
<p><b>CNN 1:</b> <i>"They are not peace activists. They were not messengers of goodwill,"</i> Daniel Carmon, Israel's deputy ambassador to the United Nations, told reporters in New York. (Israeli assault on Gaza-bound flotilla leaves at least 9 dead, CNN, May 31, 2010)</p>	<p><b>CNN 2 :</b> <i>But Israeli officials described the boat's passengers as the aggressors and said the soldiers from the Israel Defense Forces were simply defending themselves.</i>(Israeli assault on Gaza-bound flotilla leaves at least 9 dead, CNN, May 31, 2010)</p>

**Example 1: Occurrence of direct and indirect reporting in the news articles published in CNN news website.**

The use of direct speech is evident in CNN 1 as shown in Example 1 in which the news writer directly quoted the statement, *"They are not peace activists. They were not messengers of goodwill."* The reported speech was attributed to Daniel Carmon, Israel's deputy ambassador at the United Nations. Obviously, the writer has placed quotation marks on the statement made by the Israeli ambassador and consequently signifies that the news writer quoted or reported the original words of the Israeli Ambassador. It can be said that situating the quotation marks over the reported speech of the Israel ambassador implies that the news writer has separated the voice of the Israeli ambassador from his own voice. Hence, situating the 'quotation marks' over the reported speech helps to figure out whether speech is directly or indirectly reported.

In CNN 2, the news writer indirectly reported the voice of the Israeli officials. The indirect reported voice of the Israeli officials provides the reader with a thorough description of the passengers of the flotilla. The given description of the flotilla was reported as it was the Israeli Officials own description. In CNN 2, the news writer has reformulated the words of the Israeli officials and reported them in the news article as

they were theirs. Therefore, it is assumed in such case that the writer may have reported the speech of the Israeli officials in accordance to the way that he (news writer) sees that it pursues his own purpose or ideology.

In CNN 2, the news writer reported indirectly the voice of the Israeli officials that describes the passengers of the flotilla as ‘aggressors’. It implies that the writer attempts to justify the Israeli attack of the passengers of the flotilla. Thus, in order to support the indirect reported voice of the Israeli officials, the news writer included directly the voice of the Israeli ambassador who also describes the passengers as *"They are not peace activists. They were not messengers of goodwill,"* By including directly the Israeli ambassador’s statement, the news writer successfully supported his argument that attempts to justify the Israeli attack of the flotilla.

On the other hand, Example 2 shows how the Israeli officials were directly reported in AJE 1 while indirectly reported in AJE 2 as shown in example 2.

Direct Speech	Indirect Speech
<b>AJE 1:</b> "This happened in waters outside of Israeli territory, but we have the right to defend ourselves." ( <i>Israel attack Gaza aid fleet, AJE, 31 May 2010</i> ).	<b>AJE 2:</b> Avital Leibovich, an Israeli military spokeswoman, <b>confirmed that the attack took place in international waters.</b> ( <i>Israel attack Gaza aid fleet, AJE, 31 May 2010</i> )

**Example 2: Occurrence of direct and indirect reporting in the news articles published in AJE news website.**

In Example 2, AJE 1, a direct speech is evident in the news article where the statement *"This happened in waters outside of Israeli territory, but we have the right to defend ourselves"* has been directly quoted. A direct speech is used here to confirm that the Israeli attack of the flotilla took place in the international water. At the beginning of the attack, the Israelis rejected the claims that Israel has attacked the flotilla in the

international water. However, Israel insisted that the Israeli navy intercepted the flotilla in the Israeli regional water. In turn, it implies that the news writer attempts to criminalize the actions of Israel. The Israeli spokesperson confirmed that the attack took place in the international water and Israel knows that such kind of attacks is against the international law. Firstly, the attack took place outside of the territories of Israel and secondly because the Israeli attack took place on peace activists on board a flotilla filled with humanitarian aids heading for the besieged Gaza. Consequently, the indirect reporting of the Israeli official implies that the news writer attempts first to argue that the Israeli attack of the flotilla is unjustified.

In AJE 2, an indirect speech is evident in the news article where the statement *'the attack took place in international waters'* has been indirectly reported. An indirect speech is also used here to show that the Israeli attack of the flotilla took place in the international water.

The indirect reported speech in AJE and CNN's news articles can be said that an indirect speech enables the reader to understand what has been said by the Israeli officials, but, the dilemma that encounters the readers is the inability to recognize whether the reported speech of the Israeli officials is truly theirs or manipulated and included in the articles as it is the original speech of the Israeli officials. It can be said that the news writers use such indirect reporting to seek certain ideological purposes. Obviously, the use of the indirect reported speech is usually subjected to reformulation and manipulation. When talking about reformulation and manipulation, it is assumed that the original words reported by the speaker may have been deleted, changed or distorted. In CDA, indirect reported speech is considered an important tool to give the news writers enough space and freedom to distort and change the facts.

It is important to point out that there is a significant type of quotations known as 'Scare Quotes' which refers to the insertion of some particular words or expressions

within a quotation mark. This type of direct quotation is usually incorporated within the reported speech. ‘Scare quotes’ are specifically included within the indirect speech to suit the perspective of news writers. This type of quotations are considered as ‘direct reported speech’ since they are demarcated by a quotation mark. The following extract from CNN’s article on Turkish flotilla is an example of ‘Scare quotes’:

*CNN: Israel said Sunday that Western and Turkish authorities have accused IHH of having "working relations" with terrorist organizations. (Israeli assault on Gaza-bound flotilla leaves at least 9 dead, CNN, May 31, 2010)*

**Example 3: Occurrence of scare quotes in the news articles published in CNN news website.**

The use of scare quotes is evident in CNN’s news articles as shown in Example 3 in which the news writer indirectly quoted the statement of Israel, ‘*Israel said Sunday that Western and Turkish authorities have accused IHH of having "working relations" with terrorist organizations.*’ The news writer has incorporated the scare quotes “*working relations*” within the indirect reported speech. The function of scare quotes is crucial in this context. Such kind of quotations allows the reader to question and think about the “*working relations*” they have. In other words, the writer tries to leave a negative impression about the work they do as he linked such kind of ‘work relations’ to terrorists. However, there should be some motivations behind the news writers’ preference to include what others have said. According to Fairclough (1992), such kind of quotation is used by the news writers to separate their ‘voices’ from the ‘voices’ of others. Fairclough adds that the news writers employ them in the news articles to support the writers’ arguments and positions. The use of this type of quotation confirms and strengthens the importance of intertextuality in the news articles.

The use of indirect reported speech and ‘scare quotes’ supports the beliefs that intertextuality can create convincing news articles because the news writers use them to misrepresent the content of what has been said in order to propose some specific explanations of the reported events that serves their ideological purposes.

The following section shows the number of occurrence of the reported speech in each news article. The number of occurrence of the reported speech is identified and is dealt with in the analysis.

#### **4.2.2 Direct, Indirect speech and Scare Quotes in Goldstone Report On War Crime**

This section analyzes the occurrence of direct speech, indirect speech and scare quotes on the issues of Goldstone’s report on war crimes published by CNN and AJE. The findings show that a number of direct and indirect speeches and scare quotes are used as shown in Table 4.1

<b>REPORTED SPEECH</b>	<b>AJE</b>	<b>CNN</b>
Direct	15	10
Indirect	16	15
Scare quotes.	6	4
Total	37	29

**Table 4.1 Goldstone Report on War Crimes.**

The articles cover Goldstone’s Report issued by the United Nations regarding the Israeli war on Gaza in December 2008. AJE has incorporated 15 direct reported speech as compared to 10 occurrences in the CNN’s article. As for the indirect speech, AJE incorporates 16 times as compared to 15 occurrences in CNN’s. On the other hand, scare quotes occurred 6 times in AJE’s article as compared to 4 occurrences in CNN’s. All in all, there are 37 occurrences in AJE as compared to 29 occurrences in CNN. The news article contains 943 words in AJE as compared to 968 words in CNN’s article.

	AJE	CNN
<b>Direct reported speech</b>	Israeli foreign ministry said: "The adoption of this resolution by the UNHRC impairs both the effort to protect human rights in accordance with international law and the effort to promote peace in Middle East".	"this is a major step forward upholding the very ethics of humanity and human values," said council member Sabri Saidam, adviser to Abbas
<b>Indirect reported speech</b>	It also calls on Israel to stop digging and excavation work around the al-Aqsa mosque in occupied East Jerusalem as well as other Islamic and Christian religious sites.	Khraishi said Israel had rebuffed the Palestinian Authority's conciliatory move to defer debate on the report
<b>Scare quotes</b>	Al Jazeera's correspondent in Geneva, said the vote was a <b>"very strong victory"</b> for the supporters of the resolution	It <b>"strongly condemns"</b> measures taken by Israel limiting Palestinian access to their properties.

**Table 4.2 Examples of direct/indirect reported speech and scare quotes in AJE and CNN's news articles on Goldstone's report on war crimes.**

#### 4.2.3 Direct and Indirect Speech and Scare Quotes in Turkish Flotilla

In the news articles published by CNN and AJE on the Israeli attack of the Turkish flotilla, a number of direct and indirect speeches and scare quotes are used as shown in Table 4.3.

REPORTED SPEECH	AJE	CNN
Direct	5	13
Indirect	17	26
Scare quotes.	3	6
Total	25	45

**Table 4.3. Turkish Flotilla**

The articles cover the Israeli attack of the Turkish Flotilla which was heading to break the Israeli siege in Gaza in June 2010. AJE's articles have occurrences of direct reported speech 5 occurrences as compared to 13 occurrences in the CNN's article.

Indirect speech incorporated 17 times in AJE as compared to 26 in the CNN. For the scare quotes, 3 times in AJE as compared to 6 in the CNN. All in all, 25 times in AJE as compared to 45 in the CNN. The news articles contain 704 words in AJE compared to 1238 words in CNN.

	<b>AJE</b>	<b>CNN</b>
<b>Direct reported speech</b>	Avital Leibovich, an Israeli military spokeswoman, confirmed that the attack took place in international waters, saying: "This happened in waters outside of Israeli territory, but we have the right to defend ourselves	The Palestinian Authority said in a statement its cabinet "strongly condemned the Israeli crime against international supporters on board of the Freedom Flotilla."
<b>Indirect reported speech</b>	Al Jazeera's Jamal Elshayyal, on board the <i>Mavi Marmara</i> , said Israeli troops had used live ammunition during the operation.	Riyad Mansour, Palestinian ambassador to the United Nations, condemned the attack and called for an independent investigation
<b>Scare quotes</b>	Ismail Haniya, the Hamas leader in Gaza, has also dubbed the Israeli action as "barbaric".	Israel said Sunday that Western and Turkish authorities have accused IHH of having "working relations" with terrorist organizations.

**Table 4.4 Direct/indirect reported speech and scare quotes in AJE and CNN's news articles on the Israeli attack of the Turkish Flotilla**

#### **4.2.4 Direct and Indirect Speech in Palestine Statehood Bid at UN**

In the news articles published by CNN and AJE on the Palestine Statehood Bid at United Nations, a number of direct and indirect speeches and scare quotes are used as shown in Table 4.5.

<b>REPORTED SPEECH</b>	<b>AJE</b>	<b>CNN</b>
Direct	5	7
Indirect	16	23
Scare quotes.	3	7
Total	24	35

**Table 4.5. Palestine Statehood Bid at UN.**

The articles cover the step that has been taken by the Palestinian Authority in the United Nations, where they have requested for recognition of Palestine as an independent state with full sovereignty. Direct speech was incorporated 5 occurs in AJE's article as compared to 7 in CNN's. The indirect speech occurs 16 times in AJE as compared to 23 in CNN. Scare quotes are used 3 times in AJE as compared to 7 in the CNN. 24 occurrences in the AJE as compared to 35 in CNN. The news articles consist of 756 words in AJE as compared to 946 words in CNN.

	<b>AJE</b>	<b>CNN</b>
<b>Direct reported speech</b>	"It won't be until Wednesday - once the committee has been formed - that the actual request will be handed over," Aljazeera's correspondent, Kristen Saloomey, reporting from UN, said	"Palestinians should first make peace with Israel and then get their state," he said
<b>Indirect reported speech</b>	US President Barack Obama says the UN bid is an unrealistic shortcut that will not produce real and lasting peace on the ground between the two sides.	Salam said the decision was made to take the matter to the committee as required by Article 59 of the United Nations' rules of procedure
<b>Scare quotes</b>	But Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas, riding a wave of popular support unseen in the West Bank since the late Yasser Arafat, is ruling out new talks without a <b>"complete halt"</b> to Israeli settlement building.	The time has come for a <b>"Palestinian Spring"</b> to join the Arab Spring in reshaping the Middle East, he said

**Table 4.6. Direct/indirect reported speech and scare quotes in AJE and CNN's news articles on Palestine Statehood Bid at the United Nations**

The data show that the use of the direct/indirect speech and scare quotes in the news articles of AJE and CNN. It can be said that the news writers include tend to include more indirect reported speech in the news articles. However, there is a difference between AJE and CNN in the number of occurrences of ‘scare quotes’. The news writers in CNN significantly use more ‘scare quotes’ in the news articles more than the writers in AJE. Significantly, AJE and CNN’s articles include nearly the same number of occurrences of direct speech.

Although there is a marked difference in the length of the articles between AJE and CNN, it is not necessary to assume that long articles have more ‘voices’ than the short ones. Apparently, the news writers and the context of the reported events often determine the number of voices in the news articles. In addition, the reported events determine whether the reported speech require to be reported directly or indirectly. In AJE and CNN’s articles on the Israeli attack of the Turkish Flotilla, AJE and CNN’s articles have used a large number of indirect speeches as shown in the following examples

*CNN: But Israeli officials described the boat's passengers as the aggressors and **said** the soldiers from the Israel Defense Forces were simply defending themselves. (Israeli assault on Gaza-bound flotilla leaves at least 9 dead, CNN, May 31, 2010)*

*CNN: Three sailors who took part in the flotilla **said** Israeli troops stormed the Mavi Marmara, the largest ship, well into international waters. (Israeli assault on Gaza-bound flotilla leaves at least 9 dead, CNN, May 31, 2010)*

*CNN: Most of the dead were Turks, the Israeli senior military official **said**. Twenty other people were wounded. (Israeli assault on Gaza-bound flotilla leaves at least 9 dead, CNN, May 31, 2010).*

*AJE: Free Gaza Movement, the organizers of the flotilla, however, **said** the troops opened fire as soon as they stormed the convoy. (Israel attack Gaza aid fleet, AJE, 31 May 2010).*

*AJE: At least 19 people were killed and dozens injured when troops intercepted the convoy of ships dubbed the Freedom Flotilla early on Monday, Israeli radio **reported**. (Israel attack Gaza aid fleet, AJE, 31 May 2010).*

*AJE: But Israel had **said** it would not allow the flotilla to reach the Gaza Strip and vowed to stop the six ships from reaching the coastal Palestinian territory. (Israel attack Gaza aid fleet, AJE, 31 May 2010).*

Obviously, this turns back to the fact that the Israeli attack of the Turkish flotilla took place during midnight in the international waters of the Mediterranean Sea. It is assumed that there was no concrete source for the news writers to depend on reporting the attack of the flotilla. Therefore, the indirect reported speech apparently used as an alternative by AJE and CNN's writers. In such cases, a number of questions can be raised about whether the inclusion of indirect reported speech has been subjected to manipulation by the news writers.

The analysis on the use of direct and indirect speech in AJE and CNN's articles concludes that the indirect reporting of speech can be considered an effective tool for the news writers in AJE and CNN, since indirect reporting gives a free space for the news writers to change the context of speech in the way they see it appropriate to serve their own ideological purposes. In addition, direct reporting of speech is also a useful tool for the news writers for it enables them to report speech of people who influence and change the direction of the reported issues and events. Direct reporting is used as a tool to support the arguments and positions of the news writers. Therefore, the news writers attempt to employ direct quotations (direct reporting) for it gives a special essence for the news articles as the news writers usually coincide events that force them to take into account the views of important people. These include experts and politicians whose views may help to strengthen the sequence of the arguments or points of the writers. Hence, the results are practical; therefore, the choice of forms of reporting (direct/indirect reporting) can be linked to the profile of AJE and CNN. The obvious ideological struggle between AJE and CNN is evident through the use of indirect questions more than the direct. In this regard, Fairclough (2003) argues that the reasons that make voices in the news articles come distributed between the writers' voices and the voices of others can be attributed to the type of the text. He states that in the news discourse, reporter/writers always in favour of distribution between their voices and the voice of others in the news text.

### **4.3. Voices in CNN and AJE News Articles**

The second part of the analysis focuses on the voices in three articles from AJE and another three articles from CNN. The articles from CNN and AJE on Goldstone Report on War Crimes were compared and contrasted, then articles from CNN and AJE on The Israeli Attack of the Turkish Flotilla, and finally article from CNN and AJE on the Palestine Statehood Bid at the United Nations. Thus, the two articles, one from the news Websites of AJE and another from CNN, were contrasted, compared and analyzed separately.

All the news articles presented in this study have incorporated various voices. However, including the voices of the important people or institutions in the news articles of AJE and CNN, specifically those who have power, such as the voice of the United Nations, Israel and Palestinian Authority, demonstrates that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is of great importance for media and for the international community.

The occurrence of direct or indirect reported speech and ‘scare quotes’ in each article are identified, but the voices that are incorporated in the news articles are not identified in terms of the people whose voices are included in the news articles. The voices are identified in the sense that identifying them would help to understand why news writers include some voices while others are excluded. This helps to understand how the reported voices are included. It is important to note that the way writers quote the voices or speeches of others and assumed to be loaded with ideological purposes.

The following table shows examples of the reported voices from AJE and CNN. In CNN for example, the voice of Israel and Hamas are included. In AJE’s article the voice of Palestinian and the voice of Diplomats are included.

Reported voices in CNN	Reported voices in AJE
<p><b>Voice of Israel:</b> <i>Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas made the bid for the United Nations to recognize an independent state of Palestine on Friday, a move <b>Israel says</b> is premature without direct talks that address its longstanding security concerns.(U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26,2011)</i></p> <p><b>Voice of Hamas:</b> <i>Hamas, the dominant of two Palestinian political groups, has maintained that neither a U.N. application nor direct negotiations with Israel would provide the Palestinian people "with what they're looking for.".(U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26,2011)</i></p>	<p><b>Voice of Palestinian:</b> <i><b>The Palestinians</b>, who pulled out of the last direct talks in September 2010 after a settlement moratorium was lifted, <b>argue</b> that Israel has already annexed Jerusalem and has been stealing land for the past 20 years. .(UN debates Palestine Statehood Bid, AJE, 26 Sep 2011)</i></p> <p><b>Voice of Diplomats:</b> <i>Ahead of Monday's meeting, experts from the 15-member nations started contacts on how the bid will be dealt with, <b>diplomats said</b>.( UN debates Palestine Statehood Bid, AJE, 26 Sep 2011)</i></p>

**Table 4.5 The voices included in AJE and CNN's articles**

The following section attempts to identify the voices that are incorporated in the articles. The identified voices are presented in separate tables. It attempts to identify whether there is a relationship between the way the news writers included the voices in the news articles and the original words of the quoted or reported speakers. In this context the analysis examines what happens to the incorporated voices in the news articles. For example, the possibility of the incorporated voices which are subjected to manipulation by the news writers.

Fairclough (2003) assumes that incorporating a large number of voices in the news articles demonstrates that the reported event is significant and important. In view of that, news writers tend to be more conscious in terms of selection of voices. Hence, it can be said that the reported event determines whose voices should be incorporated in the news articles. However, the role that news writers play in the selection of voices

cannot be ignored. Fairclough (2003) believes that news writers incorporate the voices of others concentrating on the content.

#### 4.3.1 Reported Voices in Goldstone Report on War Crimes

Apparently, what distinguishes an article from another is the number of voices that are incorporated in the news articles. However, it does not mean that the more news writers used the ‘reported speech’ in the news articles the higher numbers of peripheral ‘voices’ can be found. There are some differences between the news article of AJE and CNN’s on Goldstone’s report on war crime in terms of the numbers of people or institutional voices found in the news articles. CNN news writers draw more attention to other voices. It is noticed that people and institutions incorporate different voices. There are four shared external sources in AJE and CNN’s news articles represented in The United Nations Human Rights Council, Goldstone’s report, Palestinian Authority and Goldstone. There are voices included in AJE’s news articles but excluded in CNN’s, such as the voice of Israel, moreover, there are 16 voices found in one news article, but obviously not in another as shown in Table 4.8.

<b>Voices</b>	<b>AJE</b>	<b>CNN</b>
United nation human rights council	1	1
Israeli government		1
Israel		3
Palestinians Authority	1	2
Saeb Erakat		1
Douglas Griffiths/US representative		1
Sabri Saidam		1
Khraishi		1
Aharon Leshno		1
Richard Goldstone /report/ resolution	9	4
Mike Hanna	1	

Muasa Abu Marzou	1	
Shrine Tadros	4	
Bennis	3	
Goldstone	2	1
Hamzawi	1	
Navi Pillay	3	
Palestinian human rights center		1
Abbas		1
Israeli Military		1
Israeli foreign ministry	1	
<b>Total number of the incorporated voices</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>20</b>

**Table 4.8 Reported Voices in Goldstone’s Report on War Crimes**

Table 4.4 shows the voices of an ‘institution’ - United Nation Human Eights Council (Henceforth UNHEC) in the news articles on Goldstone’s report. The voice of UNHEC was included in the news article of AJE and CNN’s as shown below.

CNN	AJE
<p><b>United Nation Human Rights Council:</b>  <i>The United Nations Council for Human Rights approved a controversial report Friday which accuses Israel and Hamas of "actions amount to war crimes, possibly crimes against humanity" during the December-January war in Gaza. (U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009)</i></p>	<p><b>United Nation Human Rights Council:</b>  <i>The UN human rights council has endorsed the Goldstone report on Israel's war on Gaza, which accuses the military of using disproportionate force as well as laying charges of war crimes on the Israeli occupation and Hamas. (UN Backs Gaza War Crimes Report, AJE, Oct, 2009)</i></p>

#### 4.3.2 Reported Voices in Turkish Flotilla

There is a difference between AJE and CNN in the news articles on Israeli attack of the Turkish flotilla in terms of the numbers of the people whose voices are included in the news articles. The news article of CNN draws more attention on other voices than AJE’s. It is also noticed that the voices that are incorporated in the news articles of AJE and CNN are different in terms of the people whose voices were incorporated in the news articles. This is to say that there are various voices in AJE’s article but not in CNN’s articles. However, there are four shared external sources in the news article of AJE and CNN represented in Israel, Israel Defence forces (IDF)/army/navy, Mahmoud Abbas and Free Gaza movement. There are voices in AJE’s articles but excluded in CNN’s such as the voice of group of sailors and Palestinian Authority. There are 22 voices that that are incorporated in one article but not in a as shown in Table 4.9.

Reported voices	AJE	CNN
Israel	3	3
IDF	3	2
Mahmud Abbas	1	1
Free Gaza movement	3	4
Group of Sailors		1
IHH		1
Senior Israeli official		3
Jonathan Peled		1
Jonathan Selvin		1
State Depart senior officials		1
Turkish sailors		
Benjamin Netanyahu		2
Palestinian Authority		1
Turkish deputy prime minster		1
Red cross		
Turkish trade agent		1
Hamas- Sam Abu Zuhri		1
William Hague		1
White house spokesperson		1
Israeli government-		1

Mark Regev		
A vital Leibovich-Israel Military spokesperson	1	
Jamal Alshyal- AJE	3	
Israeli Military		
Ayman Mohyeldin	2	
Turkey, Spain, Greece, Denmark, and Sweden	1	
Turkish protestors	1	
Turkish foreign ministry	1	
Hanya Israel	1	
Red Crescent		1
Bill Burton		1
Western and Turkish Authority	1	
One of the sailors		1
Israeli radio	1	
Riyad Mansour		1
Israeli Officials		1
Daniel Carmon		2
<b>Total number of the incorporated voices</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>34</b>

**Table 4.9. Reported voices in Turkish Flotilla**

The table shows the voices of Israel in the news articles on the Israeli attack of the Turkish Flotilla. The voices of Israel are included in the news articles of AJE and CNN.

CNN	AJE
<i>Israel: But Israeli officials described the boat's passengers as the aggressors and said the soldiers from the Israel Defense Forces were simply defending themselves. (Israel assault on Gaza-bound Flotilla Leaves at Least 9 Dead, CNN, May 31, 2010).</i>	<i>Israel: But Israel had said it would not allow the flotilla to reach the Gaza Strip and vowed to stop the six ships from reaching the coastal Palestinian territory. (Israel attack Gaza aid fleet, AJE, 31 May 2010).</i>

### 4.3.3 Reported Voices in Palestine Statehood Bid

There is a difference between the news articles of AJE and CNN on Palestine Statehood Bid in terms of the numbers of the people whose voices are merged in the articles. CNN's article draws more attention to other voices than AJE's news article. It can be noticed that the voices in AJE and CNN news articles are different in terms of the people whose voices were merged in the articles. However, there are six shared external sources in the articles of AJE and CNN, represented in Ryad Mansour, Obama, Abbas, Netanyahu, Quartet and Israel. There are voices that appear in AJE articles but do not appear in CNN such as Lebanon, IDF, as well as another 6 voices in one article but not in another.

Reported voices	AJE	CNN
Israel	3	3
IDF	3	2
Mahmud Abbas	1	1
Free Gaza movement	3	4
Group of Sailors		1
IHH		1
Senior Israeli official		3
Jonathan Peled		1
Jonathan Selvin		1
State Depart senior officials		1
Turkish sailors		
Benjamin Natanyahu		2
Palestinian Authority		1
Turkish deputy prime minster		1
Red cross		
Turkish trade agent		1
Hamas- Sam Abu Zuhri		1
William Hague		1
White house spokesperson		1
Israeli government-		1

Mark Regev		
A vital Leibovich-Israel Military spokesperson	1	
Jamal Alshyal- AJE	3	
Israeli Military		
Ayman Mohyeldin	2	
Turkey, Spain, Greece, Denmark, and Sweden	1	
Turkish protestors	1	
Turkish foreign ministry	1	
Hanya	1	
Israel		
Red Crescent		1
Bill Burton		1
Western and Turkish Authority	1	
One of the sailors		1
Israeli radio	1	
Riyad Mansour		1
Israeli Officials		1
Daniel Carmon		2
<b>Total number of the incorporated voices</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>34</b>

**Table 4.10. Reported Voice in Palestine Statehood Bid at UN**

The following example shows the voice of US president Barak Obama in the news on Palestine Statehood Bid at the United Nations. The voice of Obama was included in the news article of AJE and CNN

CNN	AJE
<p><b>Obama:</b> <i>U.S. President Barack Obama has said he supports Palestinian statehood but reiterated a longstanding U.S. position that Israel must be part of the discussions. (U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26, 2011).</i></p>	<p><b>Obama:</b> <i>US President Barack Obama says the UN bid is an unrealistic shortcut that will not produce real and lasting peace on the ground between the two sides. . (UN debates Palestine Statehood Bid, AJE, 26 Sep 2011).</i></p>

#### 4.4 Voices in Goldstone’s Report on War Crimes

The first two articles from CNN on Goldstone Report on war crimes that issued by the United Nations in the wake of the Israeli war in Gaza in late December 2009. The report was prepared by the South African Judge, Goldstone who accuses of Israel of war crimes against humanity. The report consequently leads to regional and international controversial responses. The strong response comes from the Israel and the United States. Israel condemns the report and considers it an incitement to increase violence in the region (Middle East). The Palestinian Authority on the other side has welcomed the report and considered it a victory added to the Palestinian cause. The role of the news coverage of AJE and CNN has significantly appeared. There are four main voices are examined in this part, the voice of the United Nations, Goldstone’s report, Palestinian Authority and Goldstone himself.

##### 4.4.1 Voice of the United Nations/ UNHRC

The voice of the United Nations/ UNHRC is one of the prominent reported voices in both articles. This part examines the voice of the United Nations in order to see whether

the voice informs of the genuine content of Goldstone's report, on the grounds that the 'report' is essentially produced by an international institution of great resonance to the level of the world.

**CNN:** *The United Nations Council for Human Rights approved a controversial report Friday which accuses Israel and Hamas of "actions amounting to war crimes, possibly crimes against humanity" during the December-January war in Gaza.(U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009)*

**AJE:** *The UN human rights council has endorsed the Goldstone report on Israel's war on Gaza, which accuses the military of using disproportionate force as well as laying charges of war crimes on Israeli occupation forces and Hamas. (UN Backs Gaza War Crimes Report, AJE, Oct, 2009).*

**AJE:** *the report reserved most of its criticism for Israel. (UN Backs Gaza War Crimes Report, AJE, Oct, 2009).*

At the beginning of the news articles, the news writers in AJE and CNN provide general information about the report and the accusation that the UNHRC directed against Israel and Hamas. The news writers open an argument about the report and the accusation. CNN indirectly reports the voice of the United Nations that accuses Israel and Hamas of "actions amounting to war crimes, possibly crimes against humanity"; while AJE indirectly reported the voice of the UNHRC "accuses the military of using disproportionate force as well as laying charges of war crimes on Israeli occupation forces and Hamas". Thus, the voice of the UNHRC is indirectly reported in both articles.

One that attracts the attention in this context is the way the news writers in AJE and CNN reported the voice of the UNHRC. CNN's article has described the report as '**controversial**'; it implies that the news writer gives skeptical impression about the content of the report. The description of the UNHRC report generates certain percentage of suspicion in the report which may not reflect the real scene of what exactly happens in the Israeli war in Gaza in 2009. On the other hand, AJE's news writer gives the real

name of the report that was endorsed by the UNHRC as in the statement '*human rights council has endorsed the Goldstone report on Israel's war in Gaza*'. Consequently, it is assumed that giving the real name of the report in AJE's attempts to establish credibility that may help the news writer in the arguments he is provided in the rest of the news article.

It is deliberately noticed that CNN's news article reported the voice of the United Nations as it accuses equally Israel and Hamas (Palestinian militant wing) of '*possibly war crimes against humanity*', though the UNHRC's report has given all the corrosive accusations to Israel as reported in AJE's news article, '*the report accused Israel of war crimes and crimes against humanity*'. In another time the voice of the UNHRC in AJE's news article reported indirectly, '*reserved most of its criticism for Israel*'. Noticeably, the news writer in CNN's article uses the scare quotes to degrade the accusation against Israel. Consequently, one of the strategies followed by CNN's news writer in this regard is to eliminate or exclude the voice of the international community when it accuses the actions of Israel against the Palestinians.

The inclusion of the voice of the UNHRC in AJE's news article appears to reprove all the corrosive accusation mainly to Israel, more specifically the Israel Defence forces (IDF), and '*which accuses the military of using disproportionate force*'. In spite of that, AJE reports indirectly that the Goldstone's report accuses Hamas but not as much as it is directed in the CNN's. In AJE, the news writer strikingly inserts the description of Israel as an '*occupation force*' when reporting the voice of the UNHRC. This implies that the news writer in AJE attempts to provide initial image that 'report' has investigated inequitable war between the occupier (Israel) and the occupied (Palestinians). In addition, the news writer in AJE inserted the expression to draw a strong image of Palestinian as an occupied people and oppressed by Israel. Obviously, the description of Israel as an '*occupier forces*' is not stated in the report. However, it is

inserted by the news writer. The indirect reporting of voices is manipulated by the news writers. Thus, describing Israel as an '*occupier forces*' implies that the Israeli war in Gaza is not justified, and in that way, the news writer in AJE attempts to criminalize Israel and at the same time legitimize the Palestinians actions against Israel. This is to say it is a natural self-defence. On the other hand, it is noticed that CNN's articles reported directly the voice of the prime minister of Israel, Netanyahu who maintains that Israel justifies the war on Gaza which is also identified as a self defence.

CNN: *"Israel will continue to exercise its right to self-defense, and take action to protect the lives of its citizens."*(U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009)

Both AJE and CNN depict the images of Palestinians and Israeli in the news articles through the use of indirect reporting. AJE noticeably is seen to favour the Palestinian and criminalizes Israel, while CNN favours the Israeli and attempts to criminalize the Palestinians.

The voice of the United Nations encompasses both AJE and CNN's articles through the inclusion of indirect reporting of the voice of the 'Report', 'Goldstone's Report', 'Resolution'. Thus, this signifies that the news writers in AJE and CNN draw their own explanation in reporting the Goldstone's report on war crimes. This is to say that the news writers use the indirect reporting of the United Nations in the news articles to manipulate the original words that are appropriate to the news writers' ideological purposes. Taking into considerations readers who encounters news about a report like this, produced by a high status international institution represented in the United Nations would probably assume that what is written is truthfully reported. It is clear how the news writers play an indirect reporting in this context. It becomes clear that the employment of intertextuality plays an essential role in news writing. Hence, in this regard, it is important to stress that the findings that aimed in this study attempt to

replicate the direct/indirect reporting of speech/voices reproduce the ideology of both AJE and CNN. This does not only to convey a sense of authenticity in the description of the event, but to whom the United Nations' accusation of war crimes against humanity should be directed, whether to Hamas or Israel.

#### **4.4.2 The voice of the Palestinians and the Palestinian Authority**

In the context of news coverage of the Goldstone's report, it is important to take into account the voice of the Palestinians and the Palestinian Authority as the case in the report favours the Palestinians. Many experts considered the Goldstone's report a major shift in Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Particularly, the report strongly condemns and accuses the Israeli of the use of excessive force against the Palestinian civilians in Gaza in 2009.

The news articles of AJE and CNN encompass of the voice of the Palestinians using different forms of reporting. However, there is a difference in CNN's articles where the voice of the Palestinian Authority is included overwhelmingly. However, the inclusion of the voice of the Palestinian Authority in the news article of AJE coincides with the inclusion of the voices that glorify and support the United Nations' report. The news writers in AJE attempt to blame the Palestinian Authority for withdrawing the report. Therefore, the news writers include the voices which glorify the report and at the same times include the voices that condemn the Palestinian Authority for the withdrawal of the report. This includes the voice of AJE's correspondent that comments on the UNHRC's report saying that the report, '*very strong victory*' for Palestinians. There is also an inclusion of the voice of Hamas who blames the Palestinian Authority for withdrawing the report:

**AJE:** "I think if the Palestinian Authority didn't withdraw this report it will be more efficient and the result will be stronger than the resolution".(*UN Backs Gaza War Crimes Report, AJE, Oct, 2009*).

The inclusion of the voice of Hamas in AJE signifies that the news writer tends to transfer the position of Hamas as an accused (person) as mentioned in CNN's news article to a person who welcomes the results of the report and also welcomes all of the proposals for further investigations as recommended by UNHRC's report

**AJE:** "We will co-operate with this report and we will establish a new committee to investigate".(*UN Backs Gaza War Crimes Report, AJE, Oct, 2009*).

The use of direct reporting of the voice of Hamas signifies that the news writer use the direct reporting to separate his voice/himself from Hamas condemnations of the Palestinian Authority. It is probably used to show the gravity of the condemnation as it is reported directly from Hamas and not from the news writer.

Israel is the one that is condemned as directly reported in CNN:

*CNN: "The adoption of this resolution by the UNHRC impairs both the effort to protect human rights in accordance with international law, and the effort to promote peace in Middle East. This resolution provides encouragement for terrorist organizations worldwide and undermines global peace".(U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009)*

Through the inclusion of the voice of Hamas in the news article of AJE, the news writer attempts to give an international political legitimacy to Hamas. On the other hand, CNN's news article obviously excludes the voice of Hamas fearing that including its voice would give Hamas an international legitimacy. Therefore, it is obvious that the news writer in CNN's article includes the voice of the Palestinian Authority as it is the only internationally recognized and legitimate representative of Palestine. The news writer tends to exclude the voice of Hamas, although Hamas is considered a dominant

Palestinian political party. Excluding the voice of Hamas also seemingly turns back to the unfavoured attitude of Hamas toward Israel as Hamas refuses in many occasions to recognize Israel as a state.

It should be noted that from the outset of the article, CNN goes on dropping the rug out from under the report by describing the report as “a controversial”, in that way, it implies that CNN is questioning the report’s credibility

**CNN: *The United Nations Council for Human Rights approved a controversial report Friday which accuses Israel and Hamas of "actions amounting to war crimes, possibly crimes against humanity" during the December-January war in Gaza.(U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009).***

CNN puts Hamas and Israel equally together in the same dock. However, it is noticed that the voice of Hamas is directly reported to welcome the report in the news articles of AJE while the voice of Israel is directly reported to condemn the report in CNN’s article.

CNN initially reported indirectly the voice of the Palestinian Authority that implies that the Palestinian accepted and supported the report.

**CNN: *The Palestinian Authority government of Mahmoud Abbas supported the report. That government does not rule Gaza, which is controlled by Hamas. .(U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009).***

Until it is clearly reported that the Palestinian Authority requested the United Nations to delay the voting and discussion of the report for six months.

**CNN: *The Human Rights Council received the report September 29, but took no action, after a request by the Palestinian Authority to defer discussion for six months. .(U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009).***

The indirect reporting of the voice of Palestinian Authority in CNN's news article implies that the news writer attempts to give an image of the Palestinians as uncertain and hesitant regarding the approval of the Goldstone's report that condemns and accuses Israel of committing war crimes in Gaza. Thus, the news writer of CNN's article tends to generate doubts in the credibility of the report by including the contradicted voice of Palestinian Authority.

The inclusion of the direct reporting of the voice of the Palestinian within the indirect reporting

***CNN: Abbas reversed course this past week and, in a televised address, told Palestinians that he was seeking immediate debate within the council and vowed to work "to punish everyone who was responsible for the hideous crimes committed against our children, our men and women -- especially in our dear Gaza." (U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009).***

The news writer of CNN's article elegantly merges the voice of the Palestinian president who calls for an investigation in the crimes committed in Gaza. The news writer does not specify who must be punished for the hideous crimes. The news writer inserts "*especially in our dear Gaza*" without showing whether the Palestinian president calls to punish Hamas who dominates Gaza or Israel. The news writer of CNN's article attempts to give biased interpretations through the use of the direct and indirect reporting of the voice of the Palestinian president. This is to say that Palestinian president probably calls for punishing Hamas as Hamas controls Gaza, but not calling for punishment of Israel.

It is important to note that the news writer of CNN's article goes far away from the issue which is discussed in the Goldstone's report. The news writer reporting the voice directly and indirectly the voice of the report that sheds light on the accusations of Goldstone's report against the Israeli actions in the Palestinian territories in West Bank.

Instead it reflects the real issues discussed in the report such as accusations of Israel of committing war crimes in Gaza.

**CNN:** *The Goldstone report goes beyond the Gaza conflict, "strongly condemns" measures taken by Israel limiting Palestinian access to their properties and holy sites "on the basis of national origin, religion, sex, age or any other discriminatory ground."It further condemns "Israeli violations of human rights in Occupied East Jerusalem, particularly the confiscation of lands and properties, the demolishing of houses and private properties, the construction and expansion of settlements, the continuous construction of the separation wall, changing the demographic and geographic character of East Jerusalem, the restrictions on the freedom of movement of the Palestinian citizens of East Jerusalem, as well as the continuous digging and excavation works in and around Al-Aqsa mosque and its vicinity. (U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009).*

#### **4.4.3 Voice of Israel**

The news writer of CNN's article put a lot on the voice of Israel which depicts the image of Israel as oppressed and that the international decisions against Israel can be deemed as biased and unfair. The news writer reporting indirectly the voice of Israel, 'Israel rejected the resolution, calling it "one-sided," as shown in the example.

**CNN:** *Israel rejected the resolution, calling it "**one-sided**," and noted there were fewer favorable votes Friday than when the council voted to set up the Goldstone mission. (U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009)*

Israel rejected the Goldstone's report and the resolution that were issued by UNHRC and condemns Israel of war crimes against civilians in Gaza. Consequently, the ideology of the CNN's news writer becomes obvious in this regard. The news writer tends to include the voice of Israel to show that Israel is an oppressed country, while excludes the voice of the Palestinians who are in reality held under the oppressions of Israeli occupation. Such depiction of images of Israeli as an oppressed and always the victims of others' actions are pervasive in the news articles of CNN. On the other hand

depictions of images of Palestinian as victims and oppressed tend to be pervasive in the news articles of AJE.

CNN news writer tends to report directly the voice of the Israeli Prime Minister, Netanyahu who shows prejudice to the countries that favor the resolution that condemns Israel of war crimes. The news writer attempts again to discredit the resolution by reporting indirectly the voice of Israeli Prime Minister.

CNN: *"The adoption of this resolution by the UNHRC impairs both the effort to protect human rights in accordance with international law, and the effort to promote peace in Middle East. This resolution provides encouragement for terrorist organizations worldwide and undermines global peace". (U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009)*

The direct reporting of the voice of Israel in CNN's article depicts the image of Israel as an oppressed state consequently the resolution urges and supports the acts of terrorism against Israel. The resolution it can a motive for terrorists to continue killing more Israelis. The news writer attempts through direct reporting to show that Israel is always in danger and it has the right to defend itself.

CNN: *"Israel will continue to exercise its right to self-defense, and take action to protect the lives of its citizens." (U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009)*

The news of CNN writer tries to legitimize the Israeli actions against Palestinians in Gaza. The readers may interpret that what Israel did in Gaza was an exercise of self-defence as Israel claimed many times that it was attacked by militant groups from Gaza.

On the other hand, the news writer in AJE, in the same context, reported indirectly the voice of Israel- the Israeli Foreign Ministry, which gives an impression that Israel always doubt the credibility of the international decisions and resolutions and

therefore gives an image that Israel always repels and does not respect the international law.

**AJE:** *"Israeli officials we spoke to said that in their opinion most of those states that voted in favor of the resolution did so, not out of conviction, but really for their own domestic reasons - to cover up their own human rights violations." (UN Backs Gaza War Crimes Report, AJE, Oct, 2009).*

The voice of Israeli Officials is included indirectly as stated by the AJE's correspondent claiming that Israel believes those countries that favour the resolution has voted to hide the crimes committed against civilians in their countries. AJE tries to depict an image that Israel always rebels against international decisions, consensus and law.

**AJE:** *"This has really been Israel's line of defense from the beginning of this process - to try to discredit the Goldstone mission and the resolution by discrediting the human rights council itself." (UN Backs Gaza War Crimes Report, AJE, Oct, 2009).*

AJE tries to depict a bad image of Israel. Israel tries to discredit the Report by claiming that there are countries that always favour the Palestinians on the account of Israel. This consequently gives an impression that Israel is a state over the International law.

**AJE:** *"By saying that its members have always been overwhelmingly biased against Israel and really trying to land Israel in hot water whatever motion was in front of them." (UN Backs Gaza War Crimes Report, AJE, Oct, 2009).*

#### **4.4.4 Voice of the Goldstone's Report (UNHRC)**

The voice of the UNHRC' is reported indirectly in both AJE and CNN's articles. The voice of the report in CNN considers the Israeli violations dramatically located only in

the West Bank. Even reporting went far to explain exactly the violations in order to give the reader an impression that such violations are tantamount to a crime against humanity as stated in the report.

*CNN: It "strongly condemns" measures taken by Israel limiting Palestinian access to their properties and holy sites "on the basis of national origin, religion, sex, age or any other discriminatory ground.(U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009) CNN: It further condemns "Israeli violations of human rights in Occupied East Jerusalem, particularly the confiscation of lands and properties, the demolishing of houses and private properties, the construction and expansion of settlements, the continuous construction of the separation wall, changing the demographic and geographic character of East Jerusalem, the restrictions on the freedom of movement of the Palestinian citizens of East Jerusalem, as well as the continuous digging and excavation works in and around Al-Aqsa mosque and its vicinity." (U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report, CNN, Oct 16, 2009).*

CNN's news writer attempts to delete and ignore the large part related to the Israeli war in Gaza, which is the center of the Goldstone's report topic. The indirect reporting plays an important role in the news articles as it gives enough space and freedom to the news writer to manipulate distort and even delete the unwanted expressions which are not considered to go with writer's ideological purposes.

On the other hand, AJE's news article indirectly reports the voice of the Goldstone's

*AJE: The report accused Israel of war crimes and crimes against humanity. (UN Backs Gaza War Crimes Report, AJE, Oct, 2009).*

The report strongly condemns Israel for war crimes against humanity and also accuses Hamas of war violations. It indicates that the news writers try to signify through indirect reporting of the voice that condemns Israel more than Hamas.

*AJE: The it also accused the Hamas movement, which has de facto control of Gaza, of war crime violations, but reserved most of its criticism for Israel. (UN Backs Gaza War Crimes Report, AJE, Oct, 2009).*

In similar context, AJE draws on the voice of the report which condemns the Israeli actions in the West Bank. However, the included voice of the report in AJE's is not the same as in CNN's news article.

*AJE: In addition to endorsing the report, the resolution "strongly condemns all policies and measures taken by Israel, the occupying power, including those limiting access of Palestinians to their properties and holy sites". It also calls on Israel to stop digging and excavation work around the al-Aqsa mosque in occupied East Jerusalem as well as other Islamic and Christian religious sites. (UN Backs Gaza War Crimes Report, AJE, Oct, 2009).*

The direct and indirect reporting of the voice of the Goldstone's report in AJE and CNN's news articles is manipulated by the news writers to meet their ideological purposes.

#### **4.5 Voices in Turkish Flotilla in AJE and CNN**

The articles cover the Israeli attack on the Turkish Flotilla that carries humanitarian aids and heading to Gaza. The purpose of the flotilla as mentioned earlier is to break the Israeli siege imposed on the Gaza. Israel imposes the siege on Gaza after Hamas took control of government in Gaza. The Hamas government in Gaza refused to recognize the state of Israel. The Gaza siege was followed by an Israeli war. During this period, international attempts to break the siege start to take place. The most significant attempts are represented in the Turkish flotilla that sails toward Gaza. The attempt is faced by an Israeli attack which in turns aggravates the international situation and left strong impact on the regional situation in the Middle East especially after the tension between Israel and Turkey.

#### 4.4.1 The Israelis' voice

The news writers in AJE and CNN's articles argue about the first performer of the attack on board the Turkish flotilla. The readers are not yet sure who must be accused of performing the first attack. Whether the Israelis or the humanitarian activists. The news writers of AJE's article obliterates all the disputes that try to accuse the activists of performing the first attack, and argue through the use of direct and indirect reporting of the voices that Israel should be accused of performing the first attack on board the flotilla. On the other hand, the news writer of CNN's article obliterates all the disputes that accuse Israel. Through the use of direct and indirect reporting of the voices, the news writer attempts propose his arguments which imply that the activist is the one who performed the first attack. Obviously, the news writers attain this via the clever disputes prototypes and the exploitation of 'reporting verbs' and through the use of different reported forms of reporting as mentioned earlier.

The Israelis' voice is represented in the voice of the Israel Defence Forces (IDF), the Israeli officials and the Prime Minister of Israel is reported directly and indirectly in AJE and CNN. The excerpts extracted from the CNN's article are shown below:

**CNN:** *"They are not peace activists. They were not messengers of goodwill," Daniel Carmon, Israel's deputy ambassador to the United Nations, told reporters in New York. "They cynically used the guise of humanitarian aid to send a message of hate and to implement violence." (Israel assault on Gaza-bound Flotilla Leaves at Least 9 Dead, CNN, May 31, 2010).*

**CNN:** *But the Israel Defense Forces said its troops "were met with premeditated violence, evident by the activists' use of clubs, metal rods, and knives, as well as the firing of two weapons stolen from the soldiers." It said troops responded with "defensive action on behalf of the forces who felt their lives were endangered," and seven were wounded. (Israel assault on Gaza-bound Flotilla Leaves at Least 9 Dead, CNN, May 31, 2010).*

From the outset of the news article of CNN, the news writer reported indirectly the voice of the Israeli officials describing the passengers of the flotilla as 'aggressors':

**CNN:** *But Israeli officials described the boat's passengers as the **aggressors** and said the soldiers from the Israel Defense Forces were simply **defending themselves**. (Israel assault on Gaza-bound Flotilla Leaves at Least 9 Dead, CNN, May 31, 2010).*

The indirect reporting of the voice of the Israelis, which gives descriptions of the passengers of the flotilla, signifies that the news writer of CNN attempts to justify the Israeli attack of the flotilla. The news writer includes the voice of the Israeli ambassador, *Daniel Carmon* at the United Nation's who describes the passengers of the flotilla as not peace activists and not having goodwill, and *"They are not peace activists. They were not messengers of goodwill,"* Throughout the CNN's article, it can be said that the news writer reports directly the voice of the ambassador and other Israeli officials to strengthen his arguments that draw the accusations of the attack on the activists but not on the Israelis:

**CNN:** *"they cynically used to guise of humanitarian aid to send a message of hate and to implement violence. (Israel assault on Gaza-bound Flotilla Leaves at Least 9 Dead, CNN, May 31, 2010).*

The news writer of CNN's article attempts to use direct reporting of the voice of the Israelis to give a horrific image of the people whom the Israeli navy dealt with on board the flotilla. Thus, the news writer attempts to justify the Israeli attack on the flotilla, though in reality, the flotilla was still sailing in the international water.

The ideology that the CNN's news writer attempts to pursue in terms of the exposure and stereotyping that the Israelis are innocent and that their actions against others should be explained under the excuse of self-defence. CNN's news article reports indirectly, *"Israel Defence Forces were simply defending themselves"*. The reported voices describe the peace activists as stated by the Israeli Defence forces as shown in the excerpt below:

**CNN:** But the Israel Defense Forces said its troops "**were met with premeditated violence, evident by the activists' use of clubs, metal rods, and knives, as well as the firing of two weapons stolen from the soldiers.**" It said troops responded with "**defensive action on behalf of the forces who felt their lives were endangered,**" and seven were wounded. (*Israel assault on Gaza-bound Flotilla Leaves at Least 9 Dead, CNN, May 31, 2010*).

The news writer in AJE's article attempts to use the direct and indirect reporting of voices of Israel to dramatize the Israeli attack and the situation of those on board in the flotilla. AJE's news writer reporting indirectly the voice of the Israeli's radio which states the number of activists who were killed on board the flotilla in the Israeli attack, "*at least 19 people were killed and dozens injured*":

**AJE:** *At least 19 people were killed and dozens injured when troops intercepted the convoy of ships dubbed the Freedom Flotilla early on Monday, Israeli radio reported. (Israel attack Gaza aid fleet, AJE, 31 May 2010).*

CNN's article reports indirectly that nine activists were killed on board the flotilla, "*killed nine people*", and then later CNN's article reports indirectly that the number of victims is still unknown.

The news writer of the AJE's article reports indirectly the voice of the Israeli radio that 19 activists were killed in the attack. Through the use of indirect reporting, the news writer in AJE's emphasizes that the Israelis themselves admit that there is a huge number of killed activists. A claim is denied by the Israeli government. In view of that, it can be said that the news writer attempts the use of indirect reporting on Israeli radio to dramatize the Israeli attack of the flotilla. In addition, the news writer reports indirectly the voice of Israeli military spokeswoman, Abital Leibvoich, who confirms that the attack took place in the international waters:

**AJE:** Avital Leibovich, an Israeli military spokeswoman, confirmed that the attack took place in international waters, saying: "This happened in waters outside of Israeli territory, but we have the right to defend ourselves." (*Israel attack Gaza aid fleet, AJE, 31 May 2010*).

Using the direct reporting of Avital Leibovich's voice attempts to criminalize the Israel. The Israeli spokeswoman confirms that the attack happens in the international water, and that Israel knows attacking a flotilla outside the regional Israeli waters goes against the international law.

#### **4.6 Voices in Palestine Statehood Bid at UN**

The following articles cover the Palestinian statehood bid at the United Nations. Israel and America reject the step and the U.S government has promised the Palestinian bid to be faced with a veto. America and the 'quartet' called the Israeli and the Palestinians to go back for face to face negotiations. The Palestinian insists on having a membership in the United Nations claiming that they have already got recognition of Palestine as an independent state from 139 countries. The Palestinians statehood bid leaves strong impact on the situation in the Palestinian territories and the international relations.

##### **4.6.1 The voice of the Palestinian and the Israeli**

*CNN: Though the debate is expected to be largely symbolic in the face of a promised American veto, the permanent observer of the Palestinian Authority to the United Nations, Riyad Mansour, held out hope prior to Monday's Security Council meeting that the bid would be accepted. (U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26,2011)*

*CNN: "We hope that the Security Council will shoulder its responsibility and address this application with a positive attitude, especially since we have 139 countries that have recognized the state of Palestine so far, meaning more than two-thirds majority," he said. (U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26,2011)*

In CNN's article, the news writer attempts to give an image of the situation which signifies that the Palestinians embark a grave mistake by attempting to requesting for a membership in the United Nations, *"Though the debate is expected to be largely*

*symbolic in the face of a promised American veto*". The news writer attempts to underestimate the Palestinian statehood bid as he argues it would be faced by an American veto in the Security Council. In addition, the news writer attempts to give a stereotype prevailed image that the Palestinians refuse to have peace talks with Israel and that the Palestinian statehood bid is one-sided attempt. It also implies an image that the Palestinians are undoing the chances for peace with the Israel.

CNN's news writer reporting directly the voice of the ambassador of Palestine at the United Nations, "We hope..." in which it gives an image of the Palestinians as defeated and that the position of the Palestine statehood is weak. The Palestinian statehood bid depicts as symbolic because it is promised to be faced with a U.S. veto. Reporting directly the voice of the Palestinian ambassador saying, "*We are ready to govern ourselves*", implies that the CNN's news writer gives impressions that cast doubt on the ability of Palestinians to build their own state. This demonstrates that the news writer of the CNN's article undermine the rights of Palestinian to establish their independent state.

On the other hand, what attracts the attention in AJE's news article and contradicts the images that were conveyed in the CNN's news article, is the indirect reporting of the ambassador of Palestine at the United Nations, whose voice was reported directly in CNN. The ambassador's voice is included in CNN's news article to depict the images of Palestinian position (statehood bid) as weak despite the large number of countries that recognize the Palestine as independent state.

**AJE:** *Our correspondent said Riyadh Al-Maliki, the Palestinian foreign minister, is confident that the bid has already won over nine council votes. (UN debates Palestine Statehood Bid, AJE, 26 Sep 2011).*

The direct reported voice of the Palestinian foreign minister in AJE's show a great confidence in terms that Palestine has achieved nine votes that essential considered

enough for guaranteeing/accepting the membership of the Palestine in the United Nations“ Riyadh Al-Maliki, the Palestinian Foreign Minister, is confident that the bid has already won over nine council votes”. Obviously, the writer tries to indirect report the voice of the Foreign Minister of the Palestinian Authority to give an image that the Palestinians enable them to easily get a seat in the United Nations.

**AJE:** US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton met early on Monday with Najib Mikati, prime minister of Lebanon, which currently holds the rotating chair of the Security Council and has backed the Palestinian bid. (*UN debates Palestine Statehood Bid, AJE, 26 Sep 2011*).

**AJE:** And the Palestinian envoy to the UN, Riyad Mansour, told reporters that 131 countries now recognize a Palestinian state, having added two in the past week. (*Israel attack Gaza aid fleet, AJE, 31 May 2010*). (*UN debates Palestine Statehood Bid, AJE, 26 Sep 2011*).

**AJE:** "The process will likely move slowly, but for now, intense diplomacy continues behind the scenes here." (*Israel attack Gaza aid fleet, AJE, 31 May 2010*). (*UN debates Palestine Statehood Bid, AJE, 26 Sep 2011*).

The writer gives an image that the oppressed Palestinians are failing despite having recognition as an independent state from 138 different countries. AJE’s writers perfectly argue the issue and clearly try to condemn the international community by merging his voice by the means of an accurate tracking of events and arrangements of the reported voices that favour the Palestinian cause. Reporting indirectly the voice of the Palestinian ambassador in the United Nations: “Riyad Mansour, told reporters that 131 countries now recognize a Palestinian state”, having added two in the past week. It shows an image of a confident person unlike the CNN’s article reporting his voice that depicts an image of a hopeless and not confident for having a membership in the United Nations.

AJE at the same time indirectly reports the voice of the Lebanese president during his meeting with Hilary Clinton “Najib Mikati, prime minister of Lebanon,

which currently holds the rotating chair of the Security Council and has backed the Palestinian bid. Though the Americans are threatening to answer the Palestinian request with a veto, the writer desires to show that the country which leads the Security Council to insist on going with the request, thus the writer tries to legitimize the Palestinian demand by inserting the presence of one member of the American government.

On the other hand, the voice of the correspondent of AJE reports directly that the process will likely move slowly, but for now, intense diplomacy continues behind the scenes give the image that the issue of the Palestinian statehood bid is important and that there is intensive diplomatic mobility. Consequently the writer gives a great importance to the application submitted by the Palestinians.

**CNN:** The time has come for a "Palestinian Spring" to join the Arab Spring in reshaping the Middle East, he said. "My people desire to exercise their right to enjoy a normal life like the rest of humanity." But Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, later taking his turn to address the General Assembly, said Palestinians are looking for a "state without peace," ignoring security concerns important to Israel. (*UN Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26,2011*)

**CNN:** Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas made the bid for the United Nations to recognize an independent state of Palestine on Friday; a move Israel says is premature without direct talks that address its longstanding security concerns. (*U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26,2011*)

On the contrary, CNN article has to deal with negatively by trying to marginalize the issue on the Israeli's needs for peace. Through indirect reporting, the voice of Israel describing the move that the Palestinian president, Abbas made in the United Nations, a move threatens the security of Israel, "a move Israel says is premature without direct talks that address its longstanding security concerns." Thus, this gives the stereotype image that the news coverage of CNN always gives emphasis on rights of the Israeli

above all Palestinians' rights. The writer tries to confirm that all the attempts that Palestinian make should initially take inconsideration the security of Israel.

CNN writer gives unclear and a narrow space to the voice of the Palestinian president, Abbas. Reporting the voice from Abbas, quoted from the speech he delivered in the United Nations that calls the Palestinians for an 'Arab spring' in Palestine. "The time has come for a Palestinian Spring..." neutralizes that the CNN writer tries to avoid mentioning the real issue represented in the calling for Palestinian statehood membership in the United Nation. Hence, it manipulates the truth, it diverts from the real issue represented in the statehood bid. Consequently, the writer gives an image that Palestinians are mainly calling for a revolution, a "Palestinian spring". but not a state. Furthermore, CNN reported directly the voice of the Palestinian president saying "My people desire to exercise their right to enjoy a normal life like the rest of humanity" demonstrates that Palestinians only want to live a decent life. However, the producer of the text does not specify what revolution Palestinians are calling for. Again the writer excludes the real voices which imply the real needs of the Palestinians. Throughout the raised issues in this regard, the writer is designed to push the reader away from the main Palestinian demands and needs the application for membership of independent Palestinian state in the United Nations.

**AJE:** *Abbas told jubilant crowds Sunday he had conveyed their dreams of statehood to the international community with his address to the UN General Assembly and formal submission of the membership bid. "We went to the United Nations carrying your hopes, your dreams, your ambitions, your suffering, your vision and your need for an independent Palestinian state," he said. (UN debates Palestine Statehood Bid, AJE, 26 Sep 2011).*

AJE has given a clearer image about the Palestinian president and his speech at the United Nations, which refute what reported by CNN's report conveys image as a defeated man who docile orders rightly from the Israeli. Since AJE reports directly the

voice of the Palestinian authority, Abbas as the a victor has returned to his nation and is greatly welcomed after completing the task of submitting the application to the United Nation, "We went to the United Nations carrying your hopes, your dreams, your ambitions, your suffering, your vision and your need for an independent Palestinian state," This gives the readers an impression that AJE sided the Palestinian in the news coverage by depicting the image of the Palestinian president as a hero who refused to return to negotiation with Israeli unless the Israeli government stops building settlements in the West Bank.

**CNN:** But Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, later taking his turn to address the General Assembly, said Palestinians are looking for a "state without peace," ignoring security concerns important to Israel. (*U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26, 2011*).

**CNN:** He said Palestinians are armed not only with their "hopes and dreams," a phrase Abbas had used in his speech, but with "10,000 missiles, and Grad rockets supplied by Iran, not to mention the river of lethal weapons flowing into Gaza." (*U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26, 2011*).

**CNN:** "Palestinians should first make peace with Israel and then get their state," he said, adding that peace must arrive through a two-state solution that recognizes Israel as a Jewish state. (*U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26, 2011*).

**CNN:** If that occurs, Israel "will be the first" to recognize Palestinian statehood, the prime minister said. Abbas' move prompted a call from the Middle East "Quartet" for new peace talks intended to come up with a breakthrough by the end of next year. (*U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26, 2011*).

CNN's reports the voice of the Israeli Prime Minister, who gives harsh words for the Palestinians "Palestinians are looking for a state without peace," ignoring security concerns to Israel". He described that the Palestinian step is on the right track and accuses the Palestinians of putting Israel's security at risk. "Palestinians are armed not only with their "hopes and dreams," a phrase Abbas had used in his speech, but with "10,000 missiles, and Grad rockets supplied by Iran, not to mention the river of lethal

weapons flowing into Gaza.". The writer wants to give the reader a contradictory image to that described by the Palestinian ambassador in the United Nations. He shows that Palestinians are not actually ready to govern themselves, and thus the writer tries to reduce the assumptions that the Palestinians are able to establish their own independent state lives in peace with Israel.

CNN's article also included the voice of the Prime Minister of Israel as a representation of power. It is evident in his that that "Palestinians should first make peace with Israel and then get their state". The power of Israel implies that Israel steers the issues on the ground, and thus it gives an image that the Palestinian statehood bid is fruitless unless given an approve from Israel. It won't serve the Palestinians as Israel decides in this matter. In this case, the writer hits two birds with one stone: first when he reports directly the voice of the Prime Minister of Israel pledging a state for Palestinian with peace for Israel. In that way Israel compromises the Palestinian state with peace which gives an image that Palestinians refuse peace talks with Israel. CNN writer continues by including the voice of the Prime Minister who continues compromising Palestinians to recognize the state of Israel as 'a Jewish state' in order to be given a Palestinian state adding that peace must arrive through a two-state solution that recognizes Israel as a Jewish state which gives an impression that Palestinians are dragging their heels in giving the right of Israelis and therefore the writer wants to confirm the Israelis' power and at the same time it implies that that Israeli is always the victims in spite of the fact that Israel is occupying Palestine. The writer continues to include the voice of the Israeli's Prime Minster that Israel "will be the first" to recognize Palestinian statehood to impose and confirm the conditions that Israel put for Palestinians in order to get their independent Palestinian State. The voice reports indirectly through the use of scare quotes. This intends to impose power on the Palestinians and give them a clear image that any attempt of this would be a failure unless it passed through 'us', Israeli. CNN writer warns the Palestinian that to go an

extra mile with any applications will fail unless they agree on conditions made by Israel. Following the inclusion of the Israeli voice, CNNs follows by using indirect reporting of the voice of the “quartet” that calls for the Palestinian president to start peace talks with the Israeli. Abbas' move prompted a call from the Middle East "Quartet" for new peace talks to come up. This gives an impression that the international community condemns the Palestinian move towards having a seat in the United Nations. This implies that the Palestinians always call for peace though the international community which directed the accusation to Israel always put the obstacle in front of any attempts to go for peace talk with Palestinians. What is also striking here is that the writer has given a free space for including the voice of the Prime Minister of Israel.

*CNN: On Friday, a Palestinian was killed and 17 were wounded in clashes with Israeli settlers and Israeli forces in the village of Qusra, Palestinian officials reported. The Israel Defense Forces said they had gone to the village after receiving a report that settlers and Palestinians were hurling stones at each other; when they arrived, about 300 Palestinians began attacking the IDF soldiers, who responded with riot-control methods and live fire. The IDF said it was investigating the incident. (U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26,2011).*

*CNN: Also Friday, an Israeli man and his year-old son were killed when their car drove off the road near the settlement of Kiryat Arba. The Israeli police and IDF initially treated the incident as a routine road accident, but an examination of the body has led them to reassess that view.(U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26,2011)*

The writer describes the image of the Palestinian as violent and still not ready for peace with the Israelis. The Israeli Prime Minister distorts the Palestinians image and which demonstrates that the Palestinians are not ready for having an independent state to live in peace side by side with Israel.

CNN: *"We confirmed he had been injured as a result of being struck in the head, which probably caused him to lose control of the car; this indicates to us the strong possibility that he was struck by Palestinian stone throwers in an act of terrorism," police spokesman Micky Rosenfeld said. The Palestinian Authority's Ministry of State, which records violent acts by settlers against Palestinians, said the number of violent incidents raised between September 18 and 24. The ministry cited an incident in Qusra, where olive trees were set afire and stones thrown at cars carrying Palestinians. (U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26, 2011)*

#### **4.6.2 Government's voice**

CNN: *U.S. President Barack Obama has said he supports Palestinian statehood but reiterated a longstanding U.S. position that Israel must be part of the discussions. (U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26, 2011)*

AJE: *S President Barack Obama says the UN bid is an unrealistic shortcut that will not produce real and lasting peace on the ground between the two sides. (UN debates Palestine Statehood Bid, AJE, 26 Sep 2011)*

AJE: *A staunch Israeli ally, the US is one of the five veto-wielding permanent members of the Security Council, and the White House has repeatedly said Obama will use that power (UN debates Palestine Statehood Bid, AJE, 26 Sep 2011).*

AJE: *Although a vote on the historic bid is not expected for weeks or even months, the US has already threatened to veto the move. (UN debates Palestine Statehood Bid, AJE, 26 Sep 2011).*

The voice of the U.S. President is included indirectly in CNN's article which stresses that the Palestinian and Israeli must get involve. However, the writer wants to confirm that the biggest country of the world is standing side by side with Israel. On the other hand, in AJE, the writer gives bad impression of the United States. AJE reported indirectly the voice of the USA that threatens the Palestinians of a veto "although a vote on the historic bid is not expected for weeks or even months, the use has threatened to veto move". It is clear that the United States stands with Israel. President Obama stresses that the Palestinian move would not serve the interest of both parties, Palestinians and Israeli. It gives obviously a different image of the one given by

that indirect report about Obama in CNN's article favours the Israel. CNN's article reports the voice of Obama who oppose the Palestinian statehood bid because it may lead to the creation of instability in the Israeli security. This gives also a stereotype that CNN is not neutral in the news coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It is also interesting to see AJE's article which gives an image that the United States claims that the world must look democracy and calling for the right of people to self determination is standing as a stumbling block for the Palestinians.

But what is striking here is that the writer gives an impossible hope for Palestinian to achieve what they want. The writer includes directly the voice of the spokesperson of Hamas, who describes that the steps undertaken by the Authority cannot give the Palestinians what they want.

CNN: Hamas, the dominant of two Palestinian political groups, has maintained that neither a U.N. application nor direct negotiations with Israel would provide the Palestinian people "with what they're looking for."(*U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26,2011*)

CNN: "Abbas' emotional speech succeeded in moving people's feelings, but his description of Palestinian suffering is different from reality,". (*U.N Security Council to send Palestinian Statehood bid to admission committee, CNN, Sep 26, 2011*).

However, the writer does not clearly show the meaning. Therefore, we notice that the absence of a critical vision in the readers leads them to understand that the Palestinian statehood bid is opposed from the overwhelming majority of Palestinians, especially when it is mentioned that Hamas controls the two political parties. In fact Hamas stated that, as "*Abbas' emotional speech succeeded in moving people's feelings, but his description of Palestinian suffering is different from reality.*". Hamas voice is included in the CNN while excluded in the AJE for ideological reasons. Where AJE believes that it excludes Hamas's voice as Hamas claims that statehood bid does not help Palestinian and that in turns go against the ideology of Aljazeera that the

Palestinian statehood bid is a big issue for Palestinians. On the other hand, CNN excludes Hamas for the reason that to show that the majority of the Palestinians oppose the idea of a Palestinian independent state. At the same time CNN's writer tries to confirm the image that the majority of Palestinians oppose the Palestinian Authority dialogue's with Israel. It reflects therefore that a large number of Palestinians do not support to have peace with the Israelis. It therefore the writer turns back by including the voices of others to confirm the same stereotype images that the Palestinians refuse to negotiate and always oppose to the peace process with Israel.

### **Summary**

This chapter presented and analyzed the findings of the study. The first part of the analysis focused on the occurrence of intertextuality in the news discourse of CNN and AJE more specifically, on the use of direct, indirect speeches and scare quotes in the news text. Prior to the analysis of the voices in the news text through intertextuality, background information on the occurrence of direct speech, indirect speech and scare quotes in the news text was provided to foreground the use of intertextuality. The second part of the analysis focused on the analysis of various voices in the news articles.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **CONCLUSION**

The present study used Fairclough's (1995) Three Dimensional framework to explore and investigate the use and function of intertextuality in the news articles that cover issues related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by international news Websites, namely AJE and CNN. By adopting the analytic method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the present study reveals how AJE and CNN discursively construct intertextuality in the news articles on the Palestinian Israeli-conflict. It helps to explore the relationship between language, ideology and power in the news articles of the News Website of AJE and CNN. The study shows how news producers (writers) in the news Websites of AJE and CNN correspond to their own interpretations and views through the use of intertextuality in presenting the news that covers issues on the Palestinians-Israeli conflict.

In the analysis of intertextuality, the study focused on the voices that are incorporated in the news articles of AJE and CNN. The analysis demonstrates that the producers of the news article in AJE and CNN have included and excluded the voices of others in the news articles to suit their own ideological purpose with the intention of giving biased interpretations of the real events and facts. Throughout the analysis of the articles, the reported speech is the most universal form of intertextuality that allows the producers of the news articles to retell what others have said in different ways by using different ways of reporting the voices, either using the indirect or direct speech or 'scare quotes'.

Through the analysis of the reported voice in the sixth articles, CNN tries to give an image of the Israeli as the victims. In that way, the international community

oppresses Israel by issuing reports and making decisions that condemns Israel. CNN gives an image that Israel has the right to exercise its self-defence by including a large number of Israeli voices to justify the acts of Israel against Palestinians. On the other hand, AJE portrays an image of Palestinians as oppressed and the real victims who live under a harsh Israeli occupation. Images of injustice imposed on the Palestinians frequently demonstrated by AJE in the news articles. Unlike CNN, AJE insists on the rights of the Palestinians and the right of self-defence. AJE tries to legitimize the Palestinian struggle, while CNN depicts it as an image of terrorism.

In the same context, CNN depicts the Palestinian officials as hesitant and weak. This happens by including the contradictory voice of the Palestinian officials whose voices clearly reported in CNN shows an image of the Palestinians as hesitant in terms of condemning Israel. For example, in CNN's article on Goldstone's report, the reported voice of the Palestinian Authority implies that the Palestinians approve the Goldstone's report which accuses the Israeli of war crimes against humanity. The voice reported the Palestinians requesting a fast voting in the United Nations. Then later, the voice reported indirectly that Palestinian rejects and asks for delaying the voting on the report. The Palestinian requested again for a fast voting under domestic pressures. The direct and indirect reporting of the Palestinians implies that CNN tries to give an image that Palestinians themselves distanced from condemning Israel, and that gives an image that the report issued by the United Nations that condemns and criminalizes Israel is not credible.

AJE always tries to portray the Israelis as criminals and that the Palestinians are the victims of the "Israeli occupation forces". In similar article, AJE favours the right of Palestinians. AJE gives a clear image that Israelis blocking the way in front of any attempts to achieve peace between the Palestinians and the Israeli. This is clearly shown through the inclusion of the voice of the international community that condemns

Israelis actions against the Palestinians. On the other hand, CNN tries to blame and condemns the Palestinians through the inclusion of the voices which condemns the Palestinians. CNN puts the blame on the Palestinian for the failure of the negotiation and the peace process by including the voice of the Israeli officials, Israeli government, IDF, Israeli alliances and the US government, and demonstrates that include the voices which condemns Palestinians and excludes the voices which puts blame on Israel.

The study demonstrates that CNN to include a large number of Israeli voices which do not give the same space to the voice of the Palestinians. For example, CNN does not include the voice of Hamas fearing that this would give it international political legitimacy. On the other hand, AJE includes the Palestinian voice more than the Israeli voice, especially the inclusion of the voice of Hamas to give Hamas legitimacy, taking into consideration that Hamas is a dominant Palestinian political party.

This study shows the types of reporting (direct, indirect and scare quotes) used in AJE and CNN's news article which play a dynamic and important role in drafting the news articles. For instance, the indirect reporting obviously give a free space for the producers of the news articles to elude from direct reporting of the voice or speech of others by separating their own voices from the reported ones. The news writers in AJE and CNN tend to use indirect reporting of other voices to suit their ideas and their aspired objectives that found loaded ideological bias.

The current study found that there is link between the way the writers of AJE and CNN report the speeches or voices of others in the news articles and their ideological objectives that show the relation between language, ideology and power in the new articles of AJE and CNN.

This study shows that Critical Discourse Analysis is a useful tool to explore how ideologies are linked to language in the news articles of AJE and CNN, taking into assumption that language has a central position in the ideological and power process.

*“Saying that ideologies are representations which can be shown to contribute to social relations of power and domination, I am suggesting that textual analysis needs to be framed in this respect in social analysis which can consider bodies of texts in terms of their effects on power relations”, (Fairclough, 2003,P.10)*

This study shows the effectiveness of intertextuality in the news articles of AJE and CNN in reproducing certain political ideologies. The study shows the employment of intertextuality in the news articles is effective in the process of reproducing the underlying ideologies and power of AJE and CNN news articles.

The study demonstrates that there is a relationship between the state political, cultural and economical ideologies and the media coverage. As a result, the findings of the study show that the media is a tool in the hands of the politicians and power gatekeepers of the states. Therefore, it may be difficult to a neutral media institution in our present time.

The reported voices are used as tool in the news articles and play an important role in the news to provoke reader’s emotions. Consequently, editors and news writers always try to ensure that the voices in the news text reflect the thoughts, opinions, feelings and position of people about the issues that are summed up in the news articles. Such reported or quoted feelings and opinions are believed to be manipulated by the news writers and editors in order serve the underlying ideologies of the media institutions.

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## APPENDIX A

### Sample of the News Articles Analysis

#### U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report

##### CNN, October 16, 2009

The United Nations Council for Human Rights approved a controversial report Friday which accuses Israel and Hamas of "actions amounting to war crimes, possibly crimes against humanity" during the December-January war in Gaza.

The report, based on a fact-finding mission led by former South African jurist Richard Goldstone, calls for both parties to independently investigate the alleged human rights violations cited in the report.

Friday's vote at the meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, was 25-6, with 11 abstentions.

The hostilities began December 27, 2008, when Israel launched an offensive against Gaza militants for their ongoing firing of rockets against southern Israeli towns. The fighting ended January 18.

The council plans to forward the endorsed report to the U.N. General Assembly for its consideration. The report asks the U.N. Security Council to monitor the probes. If that group decides the investigations have not been done satisfactorily within six months, the report recommends that they refer the issue to the International Criminal Court in The Hague.

Israel rejected the resolution, calling it "one-sided," and noted there were fewer favorable votes Friday than when the council voted to set up the Goldstone mission.

"Israel expresses its gratitude to those states which supported its position, and to those which, through their vote, expressed their opposition to this unjust Resolution which ignores the murderous attacks perpetrated by the Hamas and other terrorist organizations against Israeli civilians," the Israeli government said in a written statement.

"The Resolution also ignores the unprecedented precautions taken by Israeli forces in order to avoid harming civilians, as well as the cynical exploitation of civilians as human shields by the terrorist groups.

"The adoption of this resolution by the UNHRC impairs both the effort to protect human rights in accordance with international law, and the effort to promote peace in Middle East. This resolution provides encouragement for terrorist organizations worldwide and undermines global peace.

"Israel will continue to exercise its right to self-defense, and take action to protect the lives of its citizens."

The Palestinian Authority government of Mahmoud Abbas supported the report. That government does not rule Gaza, which is controlled by Hamas.

"The most important thing now is the followup," said Saeb Erakat, chief Palestinian negotiator.

"The followup here is that we want to ensure the non reoccurrence of the massacre against the Palestinian people. We have the right to defend ourselves as Palestinians and we are defending ourselves through the international law."

Voting against the report, which was released last month, were the United States, Italy, Holland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Ukraine.

Douglas M. Griffiths, the U.S. representative to the council, said the United States wants to "express our disappointment at the outcome of this resolution."

France made a last-minute attempt to delay the vote for three hours so it could try to change the minds of supporters, but they were only given a half hour after Egypt objected to such a long delay.

Among those voting for the report were China, Russia, Egypt, India, Jordan, Pakistan, South Africa and Argentina.

"This is a major step forward for upholding the very ethics of humanity and human values," said council member Sabri Saidam, adviser to Abbas. "And a great message for the victims."

"Those that carried out the crimes thought that they can escape punishment. This is also a clear manifestation of the Palestinian people's determination to bring justice to those who have suffered from Israeli aggression. This is a a moral step of the highest moral value."

Ibrahim Khraishi, the Palestinian Authority's U.N. ambassador in Geneva, warned, "Our people will never forgive the international community if they leave criminals or perpetrators of crime to enjoy impunity outside the scope of justice."

In a speech before the vote, Israeli Ambassador Aharon Leshno said, "Do you support the importance of the promotion of peace between Israel and Palestinians? If you do ... you must reject today's proposal."

The Human Rights Council received the report September 29, but took no action, after a request by the Palestinian Authority to defer discussion for six months.

Abbas came under withering domestic criticism for the move and was accused of succumbing to Israeli and American pressure to drop the issue.

Abbas reversed course this past week and, in a televised address, told Palestinians that he was seeking immediate debate within the council and vowed to work "to punish everyone who was responsible for the hideous crimes committed against our children, our men and women -- especially in our dear Gaza."

Khraishi said Israel had rebuffed the Palestinian Authority's conciliatory move to defer debate on the report and instead answered "with even more grave violations of the rights of Palestinians" in the form of restrictions of movement and housing demolitions in east Jerusalem.

The Goldstone report goes beyond the Gaza conflict.

It "strongly condemns" measures taken by Israel limiting Palestinian access to their properties and holy sites "on the basis of national origin, religion, sex, age or any other discriminatory ground."

It further condemns "Israeli violations of human rights in Occupied East Jerusalem, particularly the confiscation of lands and properties, the demolishing of houses and private properties, the construction and expansion of settlements, the continuous construction of the separation wall, changing the demographic and geographic character of East Jerusalem, the restrictions on the freedom of movement of the Palestinian citizens of East Jerusalem, as well as the continuous digging and excavation works in and around Al-Aqsa mosque and its vicinity."

There is an ongoing dispute about the number of people killed in the military offensive that Israel called Operation Cast Lead.

The Gaza-based Palestinian Center for Human Rights put the death toll at 1,419 and said 1,167 of those were "non-combatants." The Israeli military released its own figures earlier this year, saying that 1,166 people were killed, 60 percent of whom were "terror operatives."

## UN backs Gaza war crimes report

**Aljazeera English: 16 Oct 2009 23:34 GMT**

The UN human rights council has endorsed the Goldstone report on Israel's war on Gaza, which accuses the military of using disproportionate force as well as laying charges of war crimes on Israeli occupation forces and Hamas.

The council's resolution adopting the report was passed in Geneva by 25 votes to six with 11 countries abstaining and five declining to vote.

The inquiry, lead by Justice Richard Goldstone, calls on Ban Ki-moon, the UN secretary-general, to monitor whether Israel and Hamas conduct credible investigations into the conflict which took place last winter.

Should the two sides fail to do so, it calls on the UN Security Council to refer the allegations to the International Criminal Court.

### **Hamas 'thankful'**

The Palestinian Authority had initially agreed to defer a vote on the UN-sanctioned report, but later backtracked under domestic criticism.

The United States and Israel were among those countries which voted against the resolution.

Mike Hanna, Al Jazeera's correspondent in Geneva, said the vote was a "very strong victory" for the supporters of the resolution, but that the large number of abstentions was also "very significant".

Mousa Abu Marzook, the deputy chairman of the Hamas political bureau in Damascus, Syria, told Al Jazeera: "We thank our people, all those who support to submit again this report to the human rights committee and all the countries who voted for the report.

"I think if the Palestinian Authority didn't withdraw this report it will be more efficient and the result will be stronger than the resolution.

"We will co-operate with this report and we will establish a new committee to investigate.

"Right now, there is no talking with Fatah, but during the dialogue between Fatah and Hamas in Egypt, within a few weeks, we are going to talk about reconciliation and, of course, this kind of subject we are going to talk about."

### **Israel condemned**

In addition to endorsing the report, the resolution "strongly condemns all policies and measures taken by Israel, the occupying power, including those limiting access of Palestinians to their properties and holy sites".

It also calls on Israel to stop digging and excavation work around the al-Aqsa mosque in occupied East Jerusalem as well as other Islamic and Christian religious sites.

Israel rejected the charges saying the resolution – drafted by the Palestinians with Egypt, Nigeria, Pakistan and Tunisia, on behalf of non-aligned, African, Islamic and Arab nations – threatened peace efforts.

A statement from the Israeli foreign ministry said: "The adoption of this resolution by the UNHRC impairs both the effort to protect human rights in accordance with international law and the effort to promote peace in Middle East".

Sherine Tadros, Al Jazeera's correspondent in Jerusalem, said: "Israeli officials we spoke to said that in their opinion most of those states that voted in favour of the resolution did so, not out of conviction, but really for their own domestic reasons - to cover up their own human rights violations.

"Whereas democratic states didn't favor the resolution, either they didn't vote or they abstained or they voted no.

"This has really been Israel's line of defence from the beginning of this process - to try to discredit the Goldstone mission and the resolution by discrediting the human rights council itself.

"By saying that its members have always been overwhelmingly biased against Israel and really trying to land Israel in hot water whatever motion was in front of them."

Phyllis Bennis, a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington DC, said the endorsement of the report "means a great deal".

"It means that the United States is back as the appropriate centrepiece for dealing with what may be war crimes or even crimes against humanity that were committed during the three-week Israeli war on Gaza earlier this year," Bennis told Al Jazeera.

"It's a very important move. It shows unfortunately just how far out of step the Obama administration is with the rest of the world in wanting a consistent voice on human rights."

The Goldstone report recommended that its conclusions be sent on to the International Criminal Court (ICC) prosecutor in The Hague if Israel and Hamas do not hold their own credible investigations into allegations of war crimes within six months.

The report accused Israel of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

It also accused the Hamas movement, which has de facto control of Gaza, of war crime violations, but reserved most of its criticism for Israel.

Amr Hamzawy, a political scientist, told Al Jazeera: "The [endorsement] is a very positive step and indeed a victory for Palestinian-Arab diplomacy after the misery of the last two weeks.

"It definitely eats away at Israel's moral legitimacy which existed to an extent before the Lebanon and Gaza war.

"Israel is under extreme legal pressure internationally and morally, and they really have to account for what [happened] in Gaza during the war."

On Thursday, Navi Pillay, the UN human rights chief, endorsed the report, calling for "impartial, independent, prompt and effective investigations" into the alleged war crimes.

Pillay said: "A culture of impunity continues to prevail in the occupied territories and in Israel."

She cited concern about the restrictions on Palestinians wishing to enter al-Aqsa and expressed "dismay" about the Israeli blockade of Gaza that she said "severely undermines the rights and welfare of the population there".

On Thursday, Goldstone, a former South African judge, criticized the resolution, saying: "I hope that the council can modify the text."

About 1,400 Palestinians – the majority of them civilians - and 13 Israelis were killed during Israel's three-week war on Gaza, which had the stated aim of stopping rocket attacks by Palestinian fighters from the coastal territory.

## **Israeli assault on Gaza-bound flotilla leaves at least 9 dead**

**CNN: May 31, 2010**

Israel's attack Monday on a boat traveling in international waters and carrying humanitarian supplies for Gaza killed at least nine people and sparked a series of recriminations around the world.

Riyad Mansour, Palestinian ambassador to the United Nations, condemned the attack and called for an independent investigation "to know who gave the orders from the Israeli side to open fire against civilians and to bring those people to face justice."

But Israeli officials described the boat's passengers as the aggressors and said the soldiers from the Israel Defense Forces were simply defending themselves.

"They are not peace activists. They were not messengers of goodwill," Daniel Carmon, Israel's deputy ambassador to the United Nations, told reporters in New York. "They cynically used the guise of humanitarian aid to send a message of hate and to implement violence."

Independent information was scant. The death toll and the account of what happened came from the Israelis, who did not release the names of any of the casualties. "Free Gaza," one of the group's sponsors, said there were more casualties from the incident, though it didn't have an exact number.

The surviving passengers were being held incommunicado by the Israelis, who detained them after escorting the six boats that had participated in the flotilla to the Israeli port city of Ashdod.

### **Q&A on Israel's Gaza blockade**

Three sailors who took part in the flotilla said Israeli troops stormed the Mavi Marmara, the largest ship, well into international waters.

"The commandos were coming down from the helicopter. No one on the ships had any weapons," one of the sailors told CNN Turk after being flown back to Istanbul.

The Free Gaza organization, one of the organizers of the protest, posted on its Twitter page that the incident unfolded about 4:30 a.m., when Israeli commandos boarded the Mavi Marmara by helicopter. The troops "immediately opened fire on unarmed civilians," the group said.

Video from the Israeli military showed soldiers rappelling onto the deck of the ship from a helicopter. The boarding of the ships took place in international waters more than 70 nautical miles (130 km) outside Israeli territorial waters, according to IHH, a humanitarian relief foundation and a sponsor of the flotilla. IHH is affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, a hard-line Islamic political movement.

But the Israel Defense Forces said its troops "were met with premeditated violence, evident by the activists' use of clubs, metal rods, and knives, as well as the firing of two weapons stolen from the soldiers." It said troops responded with "defensive action on behalf of the forces who felt their lives were endangered," and seven were wounded.

The IDF released a video shot from above the ship that it said showed soldiers being attacked, though the distance from which it was shot precluded immediate confirmation. A senior Israeli military official, speaking on condition of anonymity in an account cleared by military censors, displayed a box containing switchblade knives, slingshots and metal balls and bats he said had been confiscated from one of the boats.

"This was not spontaneous," he said. "This was planned."

Jonathan Peled, minister-counselor for the Israeli Embassy in Washington, said the soldiers were carrying paintball pistols when they boarded the flotilla, but switched to bullets when a naval commander was stabbed and others were attacked with knives and metal bars.

Most of the dead were Turks, the Israeli senior military official said. Twenty other people were wounded.

As many as nine Americans may have been aboard the boats, including Edward Peck, a former U.S. ambassador to Mauritania, according to Jonathan Slevin, a spokesman for the activist group Free Palestine Movement.

One American who was being treated for minor injuries after the attack, a senior State Department official said late Monday.

Israeli forces boarded the other ships in the flotilla without incident. The Turkish sailors said they were continuously shadowed by commandos aboard their own vessel, "even when we needed to go to bathroom," one said.

The flotilla had left European ports in a protest organized by two pro-Palestinian groups to deliver 10,000 tons of food, medicine, construction materials, wheelchairs and other aid to Gaza to break a blockade imposed by Israel in 2007.

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Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who canceled his trip to Washington to return to Israel to manage the crisis, said Gaza has become a base for Hamas terrorists who have fired "thousands of rockets" into Israel.

"What we want to prevent coming into Gaza are rockets, missiles, explosives and war material that could be used to attack our civilians," he told reporters in Ottawa, Canada, with his Canadian counterpart.

The attack sparked protests in several countries; caused a diplomatic row between Israel and Turkey, its closest Muslim ally; and brought condemnation worldwide. A number of nations recalled their ambassadors from Israel, while others called for a full investigation.

The Palestinian Authority said in a statement its cabinet "strongly condemned the Israeli crime against international supporters on board of the Freedom Flotilla."

Turkey, Israel's closest Muslim ally in the region, recalled its ambassador, while Deputy Prime Minister Bulent Arinc said the operation "will leave a bloody stain on the history of humanity."

Israel said Sunday that Western and Turkish authorities have accused IHH of having "working relations" with terrorist organizations.

Of the hundreds of activists who were detained aboard the ships after they were escorted to the Israeli port of Ashdod, 15 were sent to Beer Sheva Prison, according to a spokesman for the Israeli prison authority. Another 25 were slated for deportation and 50 others who refused to identify themselves were being held separately.

None was allowed to speak to the news media.

A team from the Turkish Red Crescent will fly Tuesday to Tel Aviv to help coordinate the return of the dead and wounded, the organization said in a statement.

Israel issued a "serious travel warning" for Israelis visiting Turkey. Those planning to travel to Turkey were asked to postpone their trips, while those already in Turkey were advised to stay indoors. A Turkish travel agent said more than 15,000 Israelis had canceled plans to visit Turkey.

In Gaza, Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri called for global support of the Palestinian cause. Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas called for three days of mourning in the Palestinian territories to honor the lives lost.

"We have consistently advised against attempting to access Gaza in this way, because of the risks involved," said British Foreign Secretary William Hague. "But at the same time, there is a clear need for Israel to act with restraint and in line with international obligations."

In Washington, White House spokesman Bill Burton said, "The United States deeply regrets the loss of life and injuries sustained and is currently working to understand the circumstances surrounding this tragedy."

Israel instituted a blockade on Gaza in January 2006, when Hamas won democratic elections in the Palestinian territories. It tightened that blockade in June 2007, when Hamas took over Gaza, but allows about 15,000 tons of humanitarian aid into the territories each week, Israeli government spokesman Mark Regev said.

Since then, Israel has controlled entry of all manner of goods into Gaza, including instant coffee, chocolate and construction materials. Israel has said the latter could be used by Hamas to build bunkers.

Since the summer of 2008, five flotillas have gotten through the blockade to deliver humanitarian goods to Gaza. Monday's flotilla was the largest such mission.

## Israel attacks Gaza aid fleet

**Aljazeera English:31 May 2010 14:18 GMT**

Israeli forces have attacked a flotilla of aid-carrying ships aiming to break the country's siege on Gaza.

At least 19 people were killed and dozens injured when troops intercepted the convoy of ships dubbed the Freedom Flotilla early on Monday, Israeli radio reported.

The flotilla was attacked in international waters, 65km off the Gaza coast.

Avital Leibovich, an Israeli military spokeswoman, confirmed that the attack took place in international waters, saying: "This happened in waters outside of Israeli territory, but we have the right to defend ourselves."

Footage from the flotilla's lead vessel, the *Mavi Marmara*, showed armed Israeli soldiers boarding the ship and helicopters flying overhead.

Al Jazeera's Jamal Elshayyal, on board the *Mavi Marmara*, said Israeli troops had used live ammunition during the operation.

The Israeli military said four soldiers had been wounded and claimed troops opened fire after "demonstrators onboard attacked the IDF Naval personnel with live fire and light weaponry including knives and clubs".

Free Gaza Movement, the organizers of the flotilla, however, said the troops opened fire as soon as they stormed the convoy.

Our correspondent said that a white surrender flag was raised from the ship and there was no live fire coming from the passengers.

Before losing communication with our correspondent, a voice in Hebrew was clearly heard saying: "Everyone shut up".

### **Israeli intervention**

Earlier, the Israeli navy had contacted the captain of the *Mavi Marmara*, asking him to identify himself and say where the ship was headed.

Shortly after, two Israeli naval vessels had flanked the flotilla on either side, but at a distance.

Organisers of the flotilla carrying 10,000 tonnes of humanitarian aid then diverted their ships and slowed down to avoid a confrontation during the night.

They also issued all passengers life jackets and asked them to remain below deck.

Al Jazeera's Ayman Mohyeldin, reporting from Jerusalem, said the Israeli action was surprising.

"All the images being shown from the activists on board those ships show clearly that they were civilians and peaceful in nature, with medical supplies on board. So it will

surprise many in the international community to learn what could have possibly led to this type of confrontation," he said.

Meanwhile, Israeli police have been put on a heightened state of alert across the country to prevent any civil disturbances.

Sheikh **Raed Salah**, a leading member of the Islamic Movement who was on board the ship, was reported to have been seriously injured. He was being treated in Israel's Tal Hasharon hospital.

In Um Al Faham, the stronghold of the Islamic movement in Israel and the birth place of Salah, preparations for mass demonstrations were under way.

## **Protests**

Condemnation has been quick to pour in after the Israeli action.

Mahmoud Abbas, the Palestinian president, officially declared a three-day state of mourning over Monday's deaths.

Turkey, Spain, Greece, Denmark and Sweden have all summoned the Israeli ambassador's in their respective countries to protest against the deadly assault.

Thousands of Turkish protesters tried to storm the Israeli consulate in Istanbul soon after the news of the operation broke. The protesters shouted "Damn Israel" as police blocked them.

"(The interception on the convoy) is unacceptable ... Israel will have to endure the consequences of this behavior," the Turkish foreign ministry said in a statement.

Ismail Haniya, the Hamas leader in Gaza, has also dubbed the Israeli action as "barbaric".

Hundreds of pro-Palestinian activists, including a Nobel laureate and several European legislators, were with the flotilla, aiming to reach Gaza in defiance of an Israeli embargo.

The convoy came from the UK, Ireland, Algeria, Kuwait, Greece and Turkey, and was comprised of about 700 people from 50 nationalities.

But Israel had said it would not allow the flotilla to reach the Gaza Strip and vowed to stop the six ships from reaching the coastal Palestinian territory.

The flotilla had set sail from a port in Cyprus on Sunday and aimed to reach Gaza by Monday morning.

Israel said the boats were embarking on "an act of provocation" against the Israeli military, rather than providing aid, and that it had issued warrants to prohibit their entrance to Gaza.

It asserted that the flotilla would be breaking international law by landing in Gaza, a claim the organizers rejected.

## **U.N. Security Council to send Palestinian state bid to admissions committee**

**CNN: September 26, 2011**

**United Nations (CNN)** -- The U.N. Security Council met Monday to consider the Palestinians' bid for full membership in the world body and decided to meet again Wednesday morning, when they will send the matter to the admissions committee, said Security Council President Nawaf Salam of Lebanon.

Salam said the decision was made to take the matter to the committee as required by Article 59 of the United Nations' rules of procedure. "So, we have to wait until Wednesday morning," he said outside the Security Council.

Though the debate is expected to be largely symbolic in the face of a promised American veto, the permanent observer of the Palestinian Authority to the United Nations, Riyad Mansour, held out hope prior to Monday's Security Council meeting that the bid would be accepted.

"We hope that the Security Council will shoulder its responsibility and address this application with a positive attitude, especially since we have 139 countries that have recognized the state of Palestine so far, meaning more than two-thirds majority," he said. "We are ready to govern ourselves."

Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas made the bid for the United Nations to recognize an independent state of Palestine on Friday, a move Israel says is premature without direct talks that address its longstanding security concerns.

Abbas drew applause when the Palestinian leader raised the document at the podium during his speech at the 66th annual session of the General Assembly.

The time has come for a "Palestinian Spring" to join the Arab Spring in reshaping the Middle East, he said. "My people desire to exercise their right to enjoy a normal life like the rest of humanity."

But Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, later taking his turn to address the General Assembly, said Palestinians are looking for a "state without peace," ignoring security concerns important to Israel.

He said Palestinians are armed not only with their "hopes and dreams," a phrase Abbas had used in his speech, but with "10,000 missiles, and Grad rockets supplied by Iran, not to mention the river of lethal weapons flowing into Gaza."

"Palestinians should first make peace with Israel and then get their state," he said, adding that peace must arrive through a two-state solution that recognizes Israel as a Jewish state.

If that occurs, Israel "will be the first" to recognize Palestinian statehood, the prime minister said.

Abbas' move prompted a call from the Middle East "Quartet" for new peace talks intended to come up with a breakthrough by the end of next year.

Representatives from the United Nations, the United States, Russia and the European Union discussed the request Friday and issued a statement saying the bid is before the U.N. Security Council.

The group called for a "preparatory meeting" to take place within one month to outline how peace might be negotiated. Each side would then be tasked with producing a comprehensive proposal on territory and security issues within three months and "to have made substantial progress with six months," the statement said.

Abbas' speech provoked cheers and chants from flag-waving Palestinians who watched the address on a big-screen television in a square in Ramallah, the West Bank.

His speech was closely watched across the Middle East. The hundreds who gathered in Ramallah greeted the news that he had formally filed the request with cheers, song and dance.

Demonstrations took place Friday in New York and in cities across the Middle East as demonstrators waved Palestinian flags and chanted slogans in shows of solidarity.

On Friday, a Palestinian was killed and 17 were wounded in clashes with Israeli settlers and Israeli forces in the village of Qusra, Palestinian officials reported. The Israel Defense Forces said they had gone to the village after receiving a report that settlers and Palestinians were hurling stones at each other; when they arrived, about 300 Palestinians began attacking the IDF soldiers, who responded with riot-control methods and live fire. The IDF said it was investigating the incident.

Also Friday, an Israeli man and his year-old son were killed when their car drove off the road near the settlement of Kiryat Arba. The Israeli police and IDF initially treated the incident as a routine road accident, but an examination of the body has led them to reassess that view.

"We confirmed he had been injured as a result of being struck in the head, which probably caused him to lose control of the car; this indicates to us the strong possibility that he was struck by Palestinian stone throwers in an act of terrorism," police spokesman Micky Rosenfeld said.

The Palestinian Authority's Ministry of State, which records violent acts by settlers against Palestinians, said the number of violent incidents rose between September 18 and 24. The ministry cited an incident in Qusra, where olive trees were set afire and stones thrown at cars carrying Palestinians.

U.S. President Barack Obama has said he supports Palestinian statehood but reiterated a longstanding U.S. position that Israel must be part of the discussions.

While a U.S. veto would block the bid for full U.N. membership, the General Assembly could still vote to upgrade the status of Palestinians, who currently hold the status of non-voting observer "entity."

The body could change that status to permanent observer "state," identical to the Vatican's standing at the United Nations.

Hamas, the dominant of two Palestinian political groups, has maintained that neither a U.N. application nor direct negotiations with Israel would provide the Palestinian people "with what they're looking for."

"Abbas' emotional speech succeeded in moving people's feelings, but his description of Palestinian suffering is different from reality," said Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri.

Hamas controls Gaza, while Abbas' Fatah organization holds the West Bank.

## **UN debates Palestine statehood bid**

**Aljazeera English: 26 Sep 2011 16:26**

The UN Security Council has begun closed-door negotiations on the Palestinian bid for UN membership as major powers step up pressure for direct Palestinian-Israeli talks.

Although a vote on the historic bid is not expected for weeks or even months, the US has already threatened to veto the move.

US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton met early on Monday with Najib Mikati, prime minister of Lebanon, which currently holds the rotating chair of the Security Council and has backed the Palestinian bid.

A staunch Israeli ally, the US is one of the five veto-wielding permanent members of the Security Council, and the White House has repeatedly said Obama will use that power.

Ahead of Monday's meeting, experts from the 15-member nations started contacts on how the bid will be dealt with, diplomats said. The council must refer the application to a special committee which will make a recommendation.

"It won't be until Wednesday - once the committee has been formed - that the actual request will be handed over," Al Jazeera's Kristen Saloomey, reporting from UN, said.

"The process will likely move slowly, but for now, intense diplomacy continues behind the scenes here."

To pass, the Palestinians need the support of at least nine member nations, which diplomats say will be a struggle.

Six have already thrown their weight behind the bid, seven have not revealed their decision, while Colombia says it will abstain.

Our correspondent said Riyadh Al-Maliki, the Palestinian foreign minister, is confident that the bid has already won over nine council votes.

And the Palestinian envoy to the UN, Riyad Mansour, told reporters that 131 countries now recognise a Palestinian state, having added two in the past week.

US President Barack Obama says the UN bid is an unrealistic shortcut that will not produce real and lasting peace on the ground between the two sides.

### **Abbas popularity**

But Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas, riding a wave of popular support unseen in the West Bank since the late Yasser Arafat, is ruling out new talks without a "complete halt" to Israeli settlement building.

Abbas made history in his people's long quest for statehood as he formally asked the United Nations on Friday to admit Palestine as a full member state, handing over a

formal application to UN chief Ban Ki-moon.

He was hailed as a conquering hero when he returned to his West Bank headquarters in Ramallah on Sunday.

Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu told NBC's "Meet the Press" programme on Sunday that his advice for Abbas was: "If you want to get to peace, put all your preconditions to the side".

The Quartet - comprising the UN, US, EU and Russia - has been urgently trying to get both sides back to the negotiating table, calling for talks to start within a month, proposals from both sides in three months, major progress in six months and a final deal by the end of 2012.

Tony Blair, the Middle East envoy and former British prime minister, said the precise timings would "give everybody a chance to test the sincerity of the parties".

The Palestinians, who pulled out of the last direct talks in September 2010 after a settlement moratorium was lifted, argue that Israel has already annexed Jerusalem and has been stealing land for the past 20 years.

"We've been negotiating ad nauseum with a process that had no relationship to reality. That's the problem," Hanan Ashrawi, a senior Palestinian negotiator, told ABC's "This Week" programme.

### **'Independent Palestinian state'**

Since it occupied the West Bank in 1967, Israel has built more than 130 settlements across the territory, which are home to more than 300,000 residents.

Another 200,000 Israelis live in settlement neighbourhoods in occupied east Jerusalem.

Interior ministry figures show the vast majority of West Bank settlers live in eight large settlements which Israel wants to annex in any final peace agreement with the Palestinians.

Israel formally considers both sectors of Jerusalem to be its "eternal, indivisible" capital and does not view construction in the east to be settlement activity.

The Palestinians, however, believe east Jerusalem should be the capital of their future state and are fiercely opposed to the extension of Israeli control over the sector.

Abbas told jubilant crowds Sunday he had conveyed their dreams of statehood to the international community with his address to the UN General Assembly and formal submission of the membership bid.

"We went to the United Nations carrying your hopes, your dreams, your ambitions, your suffering, your vision and your need for an independent Palestinian state," he said.