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THE LANGUAGE OF OCCUPATION IN PALESTINE

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*The Arab-Israeli conflict makes smart people dumb, sensitive people brutal,
and open minded people pigheaded fanatics. (Ron David, 1993)*
Arabs, undisciplined people, dogs, go back dogs. (Fadwa Tuqan, 1968)

Abstract:

The analysis of political discourse under occupation reflects the spirit of new orientalism in the Middle East. The objective of orientalism is to create two contrastive pictures of two types of people , a powerful brilliant and civilized nation hungry for control and sovereignty against a powerless uncivilized nation whose aspiration does not go beyond struggle by all means for survival including terrorism and obsequiousness. This is the case of the Israeli occupation in Palestine. The realization of power through language is evident in the quotes of hate speech of the Israelis. The aspects of hate speech project the ideology of occupation. Such aspects will be analyzed to explore the linguistic features of such language. In analyzing the linguistic means to spread hatred in the interest of power, speech acts by the authorities in power (statement, question, command, promise, threat, etc.) are important, because they enforce their interests. Some speech acts are associated with special supporting conventions that enforce one's power and serve one's interests such as insult and slander, condemnation, and so forth (Brekle, 1989). It has been noticed that such speech conventions of insults and slander are abundant in the Israeli quotes. Applying Grice's maxims to Israeli quotes, it is found that, by motivation of power, such quotes meet, to a large extent, clarity, brevity, relation and truthfulness; however, the quotes of Palestinians, motivated by lack of power, barely meet Grice's maxims. The main arguments in the Israeli ideology are supported by prejudice keywords supporting the main arguments like use of imagery and metaphor in particular, i.e., images of hated creatures, killing, arrogance, deception and lies. The focus here

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is on: 1- the Israeli discursive position as power; 2- discursive position of the Palestinians lacking power; and 3- the asymmetrical discursive relation between the Israelis and Palestinians.

المخلص:

إن تحليل النصوص السياسية في ظل الاحتلال يعكس صورة جديدة من الاستشراق. فحيث إن هدف الاستشراق هو خلق صورتين متناقضتين لشعبين مختلفين بحيث تكون إحداها صورة لشعب قوي وذكي ومتحضر يتوق إلى السيطرة والنفوذ مقارنة مع صورة شعب ضعيف وغير متحضر لا يتعدى طموحه محاولة البقاء عن طريق الإرهاب والخضوع. وهذه حال الاحتلال الإسرائيلي في فلسطين. فصورة القوة تنكشف بشكل واضح من خلال لغة الكراهية في تصريحات زعماء إسرائيل. وسمات لغة الكراهية تكشف أيديولوجية الاحتلال. وبتحليل سمات هذه اللغة سيتم معرفة ميزات اللغوية. وتحليل سمات لغة القوة لنشر الكراهية من أجل تحقيق مصلحة القوي فإن أفعال الكلام مثل التهديد والأمر والتصريح والوعد الخ... تستعمل لتحقيق هذه المصلحة. وكما يقول بريكلي سنة 1989 فإن أفعال الكلام المذكورة ترتبط بدعم مظاهر لغوية تقليدية مثل الإهانة والتحقير والإدانة. وتبين الدراسة أن مثل هذه المظاهر اللغوية تتواجد بكثرة في التصريحات الإسرائيلية. وبتطبيق مبادئ جرابيس في تحليل التصريحات الإسرائيلية يتبين أنها بدافع القوة تنسجم مع تلك المبادئ من حيث وضوح القول والاختصار والإيجاز والمصداقية التي تؤدي إلى عدم اللبس حول المعنى وتخلو من كل صفات التلطيف من أجل التخفيف من وقع الكلام أي لا يكون هناك أي نوع من التآدب في الحديث. وعلى العكس من ذلك فإن التصريحات الفلسطينية تخلو من هذه السمات تقريبا بدافع الضعف والخوف. وإن محاور الأيدولوجيا الإسرائيلية تعززها كلمات الكراهية والحقد من خلال التشبيهات والصور وبشكل خاص صور الحيوانات الكريهة والقتل والغرسة والخداع والكذب. وعليه فإن محاور البحث تتركز على: 1. موقف القوة الإسرائيلي من خلال النصوص، 2. موقف الضعف الفلسطيني من خلال النصوص، 3. عدم التوافق بين النصوص الإسرائيلية والفلسطينية.

Introduction:

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a tool to scrutinize language used in a specific context for serving a purpose such as war or peace (van Dijk, 2001). Among the objectives of CDA is to uncover inequality and injustice (Wodak, 1989). The object under investigation is language behavior in natural speech situations of social relevance (i.e., media and racism); all situations which are threatening or involve a power play be-

tween individuals are of interest. This paper will explore the language of occupation in Palestine and analyze how language in the media reflects power or weakness in the two sides of the conflict (van Dijk, 1994).

According to Sornig (1989), words can be used as instruments of power and deception, but it is never the words themselves that should be dubbed evil or poisonous. It is not reality that is altered by its deception, rather it is the interlocutor's outlook on reality. The realization of power through lan-

guage is evident in the quotes of hate speech of those in power. The aspects of hate speech project the ideology of occupation. Such aspects will be analyzed to explore the linguistic features of language. In analyzing the linguistic means to spread hatred in the interest of power, speech acts by the authorities in power (statements, questions, commands, promises, threats, etc.) are of interest. Some speech acts are associated with special supporting conventions that enforce one's power such as insult and slander, condemnation, and so forth (Brekle, 1989). The use of words—put together into appropriate texts and propagated through the media—is a powerful means of exerting influence in order to advance political causes.

Even if the subjects of hate speech do not fear physical violence by a racial invective, they may feel devalued, stigmatized, degraded, and unwelcome and excluded (Neisser, 1994, p. 339). Under occupation, Palestinians are not allowed to drive on Israeli roads or eat in their restaurants; checkpoints segregate them because they are unwelcome. Neisser further argues that apart from causing danger of physical assault, hate speech risks a violent reaction—revenge. One sort of Palestinian revenge is suicidal attacks. The destabilizing societal effects of physical retaliation and the use of physical force to solve disputes are common (Neisser, 1994, p. 341).

Key Factors in Shaping the Language of Occupation

Occupation is defined as the invasion and control of a country or an area by enemy forces. That is why speech between the two parties develops into an expression of hatred. Hate speech has been defined by Neisser (1994:337) as: “all communications (whether verbal, written, symbolic) that insult a racial, ethnic and political group, whether by suggesting that they are inferior in some respect or by indicating that they are despised or not welcome for any other reasons”. Given the above review, hate speech sprouts from power, and it is the spinning of media and ideology:

Power

Power seems to be the most effective factor in shaping behavior in general and language performance in particular. Media reports the statements and the views of politicians on political issues across the world. According to Kramarae, et al. (1984, p. 10), the concept of power and politics are closely linked. We choose power over politics because not all expressions of influence and control are governmental. According to Wrong (1979) power is the capacity of some persons to produce intended and foreseen effects on others. Intentional influence may be achieved through authority, manipulation, persuasion, and force.

Media Spinning

Governments often make demands on the media to serve what they define as the national interest. They classify information and withhold access. They stage media events, frame the issues, and articulate positions that are, in essence, pure propaganda (Amer, 2009). The Israeli occupation for all these years has been justified as necessary for Israel's security. On the other hand, Palestinians believe that the future of Israel will only be secured after a settlement that also secures the rights of the Palestinians. Reporting the news of the Israeli occupation has never been fair according to Schechter (2003).

Israel is one of the top countries regularly reported in media. According to Schechter (2003, p. 163), Israel features high on the international news list of main television channels in the US and the UK. In Germany it is 6th and in South Africa 5th. More than 60% of the news coverage in these four countries deals with the conflict situation in Israel and Palestine. Violence is a major topic covered. Of the coverage that is of a violent nature, Germany rates almost 50%; in UK and South Africa more than 66%, and in the US about 90%. South African television gives 65% coverage to the Israel side of the conflict and 35% percent to Palestine, UK channels give 8% coverage to Palestine. In many parts of the world, the Palestinian narrative of a dispossessed people dominates the scene. In the US, however, the narrative that dominates is that of Israel, which is portrayed as

“a democracy under siege”. Such spinning and staging of media support and justify Israeli occupation of Palestine and enforce hatred and injustice. This factor feeds into shaping the language of occupation, which flourishes with increasing hatred and animosity.

Ideology

According to Schjerve (1989, p. 59), ideology is a system of ideas based on value judgments and attitudes, which aids certain forces within a society to further their interests or to stabilize their power. One of the prominent issues in political language is how ideology shapes the themes of political statements. A critical study of political texts may reveal the ideological and pragmatic functions of propagandistic discourse. For example, analysis of political texts of Futurism ideology in Italy revealed glorification of war through presenting war positively as a revolutionary force renewing the world (Schjerve, 1989).

The language of ideology is emotionally charged as it hinders reflection by the recipient or reader of the contents of the message. The concept of war is transformed into something desirable or noble through the production of mythology. The stereotypical use of concepts such as “blood”, “race”, and “heroism” create an emotional hotbed on which prejudices are activated (Schjerve, 1989). Such notions will be the framework which encompasses hate speech between enemies.

One way of understanding the harm

caused by hate speech is by comparing it to that caused by other insults such as nasty comments, deprecating a person's or a group's intellect, beauty, athletic ability, technical skill, height, weight or any other characteristic that is valued in a society (Neisser, 1994, p. 338).

According to Menz (1989), the concern of critical linguistics is to relate language to its users, and to seek some principled way of bringing out the ideologies inherent in their communications. The main arguments in an ideology are supported by prejudice, and keywords supporting the main arguments employ imagery and metaphor (i.e., images of hated creatures, killing, arrogance, deception and lies).

The Study

Data Collection

Analytical Procedure

To establish a theoretical background for the analysis of data in this study, Vaughan's (1995) model will be considered as she looked at a similar situation of animosity during the war of Lebanon in 1982. She tried to answer research questions by analyzing newspaper editorials of countries involved in the war mainly, the main arguments in the editorials, the key words supporting the arguments, use of imagery and metaphors supporting the arguments and the concepts of war and peace forming the ideology. The key concepts viewed in the editorials were responsibility for the US, the need for Israeli security, and

the need for Palestinian self-determination. Newspapers representing weaker nations view them as helpless nations against powerful ones; waging their just war is morally superior. Along the same lines, Bhatia (2009, p. 281) analyzed the discourse of terrorism pointing to the dichotomies of good vs. evil; law vs. lawlessness; civilization vs. barbarism; and freedom vs. tyranny as discourse features. The linguistic features of "prejudiced speech" are investigated by Quasthoff (1989, p. 187), noticing that social prejudice as a source of power is directed against the weak.

Given this background, three aspects are focused on here as an attempt to put the corpus of quotes from the Israeli and Palestinian sides into a theoretical context: 1) the Israeli discursive position as power in view of Vaughan's model; 2) the discursive position of the Palestinian side as the weak side; and 3) the asymmetrical discursive relation between the Israelis and Palestinians. In the next section the statements of Israeli leaders will be analyzed to discuss underlying Israeli ideology, then, will be analyzed of the quotes from various Palestinian leaders which reflect Palestinian ideology.

The Israeli Side

Looking at the themes of the Israeli quotes, it was found that they make up the ideology of the Israeli leaders. Along the lines of Vaughan's (1995) analysis, the discursive position of the Israelis is manifested in the following five aspects:

- 1) Insulting Palestinians;
- 2) Reports of killing or threats to kill;
- 3) Deception and lying;
- 4) Arrogance; and
- 5) Excluding the other.

These themes were meant to rally the public behind this ideology to justify war and make the life of the Palestinians very difficult, which may force them to leave their land.

Insulting Palestinians

In the early 1970s, the Palestinian poet Fadwa Touqan wrote the poem "Waiting at the Allenby Bridge Begging for Crossing"⁽ⁱ⁾ quoting an Israeli soldier addressing Palestinians: "Arabs, undisciplined people, dogs, go back dogs." That is the language of occupation.

Quotes from the Israeli leaders include curses, and insults in which the victim is in principle not able to do anything about them (Brekle, 1989). Vaughan (1995, p. 61) truly believes that distrust and hatred beget violence and war between peoples. They are nurtured and rationalized in everyday discussion. In modern society, the interpretations expressed in the elite newspapers and websites carry great weight in influencing opinion especially during times of war.

The following are examples of insulting metaphors of Palestinians: "crocodiles", "beasts walking on two legs", "grasshoppers", "cockroaches", and "creatures not belonging to the world of humans". The speech act forms in the quotes are assertions as opposed to propositions in the sense that an asser-

tion is an illocutionary act, but a proposition is not an act at all (Searle, 1969). Such speech acts in the form of statements are meant to produce an effect intended by speaker; the hearer would then react in hopelessness due to a lack of power.

1. "[The Palestinians are] beasts walking on two legs." Menachim Begin, New Statesman, June 25, 1982.

2. "When we have settled the land, the Arabs will scurry around like drugged cockroaches in a bottle." Raphael Eitan, Chief of Staff, The New York Times, April 14, 1983.

3. "The Palestinians would be crushed like grasshoppers [...] heads smashed against the boulders and walls." Israeli Prime Minister, The New York Times, April 1, 1988.

4. "The Palestinians are like crocodiles [...]" Ehud Barak, Prime Minister, The Jerusalem Post, August 30, 2000.

5. "There is a huge gap between us (Jews) and our enemies. [...] They are people who do not belong to our continent, to our world, but actually belong to a different galaxy." Israeli President, Moshe Katsav. The Jerusalem Post, May 10, 2001.

Throughout history, the above quotes from the Israeli leaders range from denial of Palestinian existence to images of all kinds of animals. The leaders were either prime ministers or chiefs of staffs who have been the decision makers for the future of Israel. Such statements are the ultimate level of hatred and incitement against the other.

As previously mentioned, according to Schjerve (1989, p. 59), ideology is a system of ideas based on value judg-

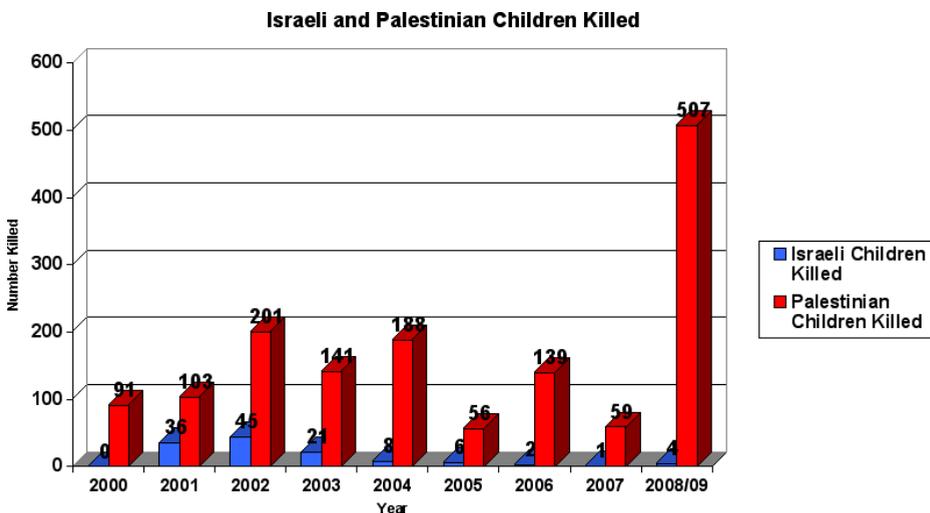
ments and attitudes, which aids certain forces within a society to further their interests or to stabilize their power. Degrading Palestinians as in the examples above is an obvious ideology based on value judgments and attitudes to tell the public what they should think of their enemies. Enemies have been pictured as different types of animals that bring disgust and require caution in dealing with them. On the other side, Palestinians hearing such language react in defiance and reject all such names reflecting the hatred and ideology of occupation.

As the case of Futurism movement in Italy (Schjerve, 1989) shows, insults arouse prejudices on the psychological level that could be exploited politically. Patriotism and love of war are nurtured by these quotes to feed a fertile environment for willingness to spill blood. That is why killing Palestinians was

seen as helping the Israelis to achieve their objectives. Hence, inciting the public and the army to kill has become an open policy declared by the Israeli leaders and stated clearly in their quotes as seen in the following examples.

Reports of Killing or Threats to Kill

Out of the 135 quotes, there are 13 quotes related to killing besides the 7 quotes about insults that is 15% of the whole sample. Actually, insults incite people to kill. Killing as promoted by political leaders is the ultimate level of hatred and taking revenge on people who were displaced from their land. 1,487 Palestinian children and 123 Israeli children were killed according to the If America Knew website as shown in the following graph:



The following are examples of brutality in killing and suffering inflicted on the Palestinians:

6. "We have to kill all the Palestinians unless they are resigned to live here as slaves." Chairman Heilbrun , Mayor of Tel Aviv, October 1983.

7. "We must use terror, assassination, intimidation, land confiscation, [...]" Israel Koenig, "The Koenig Memorandum".

8. "We'll make a pastrami sandwich of them, [...]" Ariel Sharon, 1973.

9. "[T]here is no single fixed method for murder and not even for genocide. [...] The government of Israel, using the military and its instruments of destruction, is not only spilling blood, but it is also suffocating?" Shulamit Aloni, March 2003.

10. "On October 29, 1956, soldiers of the Israeli Border Police murdered 43 civilians, after curfew was imposed on the Israeli Arab village of Kafr Qassem [...] killing villagers who were returning from work in the fields without knowing anything about the existence of a curfew." Aviv Lavie, October 31, 2003.

11. "During the three years of the Second Intifada the Israelis have killed three times as many Palestinians, most of them innocent civilians, including babies and pregnant women." Gerald Kaufman, November 22, 2003.

The above quotes show the obvious acts of terror and the manifestation of the ideology of the Israeli politicians and generals. According to Lakoff (2000), the Israeli policy promotes a sharp polarization between the "we" and "them", "them" being less human,

more bestial, and more satanic. Because we cannot win them over, they threaten our very existence, and we have to fight back with whatever we have. To Bhattia (2009) the dichotomies are civilization vs. barbarism. It is noticed that the kinds of verbs used in the quotes either like "Israel/we must", "we have to", "we will" or commands like "make their life" mean the intended actions are obligations that must be carried out. Other quotes are reports of killing in the past given as models for the future obligations. In analyzing threats and appeals in the media discourse of the Israelis and the Palestinians during the second intifada, Atawneh (2009) found that Israelis used threats, while Palestinians used appeals.

Deception and Lying

Seduction is an attempt to make people do things as if of their own impulse but really upon instigation from outside. According to Holly (1989, p. 115), politicians are not reputed to be personification of credibility. The epigram by Friedrich von Logau (1604-1655), called that man politisch as he knows how "to be different, to seem different, to speak differently, to mean differently."

What does it mean to believe what someone says? A simple answer would be that we do not consider that person a liar. A liar is a person who asserts something and does not believe it himself. Therefore, we need to know a person's thoughts in order to judge him a liar. This is in many cases impossible to do and a reason why it is so difficult to convince a politician of having lied.

What makes an utterance credible or a person trustworthy (not taking into account characteristics of non-verbal behavior)? The answer is based on Grice's explanation of "meaning" and some further reflections on the question of how the meaning of a verbal action can be conveyed, understood, or interpreted.

Lack of trustworthiness is because the way of conveying meaning is obscured, and above all, the speaker's intentions are not overt. The Israeli quotes are overt not covert lies. Therefore, there is no need for Grice's an explanation of "meaning"; rather, it is obvious confession to lying to achieve different political purposes. The percentage of these 15 quotes given below to the whole sample (135) is 11%.

12. "The hiding behind anti-Semitism may make an impression on the Europeans." Meron Benvenisti, November 6, 2003.

13. "We have not been seeking peace for twenty-five years -- all declarations to that effect have been no more than colored statements or deliberate lies." Yeshayahu Leibowitz, November 30, 1973.

14. "I have learned that the state of Israel cannot be ruled in our generation without deceit and adventurism." Moshe Shertok, 2nd Prime Minister of Israel, 1950s.

Lexical items used to reflect the meaning of lying are: "deceit", "deliberate lies", "hiding behind", "making an impression", and "bluffing", showing a key element in the Israeli ideology. Avi Shlaim, who is considered a key member of a group of Israeli scholars known

as the "New Historians", said the following about the lies of Ben Gurion:

15. Ben-Gurion [...] denied any IDF involvement [in the Qibya massacre]. [...] This was not Ben-Gurion's first lie for what he saw as the good of his country. Avi Shlaim, 2000.

In line with Ben-Gurion policy, Shamir, the ex-Israeli Prime Minister, says:

16. "It is permissible to lie for the sake of the Land of Israel." Yitzhak Yizernitzky, date unknown (Yitzhak Yizerntzky was known later as Yitzhak Shamir, Prime Minister of Israel).

The following quotes were made by Akiva Eldar, a distinguished journalist for the Israeli Ha'aretz newspaper. He uncovers Israeli lies from his field work as a journalist.

17. "Without lies, it would be impossible to talk about peace with the Palestinians. [...] Without lies, it would be impossible to claim that there is no partner for the road map. [...] Without lies, it would be impossible to promise 'painful concessions' in exchange for peace." Akiva Eldar, November 24, 2003.

Like Akiva Eldar, Gideon Levy is another Israeli journalist for the Ha'aretz newspaper. He is a prominent left-wing commentator. He formerly served as spokesman for Shimon Peres from 1978 and 1982. He is quoted about the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) lies:

18. "On numerous occasions, the IDF has put out lying accounts of incidents, and in the end, the Palestinian version turned out to be true." Gideon Levy, November 23, 2003.

19. "The thesis that the danger of geno-

cide was hanging over us in June 1967 and that Israel was fighting for its physical existence is only bluff.” Israeli General Peled, Ha’aretz, March 19, 1972.

The above statement is clear confession from an Israeli General saying the claim of genocide in June 1967 was bluffing. This is a typical example of deception as a war strategy. In March 1972, Israeli Air Force General Weizmann reported, “there was never any danger of extermination” (Ma’ariv, April 19, 1972).

Arrogance

According to Cook (2008), all politicians who run for US presidency are arrogant as they are always rich and must inherently believe they are better than any other person in the United States in leadership, intelligence, vision, and political ideology. This is arrogance by his definition.

Along the same lines, the Israeli feeling of superiority and of being better than others in leadership, intelligence, vision, and political ideology implies arrogance. One million Palestinians are seen by the Israelis not worth a fingernail of an Israeli. Palestinians should come crawling like animals and become woodcutters or waiters. This is an obvious model of no regard for humans, or even for powerful countries like the US. They brag of being the second or third power in the world. Because they are destroyers, they want to destroy others and take everything. This ideology does not allow any spirit of reconciliation or peace. They dehumanize others and cannot live with them. Therefore, the rift between the two enemies wid-

ens everyday and hope is lost for a solution as seen in the following:

20. “We, the Jewish people, control America, and the Americans know it.” Ariel Sharon, Israeli Prime Minister, October 3, 2001.

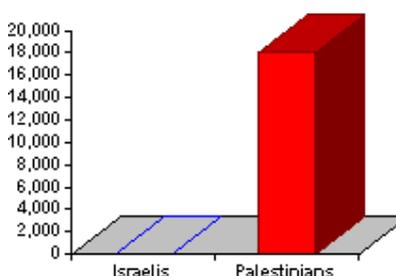
21. “One million Arabs are not worth a Jewish fingernail.” Rabbi Yaacov Perrin, Feb. 27, 1994 (The New York Times, Feb. 28, 1994, p. 1).

22. “We declare openly that the Arabs have no right to settle on even one centimeter of Eretz, Israel. [...] We shall use the ultimate force until the Palestinians come crawling to us on all fours.” Rafael Eitan, Chief of Staff, The New York Times, April 14, 1983.

23. “We shall reduce the Arab population to a community of woodcutters and waiters.” Uri Lubrani, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion’s Special Advisor on Arab Affairs, 1960 (From “The Arabs in Israel” by Sabri Jiryis).

24. “We Jews, we are the destroyers and will remain the destroyers. We will forever destroy because we want a world of our own.” Maurice Samuels, You Gentiles, p. 155 (N.B. 18,147 Palestinian homes were demolished from 1967 to 2009 [If Americans Knew website]).

Israeli and Palestinian Homes Demolished



25. "We possess several hundred atomic warheads and rockets and can launch them at targets in all directions. [...] Our armed forces, however, are not the thirtieth strongest in the world, but rather the second or third. We have the capability to take the world down with us." Martin van Creveld, 2003.

All of the above quotes begin with "We" (except #21) followed by the complement "the Israelis", or "Jewish people" to demonstrate the strongest level of declarative or "assertive" speech act. The first person pronoun here is intended to present the speaker as the focal point of the statement or assertion. Haider and Rodriguez (1995, p. 128) view personal pronouns as discursive indicators of power and ideology. The dominant group has the frequent use of "I" which manifests subjective illusions of originality and discourse freedom. Asymmetrical respect treatment in the language of power is manifested in the use of "you" and frequent use of inclusive "we". The use of modal verbs is a manifestation of power and ideology. The subgroup has shown scant uses of performatives while the dominant group shows frequent use of performatives.

Excluding the Other

Between total denial of existence and exclusion of the other, the Israelis widen the gap between themselves and the Palestinians. The quotes given below show the intent of the Israeli leaders in confirming their ideology of discrimination and exclusion like saying "Palestinians never existed" and "there is nobody to

return land to" despite the fact that undercover negotiations and even open talks were underway telling the world that they take serious steps towards peace. Despite the claims of the Israeli willingness to have peace with the Palestinians, they promote the ideology of segregation and exclusion in the social and geography books. Ronald Bleier, a Jewish writer in New York, believes that the greatest Israeli sin is following the Zionist ideology, which affirms no place for Palestinians in Palestine. That is why, to create a Jewish State in 1948, Zionists expelled 750,000 Palestinians from their homeland and never allowed them or their descendants to return.

Nurit Elhanan-Peled (2006), an Israeli professor, reports that Israeli schoolbooks are a manifestation of "Israeli education which promotes racism, both towards the Palestinian citizens and towards the Palestinian non-citizens" (114). She found that they inculcate Jewish exclusive rights of the Land, and encourage the oppression of Palestinian identity and culture.

Elhanan-Peled also noticed that the Israeli students were misinformed about the geopolitical situation of their country, and were denied the information necessary in order to regard their immediate neighbors as partners for shared life and co-existence. They learn that democracy may segregate citizens according to ethnicity and that human suffering and empathy are race or religion-dependent.

26. "Palestine will be as Jewish as England is English." Chaim Weizmann, 1921.

27. "How can we return the occupied

territories? There is nobody to return them to.” Golda Maier, Israeli Prime Minister, March 8, 1969.

28. “There was no such thing as Palestinians, they never existed.” Golda Maier, Israeli Prime Minister, June 15, 1969.

Looking at the US arrogance which is similar to that of Israel, Lakoff (2000) criticizes the separation between “them” and “us”. “We” stands for normality, decency and civilized behaviors while the enemy; “they” represents perversion and strangeness (cf. Berlin). “The other side” commits wrong doings such as “terrorism”, but “we” never do. The “we”, a powerful side, ignores all or most of the information on the “enemy” that could result in words of positive value when describing the enemy. The “we” is good and the enemy is evil (Haider & Rodriguez, 1995). Since the enemy is such “a genuinely evil character”, “our” violence against him is morally justified even if exactly the same violence against “us” is most immoral. This is how value-loaded words are used to unite the population in a nation at war. That is the language of occupation which reflects the power and cruelty of the ideology to the extent of excluding the other.

The Palestinian Side

The Palestinians have no army, no wealth but verbal support from the Muslim world. The imbalance of power has strong impact on shaping their language. They lead a struggle to achieve freedom. They are under siege and they have to beg for an Israeli permission for

leaving the country or making contact with the outside world. Yet the Israelis take them as the prime enemy whose aim is to destroy Israel. Therefore, animosity is nurtured between the two sides through language.

Kathleen Christison (2003), former CIA political analyst, is quoted in her article “Zionism as a Racist Ideology” on how the Israeli ideology necessitates the creation of an enemy by victimizing the Palestinians and portraying them as murderers and predatory as indicated in the following quote:

Indeed [...] a political philosophy like Zionism [...] requires an enemy in order to survive and, where an enemy does not already exist, it requires that one be created. In order to justify racist repression and dispossession [...] those being repressed and displaced must be portrayed as murderous and predatory. (CounterPunch, Newsletter)

The source of the Palestinian quotes is an Israeli website which selected what the Israelis believed to be the enemy language. Though some Palestinians belong to the peace camp and others belong to the resistance camp, both are seen as enemies. Hamas movement leads the ideology to resistance and wants to liberate all Palestine from the Sea to the River.

As expected, the language of Palestinians is defensive and mostly appealing to the outside world for help due to their powerlessness. Haider and Rodriguez (1995) categorize the pronouns of subordinated group discourse which has scant use of “I” and frequent use of “one”. Symmetrical respect treatment in the use of “you” and frequent use of ex-

clusive “we” are used by subjects who adhere to their social group. Most of threats to kill Israelis in revenge made by Hamas have been bluffing and were meant to please the public and save face (Atawneh, 2009). The following quotes from Abbas, the Palestinian president show the peace camp ideology:

29. “There is absolutely no substitute for dialogue.” A-Sharq Al-Awsat, March 3, 2003.

30. “The armed struggle necessitates certain conditions and opportunities that do not exist for us in Palestine. Therefore, military activities under these circumstances and means are ineffective. For this reason, we stated that we have no choice but to stop it [i.e., military activities].” A-Sharq Al-Awsat, March 3, 2003.

The leader of the Palestinians decided that dialogue is the only way to achieve freedom given the inequality in military power. However, submission to defeat is always rejected and face and dignity must be maintained. After the long years of Intifada against the occupation, no freedom was achieved. Peace initiatives never worked. Therefore, the top leader wanted to achieve security and economic growth instead, saying:

31. “The little jihad is over, and now we have the bigger jihad—the bigger battle is achieving security and economic growth.” (2005)

32. “I renew my commitment to continuing the road he [Arafat] began and for which he made a lot of sacrifices, until the Palestinian flag flies from the walls, minarets and churches of Jerusalem.” (2005)

Marwan Barghuthi, the second Fatah leader toned language to keep dignity and think of peace as in the following quotes:

33. «And while I, and the Fatah movement to which I belong, strongly oppose attacks and the targeting of civilians inside Israel, our future neighbor, I reserve the right to protect myself, to resist the Israeli occupation of my country and to fight for my freedom» (2002 Washington Post op-ed)

34. «I am not a terrorist, but neither am I a pacifist. I am simply a regular guy from the Palestinian street advocating only what every other oppressed person has advocated—the right to help myself in the absence of help from anywhere else.» (2002 Washington Post op-ed)

The powerless language is that which expresses the injustice inflicted on the occupied people and appeals to world leaders and communities to garner support for the struggle against occupation. That is why the Pope was given the Bethlehem passport. The past struggle led by Arafat has been guerilla struggle against the great power of Israel. All what they have is sacrificing life as freedom fighters; all Palestinians have been invited to participate in the holy resistance. Such a struggle has been portrayed by Israel and the US as terrorism. The following are quotes from Yasir Arafat:

35. “The oath is firm to continue this difficult Jihad (holy war), this long Jihad, in the path of martyrs, the path of sacrifices.” June 15, 1995.

36. “The Palestinian Rifle is ready and

we will aim it if they try to prevent us from praying in Jerusalem. [...] the 'Generals of the Stones' are ready." al-Ayyam, November 16, 1998.

37. "Palestinians are 'irrigating the land with their blood' in the struggle for 'Palestine'." Organization of the Islamic Conference, Qatar, May 26, 2001.

The leader is affirming the objectives of his movement seeing the Israeli killing will not stop the movement for freedom. He compliments the young fighters calling them generals of the stones. However, nothing in the quotes is insulting to the Israelis; it is only complaints against the killing of his own people. Seeing the peace process going nowhere, the Palestinian leaders talked about options in case negotiations failed to raise future hopes in freedom for the public. Nabil Sha'ath, a Palestinian Cabinet Minister and leader sums up the strategy in the following quote in January 1996:

38. "We decided to liberate our homeland step-by-step. [...] Should Israel continue—no problem? Therefore, we honor the peace treaties and non-violence [...] if and when Israel says 'enough'. [...] in that case it is saying that we will return to violence. But this time it will be with 30,000 armed Palestinian soldiers and in a land with elements of freedom."

39. "We still believe, however, that we are entitled to use all means available to us to face the enemy." The Jerusalem Times, June 8 2001.

40. "The Intifada came to end occupation, not to allow for a return to negotiations."

41. "I believe that a return to negotiations would be nothing but a waste of time and that seeking the mediation of the US is useless."

42. "He who seeks peace with Sharon is pursuing a mirage. There is no chance for peace with Sharon. The only way to deal with Sharon is resistance."

According to Lakoff (2000), such statements fall in the category of "war propaganda". She talks extensively about language war and propaganda. The aim of war propaganda is to unite the nation and rally support of the domestic population as well as of third parties for the war effort and to encourage them to accept decisions made, as well to discourage the enemy. Actually, seeing peace never materializes with never ending negotiations, the public voted for Hamas, the resistance movement, whose leaders led an ideology of freeing all Palestine and no more believing in futile peace negotiations. Therefore, the public has given support for such movement though the consequences have been more suffering and killing under the Israeli attacks against what they claim as terrorists hiding among civilians. The quotes given below from Hamas leaders were based on religious ideology to rally support for their fight against occupation.

These are the founding Hamas principles on which we raise our children and in which we believe:

- Armed resistance
- Non-recognition of the occupation in any form
- All Palestine from the river to the sea
- The holy places and Jerusalem

- The right of return (Abu-Zuhri, TV, 6 April, 2007)
- 43. "We have been advocating the establishment of a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders with Jerusalem as capital and the return of the refugees. For this we will declare a truce, not recognition of Israel. This is our view in Hamas." Haniyya, Al-Jazeera, April 2007.
- 44. "Our government affirms that all resistance to occupation by all methods is the legitimate right of the Palestinian people." Haniyya, Novsimaya Gazeta, March 19, 2007.
- 45. "We saw the Oslo Agreement as a political mistake. [...] Resistance has aims which can be temporary or permanent. One of the temporary aims is to remove the occupation from part of the occupied territories. [...] What is needed now is for the resistance to act in all occupied areas such as Jerusalem and use all means possible." Al-Zahhar, Al-Sabeel, Jordan, April 10, 2007.
- 46. The Hamas spokesman, Isma'il Radwan, March 30, 2007, urged fighting and killing the Jews. He quoted from the Hadith (sayings attributed to the prophet Muhammad) declaring: "Judgment Day will come when the Moslems kill the Jews." Looking at the quotes from Hamas leaders, it is interesting to note that they talk about the same ideology in different ways, all of which is rooted in Islamic ideology. They are willing to sacrifice themselves for the sake of freedom, accept truce, and will not recognize Israel. In the last quote there is a prediction about killing the Jews at the end of time based on religious sources but it is not

part of Hamas ideology. However, none of the quotes include dehumanizing or insulting the Israelis as those found in the Israeli quotes.

There are two extremes here; the Israelis on one side wanting all the land by force, and the resistance wanting all the land based on religious ideology. The problem for Hamas is that they have no equal power to finish the fighting quickly. Consequently, like the ideology of Arafat, they adopt steadfastness until they achieve their objectives. The Israelis have the power to control and kill and evict people from the land refusing to share the land. That is why the struggle has been continuing since the creation of Israel.

Conclusion

This study has shown how language is shaped by power. The Israeli language reflects the ideology of aggressiveness and belligerency including making threats, killing, insulting, arrogance, deception, and excluding the other. However, the Palestinian language reflects the appeal for help, defensiveness, and attempts to save face and maintain dignity while seeking peace with the Israelis at the same time. The Israelis view the Palestinians as terrorists not belonging to humankind, and consequently present them in the media as victimizing others not the victim of others. Palestinians, on the other hand, view the Israelis as occupiers settling their land by force and maintaining their occupation by means of military power and US support. The peace camp

among Palestinians accepts partitioning the land and has been trying to reach a peace agreement with the Israelis to no avail. That is why the peace camp has lost support from the public and consequently has been weakened giving rise to radical movements.

End Notes

(i) This poem was Fadwa's reaction to insults after 7 hours waiting at the Bridge in the heat of summer. Other lines are: "Ah, humiliation, my hatred is immeasurable, only eating up their livers can satisfy my hunger for revenge. They killed love in my blood changing it into fire and tar."

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