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## THE APPOINTMENT OF NEW HAMAS LEADER IN AL JAZEERA ARABIC 2024 : A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS



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### Abstract

This research is designed to demonstrate how Al Jazeera Arabic construct discourse with indications of bias toward one of the parties between Palestine and Israel in the news written on the Al Jazeera Arabic website in 2024 regarding the appointment of Yahya Sinwar as the new leader of Hamas. This research used Teun Van Dijk's approach with critical discourse analysis method. To collect and analyze the research data, the researchers used descriptive qualitative methodology as a scientific research procedure. The data in this research consisted of news text in sentence form, while the data source for this study was news reports regarding the appointment of Yahya Sinwar as the new leader of Hamas from Al Jazeera Arabic online media published in August 2024, accessed through the website <https://www.aljazeera.net>. Furthermore, in analyzing the data, researchers applied Teun A. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis (CDA) to understand and study the discourse in the news of Yahya Sinwar's appointment in Al Jazeera Arabic media. The results showed (1) the existence of a microstructure of semantic points that includes aspects of setting, details, intent, and presupposition, and (2) the news writer has a clear tendency to favor Hamas, as reflected in the choice of words and sentence construction used in the news.

### Abstrak

Penelitian ini dirancang untuk menunjukkan bagaimana Al Jazeera Arabic membangun diskursus dengan indikasi bias terhadap salah satu pihak antara Palestina dan Israel dalam berita yang ditulis di situs web Al Jazeera Arabic pada tahun 2024 mengenai penunjukan Yahya Sinwar sebagai pemimpin baru Hamas. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan Teun Van Dijk dengan metodologi analisis diskursus kritis. Untuk mengumpulkan dan menganalisis data penelitian, peneliti menggunakan metodologi kualitatif deskriptif sebagai prosedur penelitian ilmiah. Data penelitian ini berupa teks berita dalam bentuk kalimat, sedangkan sumber datanya adalah laporan berita mengenai penunjukan Yahya Sinwar sebagai pemimpin baru Hamas dari media online Al Jazeera Arabic yang diterbitkan pada Agustus 2024, diakses melalui situs web <https://www.aljazeera.net>. Selain itu, dalam menganalisis data, peneliti menerapkan analisis wacana kritis Teun A. Van Dijk untuk memahami dan meneliti wacana dalam berita penunjukan Yahya Sinwar di media Al Jazeera Arabic. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan (1) adanya struktur mikro poin semantik yang mencakup aspek latar belakang, detail, niat, dan prasangka, serta (2) penulis berita memiliki kecenderungan untuk memihak Hamas, sebagaimana tercermin dalam pilihan kata dan konstruksi kalimat yang digunakan dalam berita.



## Background

The polemics between Palestine and Israel are familiar events and have become part of world life. According to Kaslam, this conflict is known to have occurred in the early 20th century and continues until now<sup>1</sup>. Historically, Israel's attack on Gaza, which began around late 2008 and lasted until early 2009, represented the culmination of a war waged by the Jewish state against the Palestinian people for more than 60 years<sup>2</sup>. However, in reality, these attacks have persisted until now. Manurung states that Israel launched systematic airstrikes on the Gaza Strip in response to rocket attacks originating from the territory. These attacks resulted in numerous casualties, including women and children, as well as severe damage to infrastructure systems<sup>3</sup>. The Gaza Strip faces a humanitarian crisis that has been exacerbated by the long-standing embargo and blockade<sup>4</sup>. The emergency situation in Gaza continues to deteriorate, with limited access to food, clean water, and healthcare services<sup>5</sup>.

Reports from humanitarian organizations cited by Dewantara, many families in Gaza live in deplorable conditions that are unfit for human habitation<sup>6</sup>. Israel's 2023 attacks drew widespread condemnation from the international community<sup>7</sup>. According to Nugraha, numerous human rights organizations and countries

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<sup>1</sup> Kaslam, Solidaritas Global: Gerakan Kemanusiaan Untuk Palestina Di Indonesia, *Jurnal Ushuluddin*, vol. 26, no.1, 2024:38-68, <https://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/alfikr/article/view/45592>.

<sup>2</sup> Nikita Majesty Kalengkongan, Youla O. Aguw, and Stefan O. Voges, *Kajian Hukum Pengakuan Negara Palestina Dan Implikasinya Pada Hubungan Internasional*, *Jurnal Fakultas Hukum Lex Crimen* Vol. 14 No. 5, 2024:1-10.

<sup>3</sup> Felix Broson Manurung and Krisman Heriamsal, *Strategi Diplomasi Indonesia Dalam Upaya Mewujudkan Perdamaian Pada Konflik Terbaru Hamas-Israel*, *Jurnal Hubungan Luar Negeri*, vol 9, No 1, 2024:19-48, <https://doi.org/10.70836/jh.v9i1.44>.

<sup>4</sup> Ihwanarotama Bella Indriasandi and Wildana Wargadinata, Palestine-Israel Conflict Resolution Analysis Study, *Al-Azhar Indonesia Seri Humaniora*, vol.8, no. 2, 2023: 102 – 112, <http://dx.doi.org/10.36722/sh.v8i2.1742>.

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Jamaluddin and Erik Ilham Habibillah, "Pengaruh Kebijakan Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa (PBB) Dalam Konflik Palestina-Israel," *Jurnal Tapis: Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam* 19, no. 1 (2023): 1 – 23, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24042/tps.v19i1.16761>.

<sup>6</sup> Jagad Aditya Dewantara et al., "Pelanggaran HAM Dalam Konflik Israel Dan Palestina Berdampak Terhadap Hilangnya Hak Asasi Manusia Khususnya Hak Anak Di Palestina," *Jurnal Kewarganegaraan* 7, no. 1 (2023): 19 – 25, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31316/jk.v7i1.4580>.

<sup>7</sup> Ahmed AL Madani, "The New Hamas Document: An Analytical Reading of Its Development and Application," *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan Dan Politik* 30, no. 4 (2017): 406, <https://doi.org/10.20473/mkp.v30i42017.406-417>.

worldwide condemned Israel's actions as violations of human rights<sup>8</sup>. Various stakeholders have called for ceasefires and peace negotiations between Israel and Hamas, but these efforts are often hindered by immense political pressure from both sides<sup>9</sup>.

Simanjorang reveals that Hamas has played a significant role in events that have shaped the history of this struggle<sup>10</sup>. Hamas is not solely focused on military operations but also provides social services to the Palestinian people<sup>11</sup>. Prior research on critical discourse analysis includes Siregar (2024), examined BBC Arabic's coverage of the 2023 Hamas attack on Israel by using Van Leeuwen's approach to analyze the assault's representation and uncover functional textual meanings<sup>12</sup>. Nadila (2024) examined CNBC Indonesia's online reporting on the Palestine-Israel conflict, and found that the discourse's micro-elements highlighted the ongoing cycle of violence between both parties as responses to provocations, with no media bias detected<sup>13</sup>.

As widely reported, there has been considerable news coverage regarding Hamas leadership in recent times. According to CNBC Indonesia (2024), the previous Hamas leader was Ismail Haniyeh, who died on July 31, 2024, killed in a bomb attack that Israel allegedly planted in the building where he was staying in Tehran, Iran. Ismail Haniyeh had traveled to Iran to attend the inauguration of

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<sup>8</sup> Tian Adhia Nugraha and Audry Maura, "Analisis Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia: Promosi 'Keamanan Manusia' Di Palestina," *Jurnal Hubungan Luar Negeri* 8, no. 2 (December 28, 2023): 81 – 106, <https://doi.org/10.70836/jh.v8i2.28>.

<sup>9</sup> Muh Rizky Hikmatullah Idrus, Chandra Purnama, and Yulius Purwadi Hermawan, "Islamist Social Movement of Hamas Regarding Israel's Attack on Gaza from the Perspective of Critical Theory," *Jurnal Politik Profetik* 12, no. 2 (December 18, 2024): 151 – 69, <https://doi.org/10.24252/profetik.v12i2a4>.

<sup>10</sup> Bartolomeus Marulitua Simanjorang et al., "Pengaruh Konflik Palestina Dengan Israel Terhadap Gerakan Perlawanan Hamas Dan Dampaknya Bagi Indonesia," *Mediation: Journal of Law* 2, no. 2 (2023): 24 – 30, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.51178/mjol.v2i2.1591>.

<sup>11</sup> Zelda Farah Ardiata et al., "Pandangan Hukum Humaniter Internasional Terhadap Konflik Perseteruan Bersenjata Israel-Palestina," *Ganesha Law Review* 4, no. 2 (November 1, 2022): 24 – 32, <https://doi.org/10.23887/glr.v4i2.1424>.

<sup>12</sup> Ayuningsih Siregar, "Analisis Wacana Kritis Dalam Berita طوفان الأقصى /ṭūfānu Al-Aqsā/ 'Badai Al- Aqsa' Pada Media BBC Arabic 2023" (Universitas Sumatera Utara, 2024).

<sup>13</sup> Reza Ulda Nadila, Achmad Syarifudin, and Lilis Sukmawati, "Analisis Wacana Pemberitaan Tentang Konflik Palestina Dan Israel Pada Media Online CNBC Indonesia.Com," *Social Science and Contemporary Issues Journal* 2, no. 2 (May 14, 2024): 347 – 53, <https://doi.org/10.59388/sscij.v2i2.487>.

Iran's new president, Masoud Pezeshkian. Following Ismail Haniyeh's death, Yahya Sinwar was selected to assume Hamas leadership<sup>14</sup>.

While this information can be accessed through online and print media, the incident is framed according to the editorial policies of news producers<sup>15</sup>. The media typically plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion<sup>16</sup>. Mass media and news outlets have a vital and significant role in forming public perceptions of particular events, sometimes preventing readers from understanding what actually occurred<sup>17</sup>. Since news is conveyed through language, from a discourse analysis perspective, language in news reporting is not considered neutral because it is always connected to power and ideology<sup>18</sup>. Therefore, existing news coverage requires examination using critical discourse analysis techniques<sup>19</sup>.

Eriyanto defines critical discourse analysis as an attempt to describe narratives about social phenomena in order to identify the underlying interests expressed within them<sup>20</sup>. According to Teun A. Van Dijk, a leading figure in critical discourse analysis, this approach is a research method that examines the use of power, domination, and inequality in texts and conversations<sup>21</sup>.

In discussing critical discourse analysis, there is a relevant event that exemplifies Van Dijk's theoretical framework. The news excerpt in the Al Jazeera Arabic news article published on Wednesday, 7 August 2024 can be analyzed using Teun A. Van Dijk's approach of semantic microstructures. In this news report, the background element is directly related to the events described. In the following Al

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<sup>14</sup> Luc, "Resmi! Hamas Tunjuk Yahya Sinwar Sebagai Pemimpin Baru, Siapa Dia?," CNBC Indonesia, 2024, <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20240807045732-4-560947/resmi-hamas-tunjuk-yahya-sinwar-sebagai-pemimpin-baru-siapa-dia>.

<sup>15</sup> Emilsyah Nur, "Peran Media Massa Dalam Menghadapi Serbuan Media Online the Role of Mass Media in Facing Online Media Attacks," *Majalah Semi Ilmiah Populer Komunikasi Massa* 2, no. 1 (2021): 51 – 64.

<sup>16</sup> Citra Rengganis Cenderamata and Nani Darmayanti, "Analisis Wacana Kritis Fairclough Pada Pemberitaan Selebriti Di Media Daring," *Jurnal Literasi* 3, no. 1 (2019): 1 – 8, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.25157/literasi.v3i1.1736>.

<sup>17</sup> Widya Islamiati and Syamsul Rijal, "Memahami Konflik Palestina-Israel Dalam Bingkai Berita NU Online," *Jurnal Studi Jurnalistik* 4, no. 2 (November 6, 2022): 1 – 18, <https://doi.org/10.15408/jsj.v4i2.28963>.

<sup>18</sup> I Nyoman Payuyasa, "Analisis Wacana Kritis Model Van Dijk Dalam Program Acara Mata Najwa Di Metro Tv," *Segara Widya: Jurnal Penelitian Seni* 5, no. November (October 24, 2017): 14 – 24, <https://doi.org/10.31091/sw.v5i0.188>.

<sup>19</sup> Ruruh Sarasati, "Analisis Wacana Kritis, Literasi Kritis, Berpikir Kritis, Dan Kesadaran Berbahasa Kritis," 2019, 20 – 29.

<sup>20</sup> Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Teks Media* (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2006).

<sup>21</sup> Desvira Jufanny and Lasmery RM Girsang, "Toxic Masculinity Dalam Sistem Patriarki: Analisis Wacana Kritis Van Dijk Dalam Film 'Posesif,'" *Semiotika* 14, no. 1 (2020): 8 – 23, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.30813/s:jk.v14i1.2194>.

Jazeera Arabic news coverage, the background of Sinwar's election as Hamas leader is evident in the news text:

وعن رسالة حماس من وراء اختيار شخصية تقود الحرب في قطاع غزة من الناحية العملية، قال حمدان "إن اختيار السنوار رسالة سياسية لكل من يعنيه الأمر"، وهي رسالة ذات 3 عناوين.

*Wa 'an risālah Ḥamās min warā' ikhtiyār shakhsiyyah taqūdu al-ḥarb fī Qīṭā' Ghazzah min al-nāḥiyah al-'amaliyyah, qāla Ḥamdān: "Inna ikhtiyār al-Sinwār risālah siyāsiyyah likulli man ya 'nīhim al-amr," wa hiya risālah dhāt 3 'anāw īn'/.-*" On Hamas' message behind the selection of the figure who practically leads the war in the Gaza Strip, Hamdan said, "Sinwar's selection is a political message to all concerned," and it is a message with three main points<sup>22</sup>."

The news text above informs the readers that Sinwar's election was motivated by a political message he intended to convey to the world. This information is contained in the text: "إن اختيار السنوار رسالة سياسية لكل من يعنيه الأمر" // *Inna ikhtiyār al-Sinwār risālah siyāsiyyah likulli man ya'nīhim al-amr*/, meaning 'Sinwar's election is a political message to all concerned parties.' The critical element in this context lies in the phrase "رسالة سياسية لكل من يعنيه الأمر" // *siyāsiyyah likulli man ya'nīhim al-amr*/, translated as 'a political message for all concerned parties.' In this context, the journalists do not provide detailed explanations regarding who specifically has vested interests in Sinwar's election as Hamas's new leader.

The news about Yahya Sinwar's election as Hamas's new leader can be observed across various online news platforms, with Al Jazeera Arabic being one prominent example. Information regarding events discussing various developments in the Middle East region is frequently featured in online media coverage by Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera is recognized as one of the pioneering online media companies established in the Middle East region. Based on this background, this research employed Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, which analyzed semantic elements at the microstructural level, to evaluate media text reporting through a critical discourse analysis of Al Jazeera Arabic news texts published between August 7-9, 2024.

This research's novelty lies in its focused analysis of Yahya Sinwar's appointment as Hamas's new leader in 2024. This event provided specific and current context, distinguishing it from previous studies that analyzed the organization in earlier years or different contexts. Thus, this research offered a relevant new perspective for understanding ongoing political and social dynamics. A key aspect of this novelty was the in-depth exploration of how Al Jazeera Arabic

<sup>22</sup> الصحافة الإسرائيلية الجزيرة، "السنوار رئيسا لحماس خلفا لهنية"، الجزيرة تصفح في التطبيق، 2024، <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/2024/8/6/عاجل-حماس-السنوار-رئيسا-للحركة-خلفا>

presents Hamas, both positively and neutrally. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis theory was highly relevant here, as it emphasizes the relationship between language, power, and ideology. This research focused on analyzing the microstructure of semantic points. The news coverage examined concerns the appointment of Yahya Sinwar as Hamas's new leader in *Al Jazeera Arabic* media.

The method employed in this research was a qualitative research approach utilizing library research (literature review). According to Purwono (2016: 66), library research is an effort undertaken by researchers to obtain relevant data related to the discussion or problem under investigation<sup>23</sup>. This type of research was used to describe the research findings, specifically a discourse analysis of news reports regarding Yahya Sinwar's appointment as Hamas leader in *Al Jazeera Arabic* media published from August 7-9, 2024.

The data in this research consisted of news text in sentence form, while the data source for this study were news reports regarding the appointment of Yahya Sinwar as the new leader of Hamas from *Al Jazeera Arabic* online media published in August 2024, accessed through the website <https://www.aljazeera.net>. The news reports examined comprise 5 articles published from August 7 to 9, 2024, consisting of 101 lines of text.

### Teun A. Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Eriyanto, the dimension in Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory is the discourse dimension, which includes three structures that function as a unit. Macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure are three types of structures<sup>24</sup>. The term macro structure describes the entire meaning present in a discourse theme or issue. The term superstructure describes a widely used discourse scheme, which starts with an introduction, continues to the main part of the text, and ends with a conclusion. Finally, microstructure refers that language can be examined from semantic, syntactic, stylistic, and rhetorical perspectives, and microstructure also relates to local meanings<sup>25</sup>.

Discussing discourse, Van Dijk has observed the vagueness of discourse from the perspective of discourse usage through abstract and concrete means. At the abstract level, he determines a discourse term in a communicative event<sup>26</sup>. On the

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<sup>23</sup> Purwono, *Metodologi Penelitian (Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, Dan Mix Method)* (Bogor: Guepedia, 2016).

<sup>24</sup> Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*.

<sup>25</sup> Febrina Yusar, Sukarelawati Sukarelawati, and Agustini Agustini, "Kognisi Sosial Dalam Proses Analisis Wacana Kritis Model Van Dijk Pada Buku Motivasi," *Jurnal Komunikatio* 6, no. 2 (November 5, 2020): 65–76, <https://doi.org/10.30997/jk.v6i2.2876>.

<sup>26</sup> Hera Wahdah Humaira, "Analisis Wacana Kritis (AWK) Model Teun A. Van Dijk Pada Pemberitaan Surat Kabar Republika," *Jurnal Literasi* 2, no. 1 (2018): 32–40, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.25157/literasi.v2i1.951>.

other hand, Van Dijk also applies the term discourse more concretely, and refers to specific interactions or individual news reports, so in this case, it can be said that discourses refer to several instances of text or talk<sup>27</sup>. When encountering a discourse intended to explain a message, the action fails if the intended meaning is absent<sup>28</sup>. Therefore, the content of the discourse can be ascertained by using discourse analysis. In Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, there are divisions of background, details, intent, and presupposition.

According to Van Dijk, CDA produces important discoveries related to language, such as how language functions as a weapon of power in society. Language structure is used in critical discourse analysis for three purposes: (1) organizing the ideas and behavior of others; (2) classifying society; and (3) estimating, transforming, and obscuring the analysis of reality. Critical discourse analysis texts use textual structure, grammar, and vocabulary as analytical materials to achieve these goals<sup>29</sup>.

#### **Background in News on August 7th (ثلاث رسائل للعالم من اختيار السنوار لخلافة هنية) Line 1–5**

أثار اغتيال رئيس المكتب السياسي لحركة حماس إسماعيل هنية في العاصمة الإيرانية طهران في الحادي والثلاثين من يوليو/ تموز الماضي عاصفة من التساؤلات حول تداعياته المحتملة على مسارات الحرب في غزة والمواجهة الإقليمية المرتبطة بها، وملف المفاوضات، والوضع الداخلي للحركة وعلاقتها بالخارج

"The assassination of Hamas political bureau chief Ismail Haniyeh in the Iranian capital Tehran on July 31 triggered a storm of questions about its potential impact on the Gaza war and related regional confrontations, as well as the issue of negotiations, the movement's internal situation, and its relations with foreign countries."

In the news text above, the journalist writes "اغتيال رئيس المكتب السياسي" /*ightiyālu raīsīl-maktabis-siyāsī*/ (Assassination of the Political Bureau Chief), demonstrating the complexity of the context underlying the selection of this diction. The use of the word "اغتيال" (*ightiyāl*), meaning "assassination" or "killing," carries strong political connotations and in the Middle Eastern context is often associated with the assassination of high-ranking political figures that have significant geopolitical

<sup>27</sup> Ni Putu Dewi Eka Yanti, Ida Bagus Putrayasa, and I Wayan Artika, "Analisis Wacana Kritis Teun A. Van Dijk Pada Teks Pidato Klaim Kemenangan Pilpres 2019," *Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Dan Pembelajaran* 3, no. 3 (2019): 356–62, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.23887/jipp.v3i3.21846>.

<sup>28</sup> Gabriela Laras Dewi Swastika and Jennifer Esther, "Critical Discourse Analysis Dalam Catatan Minggu: Teks Dan Praksis Dalam Narasi Urban," *Jurnal Kajian Jurnalisme* 4, no. 1 (July 30, 2020): 1, <https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v4i1.27276>.

<sup>29</sup> Yoce Aliah Darma, *Analisis Wacana Kritis* (Bandung: Yrama Widya, 2013).

impact, where historical background showed that the assassination of political leaders in this region consistently triggered regional conflict escalation.

The phrase "رئيس المكتب السياسي/ *raīsīl-maktabis-siyāsī* " (Political Bureau Chief) indicates a highly important structural position within a political organization, where Van Dijk emphasizes that the selection of this term indicates power hierarchy and political legitimacy, considering that the Political Bureau typically serves as the highest decision-making body in an organization, making the assassination of its chief carry profound strategic implications. The word choice of "assassination" versus "elimination" or "removal" reflects the media's ideological position, where within Van Dijk's framework, the use of harsher terminology such as "اغتيال"/ *ightiyāl*, demonstrates bias or at least recognition of the victim's political legitimacy, while the social background shows that this event will affect broader group and societal dynamics because the assassination of a political leader impacts not only the organization but also followers and sympathizers who perceive it as an attack on their ideology.

#### Background in News on August 7th (حماس تعتمد إستراتيجية "الصدمة والرعب" في اختيارها للسنوار) Line 7–8

اختيار حماس للسنوار فاق كل التوقعات وقلب الطاولة على رئيس الوزراء الإسرائيلي بنيامين نتانياهو والدول الداعمة له

"Hamas' election of Sinwar surpassed all expectations and turned the tables on Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his supporting countries<sup>30</sup>."

In that news report, the journalist clearly demonstrated bias toward Hamas through the narrative اختيار حماس للسنوار فاق كل التوقعات /*Ikhtiyāru hamās lis-sinwār fī qa kullat-tawaqqu'atī*/ (Hamas's selection of Sinwar exceeded all expectations) constructed regarding Yahya Sinwar's election as the new leader of the organization. The journalist built a positive image by emphasizing that Sinwar's leadership brought great hope for Hamas and its supporters.

On the other hand, the journalist also created a contrast by depicting how this selection caused significant concern on the Israeli side ( وقلب الطاولة على رئيس الوزراء ) /*wa qalabal-thawilata 'al raīsīl-wuzarīl-il-isrāīlī*/ (and turned the tables on the Israeli Prime Minister), particularly for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and allied nations. The way the journalist constructed this narrative—by highlighting fearful reactions from the Israeli side while elevating optimistic aspects from the Hamas camp—reflected evident bias and partisanship in the news delivery.

<sup>30</sup> عمر زقزوق, "حماس تعتمد إستراتيجية 'الصدمة والرعب' في اختيارها للسنوار," الجزيرة تصفح في التطبيق, 2024. <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/2024/8/7/حماس-تعتمد-إستراتيجية-الصدمة-والرعب>

## Background in News on August 7th (محللون إسرائيليون عن السنوار: حماس اختارت زعيما قويا لا يقبل تنازلات)

### Line 39–40

وتحت عنوان "السنوار رئيسا.. نتنياهو المذنب" كتب أمير بن دافيد محرر الشؤون السياسية في الموقع الإلكتروني "زمان" إسرائيل "مقالا انتقد فيه سياسات رئيس الوزراء الإسرائيلي بنيامين نتنياهو، وإدارته للحرب وفشله في تحقيق أهدافها وإعادة المختطفين، قائلا إن "فشل نتنياهو ساهم في تعزيز وتقوية السنوار

"Under the headline "Sinwar as President... Netanyahu is to Blame," Amir Ben-David, political editor of the Zman Yisrael website, wrote an article criticizing Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's policies, his handling of the war, and his failure to achieve his goals and bring home the kidnapped soldiers. He argued that "Netanyahu's failure has strengthened Sinwar<sup>31</sup>."

In the news text above, the journalist strategically quoteed the key statement "فشل نتنياهو ساهم في تعزيز وتقوية السنوار" (*fasyal Netanyahu sahama fi ta'ziz wa taqwiyyat as-Sinwar*) - "Netanyahu's failure has strengthened Sinwar") sourced from an article published by Amir Ben-David, political editor of the *Zman Yisrael* website. The use of this quotation represents a clever journalistic strategy to enhance the credibility and appeal of the news, considering that the criticism originates from Israeli media itself rather than from external parties. By presenting an internal Israeli voice that criticizes Netanyahu's leadership, the journalist successfully constructed a narrative demonstrating that even Israel's domestic circles view Netanyahu's failure in managing the war as a factor that actually strengthens Yahya Sinwar's position as Hamas leader, thereby creating a political irony that captures readers' attention and reinforces the argument that criticism of Netanyahu comes not only from external opposition parties but also from within Israel itself.

## Line 7–9 (ذكي.. صلب.. وخصم عنيد: السنوار كأخطر رجل على إسرائيل)

حماس فاجأت الجميع، وأظهرت باختيارها قائدها في غزة، يحيى السنوار "أبو إبراهيم"، زعيمًا لها، أنها ما زالت قادرة على المفاجأة والإدهاش

"Hamas surprised everyone, and by choosing their leader in Gaza, Yahya Sinwar "Abu Ibrahim", as their leader, showed that they are still capable of surprising and impressing<sup>32</sup>."

Through the word choice and sentence construction حماس فاجأت الجميع، وأظهرت /Hamās fījaatil-jamīʿ, wa azharat باختيارها قائدها في غزة، يحيى السنوار "أبو إبراهيم"، زعيمًا لها

محمد وتد، "محللون إسرائيليون عن السنوار: حماس اختارت زعيما قويا لا يقبل تنازلات"، الجزيرة تصفح في التطبيق، 2024، <https://www.aljazeera.net/politics/2024/8/7/محللون-إسرائيليون-رئاسة-السنوار>

عريب الرنتاوي، "ذكي.. صلب.. وخصم عنيد: السنوار كأخطر رجل على إسرائيل"، الجزيرة تصفح في التطبيق، 2024، <https://www.aljazeera.net/opinions/2024/8/8/أخطر-رجل-على-إسرائيل>

*bikhtiyārīh qā'idah fī ghazzah, yahyā as-sinwār 'abū ibrahīm', za'īman lah/* (Hamas surprised everyone, and by choosing their leader in Gaza, Yahya Sinwar "Abu Ibrahim," as their leader), the news journalist successfully constructed a narrative depicting Hamas as an organization whose appointment of Sinwar constitutes a decision that was truly beyond the expectations and calculations of many parties due to the background involving leadership within the Hamas organization. This manner of news delivery not only provides factual information about the leadership transition but also successfully captures and conveys the atmosphere of surprise surrounding the event, creating a vivid portrayal of how this decision was received by the general public.

#### Background in News on August 9th (أبو عبيدة: القسم تباع السنوار) Line 4-6

اختيار السنوار رئيساً لحركة المقاومة الإسلامية (حماس) خلفاً لقائدنا الشهيد المجاهد إسماعيل هنية دليل على حيوية الحركة وتماسكها وقوتها بفضل الله تعالى

"The election of Sinwar as President of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) in place of our martyred leader, Mujahid Ismail Haniyeh, is a testament to the vitality, cohesion and strength of this movement thanks to Allah<sup>33</sup>."

In that text, the statement (اختيار السنوار رئيساً لحركة المقاومة الإسلامية (حماس)) (The selection of Sinwar as President of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)) followed by the phrase خلفاً لقائدنا الشهيد المجاهد إسماعيل هنية دليل على حيوية الحركة وتماسكها وقوتها بفضل الله تعالى (succeeding our martyred leader, Mujahid Ismail Haniyeh, is evidence of the movement's vitality, cohesion, and strength by the grace of Allah Almighty) is constructed within the context of the situation following Ismail Haniyeh's assassination. This statement explains Yahya Sinwar's leadership stance, which is demonstrated through the movement's vitality, cohesion, and strength. Hamas strategically transforms the narrative from the tragedy of Haniyeh's assassination into proof of organizational strength, where the concept of "vitality, cohesion, and strength" indicates that Hamas has actually grown stronger after losing its leader.

#### Details in News on August 7th (ثلاث رسائل للعالم من اختيار السنوار لخلافة هنية) Line 20-25

كما أن اختياره لهذه المهمة كان حاجة للحركة لإظهار التماسك بين جناحيها: العسكري في الداخل، والسياسي في الخارج؛ لتبديد المزاعم، التي سعى الإسرائيليون لإثارتها، عن وجود انقسام بين جناحيها: العسكري والسياسي، وعن انقطاع السنوار عن العالم الخارجي، وعن وجود صراعات داخل الحركة حول خلافة هنية. ويحمل اختيار السنوار في طياته ثلاث رسائل بارزة من حركة حماس

<sup>33</sup> وكالات الجزيرة، "أبو عبيدة: القسم تباع السنوار"، الجزيرة تصفح في التطبيق، 2024،  
<https://www.aljazeera.net/news/2024/8/9/عاجل-أبو-عبيدة-القسم-تباع-القائد>

"Moreover, his selection for this task was a necessity for the movement to demonstrate cohesion between its two wings: the military at home, and the political abroad; to dispel the accusations that the Israelis were trying to raise about the existence of a split between its two wings: military and political, about Sinwar's break with the outside world, and about the existence of an internal conflict within the movement over Haniyeh's succession. Sinwar's election carries three important messages from Hamas<sup>34</sup>."

The text reveals how the journalist strategically and systematically selected and emphasized certain information to support the main argument. The phrase وعن وجود صراعات داخل الحركة حول خلافة هنية /*wa 'an wujūdi shir'ītin dīkhilal-harakati haula khiḥfati haniyyah/* (and about the existence of internal conflicts within the movement regarding Haniyeh's succession) reinforces the previous statement regarding external issues about internal conflicts in the leadership transition process from Ismail Haniyeh to Yahya Sinwar.

Furthermore, the journalist explicitly presents والسياسي في الخارج؛ لتبديد المزاعم، التي تسعى /*was-siyāsī fil-khārij; litabdidil-mazā'im, allatī sa'īl-isrāīliyyūna liitsrātiḥī, 'an wujūdi inqisāmin baina janḥaiḥī/* (to dispel the allegations that the Israelis sought to stir up about the existence of a division between its two wings: military and political), three main accusations from Israel that need to be refuted: accusations about divisions between the military and political wings, accusations about Sinwar's isolation from the outside world, and accusations about internal conflicts in Haniyeh's succession process.

#### **Line 11 – 17 (حماس تعتمد إستراتيجية "الصدمة والرعب" في اختيارها للسوار) Details in News on August 7th**

وطرح أحد المدونين سؤالاً: "لماذا تم اختيار السوار في هذا التوقيت؟"، ويجب بأن هذا الاختيار تم لعدة أسباب، أولاً إنه مهندس طوفان الأقصى، ومن سيكون ثانياً رسالة قوة من حماس تجاه إسرائيل، ولا تخلو من التحدي لها. ثالثاً: بهذا الاختيار تكون حماس قد رفعت الحرج عن أي دولة مضيضة لأي رئيس آخر لها، فقد تعرض من خلال تلك الاستضافة للضغوطات والتهديدات الدولية. أقدر منه لاستكمال المعركة المفتوحة وتحمل تبعاتها؟

"One blogger asked the question: "Why was Sinwar chosen at this time?" and replied that this selection was made for several reasons. First, he is the architect of the Al-Aqsa Storm, and who is better able to continue the open battle and bear the consequences? Secondly, this is a message of strength from Hamas to Israel, and it is not free of challenges for them. Thirdly, with this election, Hamas has removed the burden from any country hosting

<sup>34</sup> محمود علوش، "ثلاث رسائل للعالم من اختيار السوار لخلافة هنية"، الجزيرة تصفح في التطبيق، 2024، <https://www.aljazeera.net/opinions/2024/8/7/ثلاث-رسائل-للعالم-من-اختيار-السوار>

another president, as they may face international pressure and threats through the hosting<sup>35</sup>."

In the news text above the journalist carefully presented three main reasons, each containing specific and significant details. The first detail emphasizes Sinwar's role as "مهندس طوفان الأقصى" /*muhandisu thūfānil-aqsh*/ (architect of the Al-Aqsa Flood), a deliberate word choice used to build legitimacy for his leadership based on military achievements. The journalist reinforced this detail with a rhetorical question about his ability to continue the struggle, which implicitly affirmed that he is the most logical choice.

In the second detail, the journalist emphasized the symbolic aspect of this selection as "رسالة قوة" /*risālatu quwwatin*/ (a message of strength) to Israel, explicitly adding that this contains an element of challenge. The selection of this detail is strategic to demonstrate that this leadership succession is not merely an administrative transition but also a calculated political move. The third detail provides a pragmatic dimension by explaining how this selection reduces international pressure on countries that potentially could host Hamas leaders.

#### Line (محللون إسرائيليون عن السنوار: حماس اختارت زعيما قويا لا يقبل تنازلات) Details in News on August 7th 44-47

وأشار الكاتب الإسرائيلي إلى أن قرار تعيين السنوار رئيسا للمكتب السياسي هو تعبير عن الثقة به وبالقيادة الراسخة في قطاع غزة، ويهدف إلى إيصال رسالة إلى إسرائيل والولايات المتحدة والعالم العربي تقول إن السنوار وحده هو من سيملي شروط الصفقة المستقبلية لإطلاق سراح المختطفين وإنهاء الحرب

"The Israeli author points out that the decision to appoint Sinwar as the head of the political bureau is an expression of trust in him and solid leadership in the Gaza Strip, and aims to send a message to Israel, the United States, and the Arab world that Sinwar alone will determine the terms of a future deal for the release of the hostages and an end to the war<sup>36</sup>."

At the textual level, the journalist wrote تعيين السنوار رئيسا للمكتب السياسي هو تعبير عن الثقة به وبالقيادة الراسخة في قطاع غزة /*ta'yīnis-sinwār raīsan lil-maktabis-siyāsī huwa ta'bīrun 'anits-tsiqati bihī wa bil-qiyādatir-rāsikhati fī qith'i ghazzah*/ (the appointment of Sinwar as head of the political bureau is an expression of confidence in him and in the established leadership in the Gaza Strip), indicating that Hamas and the Palestinian people have entrusted Hamas's leadership to Yahya Sinwar to strengthen Hamas and send a message to Israel.

In the broader social context, this news reflects complex regional power dynamics, where the explicit mention of three major political entities - Israel, the United States, and the Arab world - demonstrates how the Gaza conflict involves

<sup>35</sup> "عمر زقزوق، "حماس تعتمد إستراتيجية 'الصدمة والرعب' في اختيارها للسنوار

"محمد وتد، "محللون إسرائيليون عن السنوار: حماس اختارت زعيما قويا لا يقبل تنازلات

intricate networks of international interests. Notably, the use of the word "determine" (سيملي) /sayumli/ in the context of "terms of agreement" indicates a strong bargaining position, while simultaneously constructing an image of Sinwar as a leader capable of standing on equal footing with global powers in negotiations regarding hostage release and conflict cessation.

#### Details in News on August 8th (دكي.. صلب.. وخصم عنيد: السنوار كأخطر رجل على إسرائيل) Line 24–28

هو قرار محمل بالمعاني والدلالات، إن على صعيد البنية الحركية – التنظيمية للحركة الأكثر شعبية ونفوذاً في أوساط الشعب الفلسطيني، أو لجهة التأثير على خيارات الحركة السياسية والتحالفية في اللحظة المكثفة الراهنة، والموصوفة بأنها غير مسبوقة في تاريخ الشعب الفلسطيني، قبل النكبة، وبالأخص بعدها

"It is a decision loaded with meaning and significance, both in terms of the structure of the movement - the organization of the most popular and influential movement among the Palestinian people, as well as in terms of the designation of the movement's political choices and alliances at this intense moment, which is described as unprecedented in the history of the Palestinian people, before the Nakba, and especially after it<sup>37</sup>."

At the textual dimension, the use of the phrase هو قرار محمل بالمعاني والدلالات، إن على صعيد البنية الحركية – التنظيمية للحركة الأكثر شعبية ونفوذاً في أوساط الشعب الفلسطيني /Huwa qararun muhammalun bil-ma'ānī wad-dalālat, in 'al-sha'idil-binyatil-harakiyyati – at-tanzhimiyyati lilharakatil-aktsari sya'biyyatan wa nufūdzan fī ausathisy-sya'bil-falasthīnī/ (This is a decision laden with meanings and significance, both in terms of the movement's organizational structure of the most popular and influential movement among the Palestinian people). This phrase does not merely function as ordinary emphasis but serves as an entry point for readers to understand that the event being discussed has extremely important historical value. The discussion structure within the text is arranged in a regular and gradual pattern, beginning with discussion of internal matters within the movement, then gradually moving toward a broader context, namely the overall historical situation of Palestine.

From the social cognition perspective, this text deliberately shapes a mental image for readers that the movement being discussed is not an ordinary group, but rather an organization that truly represents the wishes and hopes of Palestinian society at large. This is reinforced by the use of the phrase "most popular and influential" (الأكثر شعبية ونفوذاً) /aktsari sya'biyyatan wa nufūdzan/ which directly affirms that this movement has massive popular support and strong influence within Palestinian society.

<sup>37</sup> "عريب الرنتاوي، "دكي.. صلب.. وخصم عنيد: السنوار كأخطر رجل على إسرائيل"

### Details in News on August 9th (أبو عبيدة: القسم تابع السنوار) Line 10–11

وأوضحت الحركة في بيان، أن اختيار السنوار لهذا المنصب جاء بعد "مشاورات ومداولات معمقة وموسعة بمؤسسات الحركة القيادية"

"The movement explained in a statement that Sinwar's selection for this position came after "deep and wide consultations and discussions with the movement's leadership institutions"<sup>38</sup>."

At the textual level, the selection of the phrase "مشاورات ومداولات معمقة وموسعة بمؤسسات الحركة القيادية" /sinwār liḥdzal-manshabī j̣a ba'da 'masỵwaṛtin wa muḍwaḷtin mu'ammaqatin wa muwassa'atin bimūassaṣtil-harakatil-qiỵdiyyah/ (Sinwar's selection for this position came after "deep and extensive consultations and deliberations with the movement's leadership institutions") reflects an effort to build legitimacy for the decision-making process through linguistic construction that emphasizes deliberative and inclusive aspects.

From a social cognition perspective, the use of the term "leadership institutions" (مؤسسات الحركة القيادية) /muassaṣtil-harakatil-qiỵdiyyah/ not only demonstrates an established organizational structure, but also builds a mental model of a well-organized movement with systematic decision-making mechanisms. In the broader social context, this official statement reflects an effort to construct a democratic and collective image in the decision-making process, which is important for building legitimacy both in the eyes of internal constituencies and the international community.

### Intent in News on August 7th (ثلاث رسائل للعالم من اختيار السنوار لخلافة هنية) Line 26–29

علاوة على إظهار التماسك الداخلي على مستوى العلاقة بين جناحيها في غزة والخارج، يُرسل اختيار السنوار رسالة تحدٍ للاحتلال مفادها أنّ الحركة لا تزال قوية وقادرة على إنتاج قيادة جديدة؛ لمواجهة التحديات التي تفرضها المرحلة الجديدة من الحرب بعد اغتيال هنية

"In addition to demonstrating internal cohesion in the relationship between its two wings in Gaza and abroad, Sinwar's election sends a challenging message to the occupation that the movement is still strong and capable of producing new leadership to face the challenges posed by the new phase of the war following Haniyeh's assassination"<sup>39</sup>."

The journalist wrote the phrase "الحركة لا تزال قوية وقادرة على إنتاج قيادة جديدة" /al-harakata ḷ taẓlu qawiyyatan wa q̣diratan 'aḷ inṭji qiỵdatin jadīdatin/ (that the movement remains strong and capable of producing new leadership), to indicate

<sup>38</sup> "الجزيرة"، أبو عبيدة: القسم تابع السنوار

<sup>39</sup> "محمود علوش"، ثلاث رسائل للعالم من اختيار السنوار لخلافة هنية

that Hamas is still strong in conducting resistance by producing new leadership after Ismail Haniyeh's assassination. This demonstrates that the Al Jazeera Arabic journalist benefits Hamas or shows bias toward Hamas and Palestine in writing the news by seemingly exaggerating Hamas through writing the phrase that the movement remains strong and capable of producing new leadership.

#### Intent in News on August 7th (حماس تعتمد إستراتيجية "الصدمة والرعب" في اختيارها للسنوات) Line 24–27

ورأى أحد المعلقين أن اختيار السنوار قائدًا لحماس بمنزلة إعلان من الحركة وكل أبنائها التفافهم حول الطوفان خيارًا وقرارًا. وأشار إلى أن سرعة القرار والتشاور بين الداخل والخارج تعني أن آليات الشورى والأجهزة التنظيمية في حماس فاعلة، وهي قادرة على اتخاذ قرارات مصيرية في لحظات دقيقة

"According to one commentator, the election of Sinwar as Hamas leader is a declaration by the movement and all its members that they are united in facing the floods as a choice and decision. He noted that the speed of the decision and the consultations between insiders and outsiders showed that Hamas' shura mechanism and organization were effective, and capable of taking decisive decisions at the right moments<sup>40</sup>."

The journalist carefully wrote how this text constructs a strong implicit meaning behind the event being conveyed. The phrase اختيار السنوار قائدًا لحماس بمنزلة إعلان من الحركة وكل أبنائها التفافهم /*ikhtiyār as-Sinwār qā'idān li Ḥamās bi manzilati i'ānin min al-ḥarakati wa kullī abnā'ihā iltifāḥum*/ (Sinwar's selection as Hamas leader is a declaration by the movement and all its members of their unity) builds a spirit for all members to unite following the declaration of Yahya Sinwar's selection as the new Hamas leader and contains the implication that this event is not merely a formal leadership transition but holds deeper symbolic significance.

#### Intent in News on August 7th (محللون إسرائيليون عن السنوار: حماس اختارت زعيمًا قويًا لا يقبل تنازلات) Line 48–52

وقال المتخصص في الشؤون الفلسطينية والشرق أوسطية آفي يسخاروف إن اختيار حماس السنوار بعد هنية يعكس المسار الذي اختارت حماس أن تسلكه في بداية "طوفان الأقصى"، وكذلك يرمز إلى إستراتيجية الحركة في ظل الحرب ومواقفها من مستقبل الصراع وتبني حماس رؤية وأجندة وأيديولوجية السنوار

"Palestinian and Middle East affairs expert Avi Yischarov said that Hamas' selection of Sinwar after Haniyeh reflected the path Hamas chose to take at the start of the "Al-Aqsa Storm", as well as symbolizing the movement's strategy in the midst of the war and its position towards the future of the conflict as well as Hamas' acceptance of Sinwar's vision, agenda and ideology<sup>41</sup>."

<sup>40</sup> "عمر زقزوق، "حماس تعتمد إستراتيجية 'الصدمة والرعب' في اختيارها للسنوات

"محمد وتد، "محللون إسرائيليون عن السنوار: حماس اختارت زعيمًا قويًا لا يقبل تنازلات

The journalist wrote the phrase "يرمز إلى إستراتيجية الحركة في ظل الحرب ومواقفها من مستقبل الصراع وتبني حماس رؤية وأجندة وأيديولوجية السنوار /yarmizu il-istratijiyyatil-harakati fi zhillil-harbi wa mawqifihi min mustaqbalish-shir'i wa tabannī hamas ruyatan wa ajindatan wa aidiyūliyyatas-sinwar/ (symbolizes the movement's strategy amid war and its positions regarding the future of the conflict as well as Hamas's adoption of Sinwar's vision, agenda, and ideology) as an important marker in Hamas's political and military dynamics. This statement indicates that Yahya Sinwar's election as leader is not merely an internal organizational decision but also represents Hamas's strategic direction in the context of the ongoing war, as well as their stance and orientation toward the future of the conflict with Israel. By adopting the vision, agenda, and ideology championed by Sinwar, Hamas articulates its commitment to a more radical struggle approach while affirming the consistency of its struggle line amid mounting pressure and escalating conflict developments.

#### Line 30–32 (ذكي.. صلب.. وخصم عنيد: السنوار كأخطر رجل على إسرائيل) Intent in News on August 8th

من الناحية الحركية – التنظيمية، أظهر اتخاذ قرار أن يكون السنوار خليفة لهنية، في زمن قياسي لا يتعدى بضعة أيام، وفي ظروف حرب ضروس، أن هذه الحركة، تتمتع برشاقة وحيوية، أملتتها تجربة في "المأسسة" و"الشورى

"In terms of the movement - the organization, the decision to make Sinwar Haniyeh's successor, in a short period of no more than a few days, and under fierce war conditions, shows that the movement has agility and vitality, resulting from experience in "institutionalization" and "deliberation"<sup>42</sup>."

In writing the text above, the journalist attempted to demonstrate that Hamas possesses extraordinary agility and vitality through the phrase "أن هذه الحركة، تتمتع برشاقة وحيوية، أملتتها تجربة في "المأسسة" و"الشورى /anna h-dzihil-harakah, tatamatta'u birasyqatin wa haywiyyah, amlath tajribatun fil-masassati wasy-syūr\*/ (showing that this movement possesses agility and vitality, which resulted from experience in "institutionalization" and "consultation") derived from their experience in the processes of "المأسسة" /masassati/ "institutionalization" and "الشورى" /asy-syūr/ "consultation." The short timeframe for conducting the leadership transition within just a few days demonstrates that this organization has developed effective mechanisms to quickly adapt to changing situations. This indicates the existence of a mature and structured crisis management system, where leadership succession procedures have been anticipated and well-prepared in advance. The speed of this transition process also reflects the organization's level of preparedness in facing

<sup>42</sup> "عريب الرنتاوي، "ذكي.. صلب.. وخصم عنيد: السنوار كأخطر رجل على إسرائيل"

uncertainty, as well as showing that there are clear and efficient communication channels across management levels.

### Intent in News on August 7th (أبو عبيدة: القسم تباع السنوار) Line 12–13

"وعبرت الحركة عن ثقتها بـ"السنوار قائدا لها في مرحلة حساسة وظرف محلي وإقليمي ودولي معقد

"And the movement expressed its confidence in "Sinwar as their leader in a sensitive phase and complex local, regional and international conditions"<sup>43</sup>."

The news above reflects how Hamas, in facing ongoing challenges, demonstrates high resilience and adaptability through Sinwar's appointment with the phrase *السنوار قائدا لها في مرحلة حساسة وظرف محلي وإقليمي ودولي معقد* /*sinwar qā'idan lahā fi marhalatin hassāsin wa zharfin mahallī wa iqlīmī wa daulī mu'aqqad*/ (Sinwar as their leader in a sensitive phase and complex local, regional, and international circumstances). In this context, Sinwar's appointment, occurring amid intense conflict situations, not only reflects a strategic decision but also illustrates the movement's collective confidence in leadership capable of overcoming crises. Sinwar, as a figure known for his firm and pragmatic approach, is expected to lead Hamas with a clear and focused vision, thereby strengthening the organization's position in facing external and internal challenges.

### Presupposition in News on August 7th (ثلاث رسائل للعالم من اختيار السنوار لخلافة هنية) Line 8–11

هذا الاختيار، وإن بدا مفاجئاً لكثيرين ممن كانوا يتوقعون اختيار شخصية من الجناح السياسي للحركة لتولي هذا المنصب لاعتبارات متعددة، إلا أنه يظهر قبل كل شيء كنتيجة طبيعية لاغتيال هنية، والمنحى الجديد الذي سلكته الحرب بعد التصعيد الإسرائيلي الجديد لها، وتزايد مخاطرها الإقليمية.

"This selection, while seeming surprising to many who expected the selection of a figure from the political wing of the movement to occupy this position due to various considerations, ultimately shows the natural outcome of Haniyeh's assassination, the new direction the war is taking after the new escalation from Israel, and its increasing regional risks"<sup>44</sup>."

In this text, the journalist presented presuppositions constructed through strategic word choices and linguistic structures, where the phrase "although it appeared surprising to many who expected the selection of a figure from the movement's political wing to assume this position due to various considerations" (وإن بدا مفاجئاً لكثيرين ممن كانوا يتوقعون اختيار شخصية من الجناح السياسي للحركة لتولي هذا المنصب لاعتبارات متعددة) /*wa in badā mufjījan likatsīrīna mimman kīnū yatawaqqa'ūna ikhtiyāra*

<sup>43</sup> "الجزيرة"، أبو عبيدة: القسم تباع السنوار

<sup>44</sup> "محمود علوش"، ثلاث رسائل للعالم من اختيار السنوار لخلافة هنية

*syakhshiyyatin minal-janāhis-siyāsī lilharakati litawallī hādhal-manshabī lii'tibāritin muta'addidah/* This statement contains the presupposition that the public had different expectations regarding Hamas leadership, particularly a preference for figures from the political wing. This presupposition indicates an understanding that Hamas's organizational structure is not monolithic but consists of various wings with different characteristics and orientations. Public expectations for leadership from the political wing imply a perception that political figures tend to be more moderate, more open to diplomacy, and possess better capabilities in managing external relations compared to figures from the military wing.

#### **Line 35-37** (حماس تعتمد إستراتيجية "الصدمة والرعب" في اختيارها للسنوات)

في المقابل، رأى آخرون أن القرار خطأ بسبب وجود السنوار في الداخل، مما يعوق عملية التفاوض والتحركات السياسية بين الدول لمنح الفرصة لمزيد من التباحث والتفاوض

"On the other hand, others saw the decision as a mistake due to Sinwar's presence in the country, which hampered the negotiation process and political movement between countries to provide opportunities for further discussion and negotiation<sup>45</sup>."

The writer reveals the differences in assumptions embedded within the discourse. The opening "On the other hand" (في المقابل) /*Fī al-muqābil*/ contains a contrastive presupposition that there was a previous view that differs from or opposes what will be explained, thus presupposing the existence of debate or differences of opinion regarding Sinwar's appointment. The phrase "others viewed the decision as a mistake" (رأى آخرون أن القرار خطأ) /*ra'ū ākhara anna al-qarāra khaṭa'un*/ presupposes that Sinwar's appointment is a decision that can be evaluated within a framework of "right" or "wrong," rather than merely as a neutral political preference, while simultaneously presupposing the existence of certain evaluative criteria that can be used to assess the decision.

#### **Line 53-56** (محللون إسرائيليون عن السنوار: حماس اختارت زعيما قويا لا يقبل تنازلات)

وأضاف الكاتب الإسرائيلي أنه إذا تعززت قوة ومكانة حماس في عهد السنوار فسوف ينظر الفلسطينيون للسنوار على أنه "الشخص الذي أعادهم إلى ذكرى النكبة، وأن في اختياره رسالة إلى الشعب الفلسطيني والعالم مفادها أنه يجب عليهم القتال حتى الموت وعدم تقديم أي تنازلات

"The Israeli writer adds that if Hamas' power and position is strengthened under Sinwar, Palestinians will see Sinwar as "the one who returns them to the memory of the Nakba, and in his choice, there is a message to the

<sup>45</sup> "عمر زقزوق، "حماس تعتمد إستراتيجية 'الصدمة والرعب' في اختيارها للسنوار

Palestinian people and the world that they must fight to the death and not make any concessions<sup>46</sup>."

In the text, the journalist wrote أنه إذا تعززت قوة ومكانة حماس في عهد السنوار فسوف ينظر / *annahu idz ta'azzazat quwwatu wa maknahu hamas fi 'ahdis-sinwar fasaufa yanzhuru al-falasthīniyyūna lis-sinwar 'al annahu 'asy-syakhshul-ladzī a'dahum il dzikran-nakbah* (if Hamas's power and position are strengthened in the Sinwar era, Palestinians will view Sinwar as "the person who brought them back to the memory of the Nakba"). This leads Israel to argue that if Hamas's power and position are strengthened under Sinwar's leadership, Palestinians will see him as the figure who brings them back to the memory of the Nakba, which refers to the mass displacement experienced by the Palestinian people in 1948.

#### Line (ذكي.. صلب.. وخصم عنيد: السنوار كأخطر رجل على إسرائيل) News on August 8th Presupposition in 68-72

فلولا الدفع بالمنطقة إلى حافة الهاوية، مع تنامي التهديدات الجادة والجديدة، بردود محتومة لا ريب فيها على جرائم الاحتلال واستباحاته طهران والضاحية الجنوبية والحديدة، لما استنفرت الدبلوماسية العالمية والعربية واحتشدت من أجل دفع الأطراف خطوة أو خطوتين للوراء، للحيلولة دون الانزلاق من حافة الهاوية إلى قعرها

"If not for the region's push to the brink, with serious and real threats mounting, with a definitive response to the occupation's crimes and violations in Tehran, the southern suburbs, and Al-Hudaydah, then global and Arab diplomacy would not have mobilized and come together to push the parties back a step or two, to prevent falling off the brink to its bottom<sup>47</sup>."

By stating that 'If it were not for pushing the region to the brink of the abyss, with the growing serious and grave threats,' / فلولا الدفع بالمنطقة إلى حافة الهاوية، مع تنامي التهديدات الجادة والجديدة، / *Falau d-daf'u bil-minthaqati il hafatil-hwiyah, ma'a tanmit-tahdīdtil-jiddati wal-jiddiyyah*, the journalist employed crisis rhetoric that emphasizes the urgency of the situation and creates an interpretive framework that portrays regional conditions as being in a critical state requiring immediate action. The use of the 'brink of the abyss' metaphor (*hafatil-hwiyah*) not only illustrates the severity of the situation but also contains the presupposition that there exists a point of no return which, if crossed, would result in irreversible consequences.

<sup>46</sup> "محمد وتد، "محللون إسرائيليون عن السنوار: حماس اختارت زعيما قويا لا يقبل تنازلات

<sup>47</sup> "عريب الرنتاوي، "ذكي.. صلب.. وخصم عنيد: السنوار كأخطر رجل على إسرائيل

## Presupposition in News on August 9th (أبو عبيدة: القسم تباع السنوار) Line 19–22

وتعتبر إسرائيل السنوار مهندس عملية "طوفان الأقصى" في السابع من أكتوبر/تشرين الأول 2023، التي كبدتها خسائر بشرية وعسكرية وهزت صورة أجهزتها الاستخباراتية والأمنية أمام العالم

"Israel considers Sinwar the architect of the "Al-Aqsa Storm" operation on October 7, 2023, which caused human and military losses and shook the image of its intelligence and security agencies before the world<sup>48</sup>."

In this statement, Israel considers Sinwar to be the architect of "Tufan al-Aqsa" operation on October 7, 2023, which caused human and military losses and shook the image of its intelligence and security agencies in front of the world / *Wa ta'tabiru isrā'ilus-sinwar muhandisa 'amaliyyati 'thūfānil-aqshā' fis-sābi'i min uktūbir/tisyri'il-awwal 2023, allatī kabbadathā khasā'ira basyariyyatan wa 'askariyyatan wa hazzat shūrata ajhizatihā-l-istikhbārīyyati wal-amniyyati ammal-lam* ( Israel considers Sinwar to be the architect of the " Al-Aqsa Storm" operation on October 7, 2023, which caused human and military losses and shook the image of its intelligence and security agencies in the eyes of the world ), Sinwar is believed to have played an important and strategic role in the planning and execution of the operation. Sinwar is seen as a well-versed leader in the intricacies of the conflict between Palestine and Israel. To elaborate further, the journalist's use of the term مهندس / *muhandis* "architect" indicates that Sinwar played a role that was greater than mere involvement in military activities; he also had underlying goals and strategies, which made the operation a success.

## Conclusion

After conducting research on the microstructure of semantic points using Teun A. Van Dijk's theoretical framework, the researchers discovered significant patterns indicating favoritism between Al Jazeera media and the Palestinian or Hamas side in their news coverage, with linguistic analysis revealing that Al Jazeera journalists consistently employ phrases containing implicit or explicit support towards Palestine and Hamas. However, the research found that Al Jazeera journalists construct these supportive phrases in strict accordance with actual events occurring in the field, suggesting the apparent favoritism stems from ground reality rather than predetermined editorial bias. Therefore, from a professional journalism perspective, the study concludes these journalists have fulfilled their responsibility effectively by producing news content that accurately reflects actual field conditions, helping ensure no significant social imbalance or misrepresentation in coverage of the ongoing Palestine-Israel conflict, ultimately serving the goal of maintaining journalistic integrity while providing audiences with news reflecting genuine field conditions.

<sup>48</sup> "الجزيرة، "أبو عبيدة: القسم تباع السنوار

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