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**Analysis of Intertextuality in Selected Speeches by Ismael Haniya During Gaza War in
2023-2024**

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated

To my beloved parents; my constant source of strength and motivation, who taught me to trust in Allah and believe that hard work requires patience and determination to achieve our goals.

To my dear husband(Mu'tasem). No words can express my deepest gratitude for his understanding, support, and invaluable sacrifice, to fulfil my ambitions.

To my brothers and sisters for nursing me with love, affection, and support during the M.A. journey.

To my teachers, classmates, relatives, and friends for their support and great wishes throughout the years of my study.

To my beloved homeland; the lady of earth; mother of all beginnings; mother of all endings; it was called Palestine; it became Palestine(as said by Mahmoud Darwish).

To the people of Gaza; Jamal al-Mahamel (Camel of heavy burdens).

To the souls of the martyrs and those who have suffered the devastating impacts of wars.

To all the free people of the world, who call on peace and freedom.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

DA= Discourse analysis

PD= Political discourse

PDA= Political discourse analysis

USA= United States of America

NLM= National Liberation Movementss

IMO= Israeli Military Occupation

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Abstract

Analysis of Intertextuality in Selected Speeches by Ismael Haniya During Gaza War in 2023-2024

Today, Gaza War (2023-2024) is regarded as one of the most crucial topics in political discourse and contemporary history. The present thesis aims at exploring intertextuality from the perspective of Palestinian political discourse during this war. Specifically, the researcher selected all the political speeches of the head of the political bureau of Hamas, Ismael Haniyah, which were delivered in 2023, to illustrate how and why his political discourses allude to other types of discourses. The researcher aimed to investigate all possible types of intertextual allusions and explain the different communicative functions, ideologies, power relations, and political-social issues from Haniyah's visions of Gaza War (2023-2024). The qualitative approach was adopted to collect the required data. For the analysis process, the researcher followed Fairclough's(1992) framework of interdiscursivity and Fairclough's(1989) three Dimensions in CDA: text analysis, discursive practice, and social practice, to achieve the aims of the study. It has been found that Haniyah alluded to religious, historical, cultural, political, legal, mythological, and literary discourses. The findings also showed that Haniyah employed them variously to reveal facts about the ongoing Israeli aggression against Palestinians since Al-Nakba 1948, raise audience awareness on important issues such as discrimination, racism, hegemony as well as the question of Palestine, and compare all parties' positions and ideologies in dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict during the war. In addition, repeated allusions were used to emphasize certain visions. For Haniyah, the October 7 attack is a holy war, primarily based on Islam's ideology vision against falsehood and historical injustice. Finally, further research is recommended to study the war from other parties' perspectives and agendas.

Key terms: Intertextuality, intertextual allusion, discourse, Political discourse, critical discourse analysis, Gaza War 2023-2024

Abstract in Arabic

ملخص الدراسة

تحليل التناسل في خطابات مختارة لإسماعيل هنية ابان حرب غزة 2023-2024

تعتبر حرب غزة (2023-2024) اليوم من أهم المواضيع في الخطاب السياسي والتاريخ المعاصر. تهدف هذه الأطروحة إلى استكشاف التناسل من منظور الخطاب السياسي الفلسطيني خلال هذه الحرب. وتحديداً، اختار الباحث جميع الخطابات السياسية لرئيس المكتب السياسي لحركة حماس إسماعيل هنية، والتي ألقاها عام 2023، لتوضيح كيف ولماذا تلمح خطاباته السياسية إلى أنواع أخرى من الخطابات. استهدفت الباحثة التحقيق في جميع أنواع التلميحات التناسلية الممكنة وشرح الوظائف التواصلية المختلفة والأيدولوجيات وعلاقات القوة والقضايا السياسية والاجتماعية من رؤية هنية لحرب غزة (2023-2024). وتم اعتماد المنهج النوعي لجمع البيانات المطلوبة. ولعملية التحليل، اتبعت الباحثة إطار Fairclough (1992) للتداخل الخطابى (الاستطراد)، وإطار Fairclough (1989) ثلاثي الأبعاد في التحليل النقدي للخطاب: تحليل النص والممارسة الخطابية والممارسة الاجتماعية لتحقيق أهداف الدراسة. وقد تبين أن هنية لَمَحَ إلى خطابات دينية وتاريخية وثقافية وسياسية وقانونية وأسطورية وأدبية. كما أظهرت النتائج أن هنية وظفها بشكل مختلف لكشف الحقائق حول العدوان الإسرائيلي المستمر ضد الفلسطينيين منذ النكبة 1948، ورفع وعي الجمهور بقضايا مهمة مثل التمييز والعنصرية والهيمنة وكذلك قضية فلسطين، ومقارنة جميع الأطراف و المواقف والأيدولوجيات في التعامل مع الصراع الإسرائيلي الفلسطيني خلال الحرب. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تم استخدام التلميحات المتكررة للتأكيد على رؤى معينة. وبالنسبة لهنية، فإن هجوم 7 أكتوبر هو حرب مقدسة، تركز في المقام الأول على رؤية الإسلام الأيدولوجية ضد الباطل والظلم التاريخي. وأخيراً، يوصى بإجراء المزيد من البحث لدراسة الحرب من وجهات نظر وأجندات الأطراف الأخرى.

المصطلحات الأساسية: التناسل، التلميح التناسلي، الخطاب، الخطاب السياسي، التحليل النقدي للخطاب، حرب غزة

2024-2023

Chapter One

Introduction

1.0. Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher presents the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the research questions, the objectives of the study, the significance of the study, and the limitations of the study.

1.1. Background of the Study

Language and discourse have a very significant role in human life. While ‘language’ is foremost a means for individuals to communicate thoughts, emotions, values, beliefs, and experiences via sounds, signs, symbols, gestures, visual images, or written or spoken words, ‘discourse’, on the other hand, presents structures, utterances, and activities formed of a collection of these linguistics features, to reflect a specific communicative message. What is more important is how to make the communication process more meaningful. One of the most interesting strategies for language users is ‘intertextuality’. In its broadest sense, intertextuality is a universal phenomenon that shows how people link written, visual, or verbal texts/discourses with other texts/discourses , either in the past or in the present to convey the intended meaning and desired impact as much as possible(Zhu & Wang,2020). Indeed, the notion of ‘intertextuality’ is not new; however, the term itself was used for the first time by Julia Kristeva in the late 1960s(Allen, 2000). For her, language is socially shaped. Hence, intertextuality can take many forms such as citations, quotations, and allusions influenced by the circumstances that gave birth. Given this, studying intertextuality is of great importance, too.

In the late 20th century, intertextuality, along with its kin term, interdiscursivity, has been one of the most widely circulating theoretical concepts to be used in linguistics and literary criticism(Eburuaja,2023). It plays a crucial role in "delivering the communicative message of the speaker"(Almahasees &Mahmoud,2022,p.8). Without the use of intertextuality,

Mizrak(2023) illustrates that the meaning of a text or an utterance is incomplete or/and incomprehensible. Similarly, Zengin(2016) and Lopez-Varela(2011)claim that every text has relations to other texts; these relations are necessary and constitutive for interpreting the intended meaning, hidden ideologies, and identities. Bengoechea(1997, as included in Guerra,2013) further, indicates that analysis of intertextuality in a text not only reveals information about the author's knowledge but also about the work itself, since it determines the link between a text as well as the history and society in which this text is created. So, intertextuality has been studied in many disciplines of society, including literary and non-literary works, such as media, newspapers, law, and politics is no exception(Allen, 2000). Therefore, it can be interpreted from different perspectives by using diverse theories.

The language of politics is distinguished from that of day-to-day speech. Politicians usually employ specific linguistic features to deliver their visions properly. Intertextual allusion is one of the most prominent features in political discourse, especially, political speeches. Usually, when politicians use a language, they consciously or unconsciously allude to different references such as events, places, people, and diverse phenomena of society. Their personal, institutional, or even organizational goals primarily affect their language use. They may also be influenced by the culture, religion, or, history of the country they live in. So, political discourse is inherently impregnated with many layers of meaning (Lopez-Varela, 2011; Guerra, 2013). Fairclough (1992) maintains that an analysis of intertextuality is dealt with as a social practice or rather a discursive strategy that political speakers use in communication to reveal personal, ideological, and political agendas.

Recently, critical discourse analysis has appeared as a key to revealing hidden meanings, agendas, ideologies, power relations, and social-cultural relations in various texts and discourses, specifically political discourse (PD)(Jahedi et al., 2014; Lopez-Varela, 2011).

This study aspires to investigate intertextuality in Palestinian political discourse, particularly, in the context of the Palestinian-Israel conflict. In this thesis, the researcher aspires to shed light on the latest political events regarding this conflict, which is Gaza War in 2023-2024. It is one of the greatest events in the history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict since Al-Nakba 1948. More recently, it has been one of the most international political issues in contemporary history. Therefore, it is worth giving insights into its content, causes, and outcome.

Thus, it would be preferable to study Gaza War 2023-2024 from the perspective of Palestinian political discourse because it erupted on the 7th of October after a surprise attack on Israel by Hamas Islamic movement. Hamas is one of the most active national forces in Palestine. More specifically, the researcher in this thesis intends to explore the use of intertextuality in selected political speeches of Ismael Haniyah; the head of the political bureau of Hamas during this battle. It is noticed that Haniyah, with his eloquent style, employs emotive and attractive language, and constructs powerful contexts, alluding to different discourses(allusive sources), to describe the war. Hence, the researcher aims to analyze the different intertextual allusions in selected speeches of Haniyah during Gaza War 2023-2024, illustrating their communicative functions, reasons, and effects. Thus, an analysis of intertextuality will critically reveal power relations, hidden ideologies, and social issues (injustice, hegemony, racism, ...) that exist within discourses.

To achieve the aims of the study, the researcher adopted a qualitative approach to collect the required data from Haniyah's political speeches delivered only in 2023 during Gaza War 2023-2024. For the analysis process, the researcher followed the three dimensions of Fairclough(1989) in CDA and Fairclough's (1992) model of interdiscursivity to identify all possible allusions, interpret the intertextual/interdiscursive relationships within discourses, and explain their functions within the context of the Gaza War(2023-2024) as a whole.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

After reviewing the literature, it is shown that intertextuality has not been investigated in Palestinian political discourse. To the researcher's humble knowledge, the current study is the first that will address this topic. Therefore, this thesis aspires to contribute to the existing pool of knowledge. The researcher argues that Haniyah employs eloquent language, referring, or rather, alluding to varied and important discourses and sources such as historical, religious, literary, cultural, mythical, and others, which are worthy to be studied. The researcher also argues that allusions are implicitly and explicitly presented in his speeches. While some references are clear to be understood by the audience, other allusions seem to be unintelligible or neglected by other social groups in the world. Therefore, they need to be illustrated to shed light on important issues, facts, and themes.

In this regard, an analysis of intertextuality will offer information not only about Haniyah's language but also about the social and political life of Palestine. From the researcher's point of view, Palestinian political discourse is characterized by its internationality, which on the other hand denies the common Zionists slogan "a land without a people for a people without a land".

This thesis will look into the different intertextual allusions, explain the various communicative functions, and reveal the hidden ideologies and agendas.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

Basically, the main objective of this thesis is to explore the way intertextuality was used by the Palestinian Haniyah during Gaza War 2023-2024. In doing the analysis process, the researcher endeavours to employ intertextuality as a strategy in the field of discourse analysis to analyze political discourse. In this case, 8 political speeches of the Palestinian Haniyah will

be selected. The selected speeches were delivered during the war in 2023. So, this study aims at:

1. Revealing the different types of intertextual allusions used by Haniyah to convey his visions during Gaza War 2023-2024.
2. Showing the different reasons and communicative functions of Haniya's use of intertextual allusions.
3. Explaining hidden ideologies, power relations, and political-social issues behind the use of intertextual allusions.

1.4. Research Questions

The researcher seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What are the different types of intertextual allusions Haniyah utilized in the selected speeches to convey his visions to the audience? (Historical, cultural, religious...)
2. What are the different reasons and functions of Hanyah's use of intertextual allusions?
3. What are the hidden ideologies, power relations, and political-social issues (injustice, hegemony, ...) behind the use of intertextual allusions?

1.5. Significance of the Study

The rationale of this research lies in the fact that it explores the functions of intertextuality as a language feature, or rather, a discursive practice associated with the language used in political speeches of Haniyah. In this sense, this research will be of value on multiple levels (academic, national, and international).

First of all, the thesis contributes to adding to the pool of knowledge about intertextuality studies concerning political discourse, more specifically, political studies in the Palestinian

context. Furthermore, it might be useful for researchers, who are interested in learning about the theory of intertextuality in political speeches. It might offer them a clear analytical framework to be used for the analysis process. In addition, intertextuality applies to all texts such as media, newspapers, interviews, literature, law, music, painting, and applied linguistics. It also plays a crucial role in political and critical studies. Therefore, it can be investigated from different perspectives for varied purposes. What is really wonderful is that ‘intertextuality’ offers a rich input of human knowledge. Consequently, it is a vast area for research that opens researchers' minds to varied social-cultural issues in Palestine, which on the other hand enhances higher-level language skills such as critical thinking, cultural awareness, problem-solving, making predictions and offering explanations.

Thus, the researcher, as a Palestinian, states that the current thesis gives opportunities to talk about Palestine, its culture, history, political issues, and Palestinians' lives. In other words, an analysis of intertextuality in Haniyah's speeches will formulate an international awareness of Palestine's existence in the world. From the researcher's point of view, it is a national duty to do so.

1.6. Limitations of the Study

This study is limited to analyzing only constitutive intertextuality; viz. interdiscursivity, in the form of allusion (discourses of allusive sources), to reveal vivid communicative functions in political discourse, more specifically, Palestinian political discourse. For the analysis process, this study adopted only Fairclough's (1989) three dimensions in CDA, to illustrate the functions of intertextual allusions delivered by Haniyah during Gaza War 2023- 2024. Only Haniyah's 2023 political speeches were selected for the purpose of data analysis. Other speeches that were delivered in 2024 were excluded.

The researcher analyzes the allusive structures in Haniyah's selected speeches. In doing so, the main focus is on interpreting the intertextual relationships of those allusions with the pre-discourses that were referred to. The researcher did not take into account Haniyah's nonverbal responses such as nervousness, crying, and eye contact. Suprasegmental features such as stress, intonation and others were also neglected.

This study also focuses on collecting data to identify the discursive allusions that convey only views related to Gaza War 2023- 2024. For example, allusive structures that refer to how a speech is formulated, meaning (how to start or end a speech), are neglected, such as

1. *بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ* “*In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful*”(Yusuf Ali's translation, 2022).
2. *وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ* (*peace and blessings be upon you*)

1.7. Design of the Study

This thesis is arranged into five chapters which are described below: in Chapter One, the researcher presents a brief description and background of the study, the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, the research questions, the significance of the study, and the limitations of the study. Chapter Two is devoted to offering the theoretical and empirical works of literature, which are closely associated with the topic at hand. The theoretical framework reviewed information on key terms, concepts, and theories including, the concept of intertextuality (its origins, definitions, types, forms, and importance), political discourse, political speeches, intertextual allusion (its types and functions) in political speeches. It also illustrates the topic of Palestinian political discourse and Gaza War 2023-2024. In addition, it presents a brief biography of Ismael Haniyah; the head of the political bureau of Hamas. Thus, it manifests CDA, Fairclough's (1992) theory of intertextuality, and his approach (1989) for analysis in the CDA field. Finally, it presents some previous studies that explore intertextuality

in political speeches. Chapter Three describes the research design and methodology employed to carry out the study. It gives a detailed description of the sample, participant, data, and the research methods, theories, and procedures used to collect and analyze the required data. Chapter Four provides the analysis and discussion of data findings based on the research questions and main aims of the study. Chapter Five offers a conclusion of the study and recommendations for further research.

1.8. Conclusion

This chapter presents a brief description of the study. It illustrates the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, the research questions, the significance of the study, the limitations of the study, and the design of the study, respectively.

Chapter two

Theoretical Background and Literature Review

2.0. Introduction

This chapter includes all theoretical and empirical works of literature needed to carry out this research. It is divided into two main sections. The first section illustrates key terms, theories, and concepts related to the topic of the research. It starts with an investigation of the concept of intertextuality, its (origins, definition, significance, types, and forms). Then, it illustrates the topic of political discourse, the inevitability of intertextuality in political discourse, allusion as a feature of intertextuality in political speeches, types of allusion and its functions, critical discourse analysis, Fairclough's theory of intertextuality in CDA, political discourse in Palestine, respectively. The second section is a review of previous research that examines intertextuality in political discourse.

2.1 Section One: Theoretical Background

2.1.1. The Concept of Intertextuality

Language is the main tool for human communication. Therefore, people do their best to be better understood by others. According to Williandani et.al (2020), intertextuality is one of the most interesting linguistic devices, or rather, activities they usually practice in everyday conversation. By using intertextuality, they create associative interrelationships between text or discourses, to deliver varied as well as meaningful communicative functions that suit their needs, feelings and desires. Due to its great functionality, the notion of intertextuality has caught the interest of many theorists and scholars, as an attempt to explore its valuable role in diverse types of language communication.

2.1.1.1. Origins of Intertextuality

As a phenomenon, Zengin(2016) states that the notion of intertextuality is not new, rather, it dates back to ancient times, more precisely, when the discourses concerning texts began to exist. That is, intertextuality was used as an approach to text. Originally, Allen (2000) maintained that the specific usage of intertextuality was for literary texts, and even simply in written communication, as a special way of evaluating and analyzing, to construing meaning and depth for authors' compositions. But then, it has been broadened to be adopted in non-literary works, such as painting, music, architecture, and others. After that, the theory of intertextuality is explored to show how it reflects visions of society and human relations. Recently, the concept of intertextuality appeared to be used as one of the most circulating theories in the late 20th century(Prentice& Barker,2017; Zengin,2016).

As a matter of fact, ' intertextuality' is a word that has “emerged during a period of transition” (Allen 2011 as cited in Zannini,2021,p.23); more precisely, during the French debate over structuralism and sociopolitical crisis, which ultimately led to the 1968 turmoil. That was a transitional movement from structuralism to what has been styled 'poststructuralism'. Basically, both structuralists and poststructuralists understood the notion of intertextuality as the 'productivity of a text'(Haydarova,2022). That is, a text is a product of the structures of knowledge that produced it. Thus, the text is unlike the work. It is not something limited, but rather, it is open, interconnected “by myriad threads with its countless pretexts and contains the potential for an infinite number of intertexts” (Haydarova,2022, p.53). During the post-modern era, “the increasing relaxation of “previous Stalinist censorship” in Russia had made the publication and rediscovery of Russian thinkers' works possible” (Zannini,2021,p.23). So, many thanks to French post-World War II philosophers like Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, Philippe Sollers, Julia Kristeva and others, who had great merit in

developing the notion of intertextuality, to reveal its aesthetic and functionality in diverse types of works and post-modern analysis(Allen,2000,p.31).

To begin with, the French researcher Julia Kristeva was the most influential originator of the concept of intertextuality. The term itself was first invented by Kristeva in the late 1960s in her essays: *The Bounded Text* and *Word, Dialogue, Novel* (Allen, 2000). Originally, it was coined from the Latin word 'intertexto', which means “ 'to intertwine threads and a piece of cloth. In modern semiotics, 'intertext' refers to “a dialogic interaction between at least two systems of signs” (Elkad-Lehman&Greensfeld,2011,p260). In modern semiotics, signs and symbols are known as a crucial part of communication that contributes to conveying the intended meaning or desired impact. The semiotic notion of intertextuality introduced by Kristeva(1980) indicated that any text is a mosaic of quotations, and 'intertextuality' is the transformation or absorption of a text into another text. (as cited in Williandani et.al, 2020).

As a matter of fact, Kristeva introduced the term to the French-speaking world, as a revision to the Russian literary scholar Bakhtin's work, in which he emphasized the dialogic qualities of texts, formulating her own theory of intertextuality. In this sense, Kristeva holds that all texts are 'in dialogue' with other texts. These texts cannot be read or completely understood without understanding their interrelatedness(Allen, 2000). In addition, Kristeva states that a text is a heterogeneous combination of other texts, which may include literary, social, and/or cultural contexts of meanings in words(Raj,2015; Zannini, 2021). Both Bakhtin and Kristeva highlight the significance of the human-centred and social aspect of language which is represented by the 'utterance' ” (Zannini, 2021). For them, texts cannot be detached or separated from the socio-cultural context in which they are created (Raj,2015,p.77). Bakhtin(1981, cited in Elkad-Lehman and Greensfeld,2011) argued that:

Every linguistic utterance is the unique expression of social interaction within a specific social context, conditioned by past utterances and planned in advance by the speaker. The speaker takes into account what has been said in the past, considers how his words will be received by the listener, and expresses himself accordingly. . . all speech is dialogue. Dialogues exist between voices representing social classes, ideologies, eras and genres. The interrelation between utterances lends a unique “presence” and “voice” to each speaker(p.261).

2.1.1.2. Definitions of Intertextuality

Many scholars “constructed their own discourse over the term using different ‘languages’ and varied paradigms”(Elkad-Lehman&Greensfeld, 2011,p.260). Therefore, intertextuality has been defined and illustrated variously. Yet, it is noted that some scholars define it under literary semiotics and other researchers illustrate it under the field of critical discourse analysis(CDA).

In abroad sense, Van Zoonen(2017) claims that the term intertextuality indicates that all texts, whether formal or informal, written or spoken, artistic or mundane, are in some ways interrelated to each other. Devitt (1991, as cited in Li &Guo,2021) similarly holds that no text is monolithic, rather, texts mirror each other, learn from each other, and generate each other’s purpose. Zengin(2016)defines intertextuality as a postmodernist theory that changed the concept of text, recognizing it as an intertext. Moreover, Raj(2015) asserts that intertextuality is regarded as a universal phenomenon that shows how the intended meaning is shaped in written, visual, spoken, or even multimodal texts/discourses.

In practice, intertextuality reflects how people construct interrelationships between their texts/ discourses, by referencing, alluding to, or quoting other texts/discourses, influenced by their communication goals and the social-cultural environment in which their language is created(Raj,2015; Zengin, 2016). Similarly, Nordquist(2020), indicated that intertextuality

refers to the relationships between texts and their independence to each other as well as the culture at large. For Nordquist(2020), texts can reference, quote, derive from, draw from, build on, influence, contrast with, parody, or even inspire each other. By using intertextuality, the intended meaning is produced. Accordingly, ‘knowledge’, whether in literary or nonliterary works, does not exist in a vacuum(Nordquist,2020). According to Bazerman(2004, as cited in Williandani et al.,2020), intertextuality takes any culture into the language chain of works, readers, authors, and society. He added intertextuality is not only between texts but also could be from the incident, tragedy, phenomenon, or “historical event as a writer references in his work”(p.189).

Farrelly(2020) understands intertextuality as instances of texts linked to other texts either explicitly or implicitly, by referring to them or integrating linguistic units of them. For Farrelly (2020), ‘intertextuality’ also serves as a key concept in the CDA field, which accounts for discursive elements in power and solidarity as well as social-cultural relations. In this sense, Farrelly (2020) stated that intertextual patterns create a kind of discursive relation between aspects of social practices and formations, when they become conventional, habitual, or even repeated(p.2). Accordingly, Farrelly(2020, pp.2-3) argued that intertextuality can be observed at all levels of language use: Texts, discourse, and orders of discourse.

In other words, to understand intertextuality, it is crucial to take into account the above levels of language-use in communication. Farrelly (2020) illustrates that:

at the level of discourse, social practices have patterns of intertextuality whereby some text-types, sources of text or even specific texts are typically referred to whilst others are not, and, again some are typically framed favourably, others not. Similarly, these patterns occur at the level of orders of discourse in networks of social practice. None of these patterns of intertextuality is

likely to be inevitable or necessary and each pattern constitutes a tendency which contributes to relations of power and solidarity within and between events and social practices(p.3).

According to Porter(1986; as cited in Aduda et al., 2023), by stressing and determining the intertextual nature of discourse, our attention is shifted from the writer/ speaker as an individual, and we concentrate more on the social contexts and sources from which the writer's/speaker's discourse is created. In this respect, Porter(1986; as cited in Aduda et al., 2023) highlighted how the authorial intention is less significant than the social context. For him, the writer/speaker is a part of a discourse tradition, a member of a team, and a participant in a community of discourse that creates its collective meaning(Porter,1986; as cited in Aduda et al. , 2023, p.1306).

Culler(1981, as cited in Moloj and Bojabotseha, 2014) illustrates the impossibility of establishing the origins and sources of all intertextual/interdiscursive elements in a text/discourse. This is because texts draw on or rather, refer not only to other certain texts/discourses but also to anonymous codes and discursive practices whose origins are lost. Hence, an analysis of intertextuality or interdiscursivity is merely a matter of charting the multiple voices, texts, genres, and discourses or recognizing the sentences in which texts/discourses draw.

2.1.1.3. Importance of Intertextuality

Due to the crucial role of intertextuality in text and discourses, many scholars highlighted its significance in human language communication.

For Allen (2000) intertextuality helps in shaping the meaning of a text. Thus, 'meaning' exists between a text and the other texts to which it relates and refers. Allen added that the term 'intertextuality' is useful since it manifests notions of relationality and interdependence in

modern cultural life. Accordingly, it is impossible to speak of the uniqueness or originality of a text since every text is compiled from pieces and bits of already existing ones. In other words, there is no language or communication without using of intertextuality.

Mizrak (2023) similarly, emphasizes that the use of intertextuality is very significant in human communication since it provides powerful demonstrations of the working of language in texts as well as utterances. He clarified that an individual's use of linguistic signs(words) and their complexes(texts, utterances) are incomplete and incomprehensible if their usage is not linked and associated with other prior linguistic uses. In other words, without using intertextual relationships(textual elements), the text would lack the ability to convey the intended meaning or might convey far less.

Likewise, Haydarova(2022), illustrates the functionality of intertextuality in discourse in the context of the development of modern literary theory. Haydarova(2022) states that the dialogic nature of a word uncovers the semantic levels of the text, identifies the composer's worldview complex, and generates the influence of aesthetic perspective. Thus, in forming a new text, the author/speaker, on the one hand, finds himself/herself in a conditional matrix of intertextual interactions, a matrix of refractions and transformations, prospections and retrospections. On the other hand, the reader/ hearer decodes the text, overcomes the composition that exists in the language communication, plays with the codes and signs, and directly composes the reception of the author's/speaker's discourse. Consequently, Haydarova(2022) argued that: "intertextuality is a special specific system, in understanding to specify a number of typologically heterogeneous, structural-categorical relations, to verify the functions of intertext within the framework of discursive practice"(p.142).

Yuping (2009) highlighted how intertextuality works in literature, art, and science. For Yuping(2009), intertextuality has a 'positive position' in literature since it produces new

meanings and forms dialogue. Hence, it operates in a decisive position. However, in science, intertextuality has a 'negative position', because it accurately transmits, or rather, reveals others' thoughts. This is due to the fact that science's view of the past completely differs from that of literature(Yuping,2009).

Besides, Wang(2008, as cited in Moloji and Bojabotseha,2014), stated that intertextuality and interdiscursivity, provide a perspective for both writing and reading texts/discourses as good processes of interacting and overlapping with prior texts/discourses, readers, writers, and conventions.

In other words, in light of the researchers' perspectives (Allen,2000; Farelly, 2020) on the theory of intertextuality that were discussed above, the importance of intertextuality can be summarized as follows:

- 1- Intertextuality is influenced by our schemata; we cannot escape it. As everything around us, affects our understanding and thinking, our linguistic choices are also affected in communication. Accordingly, intertextuality can reveal the sea of knowledge and sense of creativity of an author or a speaker. It also tells us personal information such as religion, personality, beliefs, values, ideological visions, attitudes, style, and others.
- 2- Intertextuality is influenced by the social-cultural environment that revolves around us. So, it can tell us information not only about the author or speaker but also real facts about societies and their developments over time.
- 3- Accordingly, intertextuality offers a rich input for research to investigate information about an individual's thinking or societies.

- 4- Studies on intertextuality can enhance all language skills, most importantly, the 21st-century skills- high language thinking skills, such as cultural awareness, problem-solving, and critical thinking.

2.1.1.4. Classifications of Intertextuality

As intertextuality operates at all levels of language-use, scholars differ as to how to classify intertextuality. Basically, they depend on the way they understand and deal with the concept.

For example, in her theory of intertextuality, Kristeva(1980, as cited in Williandani et.al., 2020) distinguishes between two axes of intertextuality, namely the horizontal and vertical axes. The first refers to the connection between the author and the reader of a specific text. The last constructs relations between the text and other text. She pointed out that the two axes are interrelated by the shared codes, forming an infinite and open network of discourses (Williandani et.al, 2020). In this sense, Zannini(2021:24) writes about Kristeva(1980) that these axes reflect the three dimensions of ‘dialogue’: “writing subject, addressee, and exterior texts”.

In his discussion of the dialogic connections of a text, Bakhtin(1986) refers to these axes as “links in the chain of speech communication”(as cited in Zannini, 2021, p.24). However, Elkad-Lehman and Greensfeld(2011) indicated that Bakhtin calls these axes dialogue and ambivalence, which were not clearly recognized in his works. “The notion of intertextuality replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least double”(Kristeva, 1980, cited in Elkad-Lehman,2011.p.261). The critical discourse analyst Norman Fairclough (1992) also illustrates two types of intertextuality based on Kristeva’s and Bakhtin’s notion of dialogism. That is, Fairclough called the horizontal axe ‘manifest intertextuality’ and the

vertical axe ‘constitutive intertextuality’; also called interdiscursivity(it will be discussed in detail under the topic of CDA).

In addition, James Porter(1986 as cited in Norduist, 2021) differentiates between two types of intertextuality:

- 1- Iterability: it indicates the 'repeatability' of specific textual elements such as references, quotations, and allusions within a discourse. It also refers to unannounced sources, phrases, influences, traditions, and cliches in the air. In other words, every discourse is constructed of pieces or ‘traces’ of other texts that contribute to conveying the intended meaning or desired impact.
- 2- Presupposition: it refers to the assumptions and expectations that a specific text makes about its readers, referent, and context, to portions or fragments of text whether they exist or not explicitly there.

2.2.1.3. Forms of Intertextuality

The phenomenon of intertextuality exists in both fields of literary and non-literary texts. Therefore, language users differ in their ways of implementing it whether in written or even, oral communication.

According to Allen(2000), the way of formation intertextuality is affected by the reasons for communication by language users, authors, and poets. They might select diverse ways of highlighting intertextuality based on their ‘intentions’. In doing so, they probably utilize different instances, references, and resources of intertextuality. Their usage of intertextual relationships may establish additional layers of meaning, convey certain visions, create specific frameworks that suit their work, or many other reasons. Zengin (2016) illustrates that individuals' use of intertextuality is either consciously exploited or unconsciously reflected. By doing so, an intertext reproduces or modifies the texts that came before it (Zengin,2016, p.300).

Generally speaking, Yuping(2009), claimed that three elements are crucial for the formation of intertextuality:

- 1- Text a: the current text we read or hear.
- 2- Text b: the text that (Text a) refers to or integrates elements from it. It serves as a guide or it carries the source and context that helps to understand the meaning of (Text a).
- 3- Intertextual relationship: the connection between Text a and Text b. It reveals the type of relationship, communicative function, reason, and/or influence on readers or hearers.

To better understand intertextuality, it is crucial to take into account these three elements in all types of intertextual analysis(texts and discourse). As for interdiscursivity: Discourse a, Discourse b, and interdiscursive relationship can replace the above elements proposed by Yuping(2009) to analyze intertextuality.

More precisely, Allen (2000) suggested seven different devices to form intertextuality: Allusion, calque, quotation, plagiarism, parody, and translation. These devices establish various options that cover meaning, intention, and how direct or indirect the use of intertextuality is in communication.

2.1.2. Political Discourse

Very simply, discourse refers to a language used for the sake of communication. On the other hand, political discourse as the language communication carried out in the field of politics for political purposes(as cited in Alduhaim,2019). That political language is also described as a 'language of power' and the 'language of influence' since it aims to evoke public reaction in public communication(as cited in Alduhaim,2019).

According to Ellah(2022), no human society can be isolated from politics since the politicians' activities influence all citizens. Thus, politics, here, means "the struggle for power and mechanism for resolving conflict of interest in human societies"(as cited in Ellah 2022,

p.9). In this sense, Ellah(2022) pointed out that political discourse refers to any talk related to politics. That is, it indicates any discourse that deals with political enterprises and engagement; it is determined by its authors or actors, meaning politicians(Van Dijk, 1997). Political discourse can be found in radio, television, newspapers, and parliamentary debates as well as political speeches(Alduhaim,2019,p.148).

Van Dijk(1997) stated that the majority of studies of PD are about text and talk of political institutions or professional politicians. Political speeches might refer to political discourses in the form of orations or public addresses, which are delivered by government officials and heads, representatives of the government, opinions, and policies of the government, or heads of the nation(Zhu, 2020). In addition, it might be found in “parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels”(Van Dijk,1997, p.12).

In political speeches, Eburuaja(2023) indicates that politicians are intentional about the political language they deliver, since, their speeches are goal-oriented. Thus, speech writing is a specialized skill. That is, knowledge of rhetoric and good communication skills are required for successful and meaningful political speeches. Alduhaim(2019)clarified that political speeches are commonly characterized by their powerful language, but also sophisticated and ambiguous for some audiences because it has cultural and ideological elements, which they may not understand or take care of its significance. These elements vary from one country to another. The other special feature of political speeches is that it is rich in rhetorical language, which indicates the kind of language that reflects the politician’s beliefs, values, or attitudes(Woodward et.al, 2014 as cited in Alduhaim,2019). It is also defined as the art of ‘persuasion’ through written or spoken language(Beard, 2000, as cited Alduhaim,2019).

Many linguists such as (Van Dijk, 1997; Fairclough, 1992; Alduhaim, 2019)have investigated the different tools and techniques that politicians utilize in their language to

achieve their goals and reveal their ideologies and agendas to the audience. Van Dijk (1996,cited in Alduhaim,2019)notes that politicians effectively employ linguistic elements in political discourse, “that help to draw and hold the attention of the audience and persuade them of certain views”(p.194). Politicians, ensure that their speeches are not lacking in certain linguistic devices or features, which might lend coherence and cohesiveness(Eburuaja,2023,p.1). Some of these prominent features are pronouns, metonymy, metaphors, style, repetition, and intertextual allusion is no exception(Eburuaja,2023).

2.1.2.2. Inevitability of Intertextuality in Political Discourse

According to Natroshvili et. al (2022), the use of intertextuality is inevitable in political discourse. That is, intertextuality is a major component, in which different genres, references, sources, and voices, are accurately combined and tightly regulated to produce more meaningful political discourse. Natroshvili et. al (2022) also illustrate that political leaders do not offer substantive explanations, rather, they usually create explicit intertextual relations by utilizing bits of code, established models, formulas, or fragments of social languages, and others. By doing so, they refer to different resources such as religious, social, cultural, and/or historical contexts to support their speech, illustrate certain issues, and reveal hidden ideologies. Moreover, it is shown that these intertextual links help receivers involve in the political process as a trying to change the audience’s mental attitude and behaviour in the desirable direction. In other words, intertextuality is used in order to influence public opinion (Natroshvili et. al,2022).

In this line, Vesela(2021)also illustrates that politicians are obliged to follow the moral, historical, and ethical customs and traditions of the country. According to Vesela(2021), intertextuality can be manifested in quotations, citations, allusions, and metaphors from the literary, religious, and juridical, ideas or texts of the predecessors. Vesela added that intertextuality is one of the specialized persuasive strategies that politicians can use for logical

appeal or logos. By referring to other sources, they aim to raise the trustfulness of their speeches support their perspectives, and bring proof and evidence to their texts and utterances(Vesela, 2021). For Vesela(2021), “the precedent texts have much more authority”(p.26).

As intertextuality explains how all texts/ discourses are interrelated and built on each other, textual analysis cannot be done without looking at the intertextual relations that exist between them(Eburuaja,2023). While intertextuality is referring texts to other texts, interdiscursivity is referring discourses to other types of discourses to see the relationship they have with the social problem at hand. Eburuaja (2023) claims that interdiscursivity builds on and expands the idea of intertextuality. Eburuaja (2023) also illustrates that intertextuality in discourse, helps discourse analysts deeply comprehend the meaning and the diverse contexts. In this sense, Alfaro (1996, as cited in Eburuaja,2023) explains that ‘intertextuality’ shows how a specific text references other types of text. Thus, it leverages a shared cultural background as well as builds on other texts to construct new meanings. Alfaro (1996, as cited in Eburuaja,2023) claimed that:

There are always other words in a word, other texts in a text. The concept of intertextuality requires, therefore, that we understand texts not as self-contained systems but as differential and historical, as traces and tracings of otherness, since they are shaped by the repetition and transformation of other textual structures (p.2).

2.1.2.3. Intertextual Allusion as a Discourse Strategy in Political Discourse

According to Massalaskaya et. al. (2020), defining the concept of allusion has always been problematic and acute in linguistics. It is regarded as one of the least terms that have a specific definition. For Naciscione(2021), allusion is an “ abroad notion with a long history”(p.300). Traditionally, Ancient Greeks employed ‘allusion’ as a rhetorical device in literature, especially, poetry. It has been viewed to represent an indirect/implicit reference to

something or someone either imaginary or real (Voleti, 2020; Naciscione, 2021). Yet, in modern usage, it is utilized to show metaphorical meaning. Thus, over the centuries, it has been expanded to allude to mythological, cultural, social, literary, political or historical phenomena related to a person, a fact, or an event (Naciscione, 2021, p.103).

Moreover, Rasheed (2018) defines allusion as a linguistic phenomenon which is typically regarded as a sort of appeal to a reader or a hearer in order to share knowledge with the author or speaker. In this case, the hearer/reader should understand the author's/speaker's intention. Otherwise, the allusion "comes to be merely a decorative device" (p.3). Eshreteh and Khalil (2019) also illustrate that allusion is the writer's or speaker's 'play on words'; it reflects his/her style of integrating direct or indirect references to people, places, or events, in order to help the reader/ hearer reveal the intended meaning and ideologies. Eshreteh and Khalil (2019) added that some allusions are simple and easy to understand because authors depend on what is called as "common 'shared knowledge' as the basis of their text enhancement strategy" (p.27). However, other writers prefer a more difficult 'play on words' to uncover unspoken facts and issues or ironic comments (Eshreteh & Khalil, 2019). Rhetoricians regarded that "literary allusions in novels are enriching, while in political speeches are revealing" (Rasheed, 2018, p.3).

Massalaskaya et. al, (2020) regard the term 'allusion' as a multifaceted phenomenon. Being an extensive material, it provides opportunities to study it in various aspects, using varied theories and approaches. Massalaskaya et. al, (2020) indicate that allusion is regarded as a type of cognitive metaphor in cognitive linguistics, stylistics, and others. In the late 20th century, new paradigms and attitudes of linguistic research were actively developed, looking at allusion as a tool of intertextuality and a means of human thinking. As language is socially shaped and intertextuality is one of the linguistic devices in language communication, intertextual allusion

plays a crucial role in conceptualizing “the surrounding world and finding associative correlations between different systems of notions”(Massalskaya et .al, 2020, p.74).

According to Voleti(2020), allusions are one of the most powerful rhetorical devices in political speeches. Generally, politicians use them to connect with their constituents or audience to achieve their aims and political agendas in “a deeper level than simply providing facts and figures would allow”. For Obeng (1997, cited in Almahasees&Mahmoud,2022), it is one of the strategic tools used for ‘persuasion’. Within their speeches they refer to different types of discourse(allusive sources) such as religion, history, culture, law, or others, to deliver their communicative messages or evoke an emotional response from the audience. For example, in Arabic political speeches, politicians may allude to holy Quranic verses to support their vision in light of Holy Qur’an messages. They may also recall past events similar to the current situation to take advantage of past experiences or other reasons.

For Naciscine(2021), in discourse communication, much of the needed information is often implicit. Hence, to understand the language of allusions, people are required to go beyond the literal meanings of the words they see or hear. Consequently, it is very important to draw on the inferences in order to comprehend the whole context and the intended message efficiently (p.306). As stated by Naciscione(2021), allusion is regarded as an implicit mental, verbal, and/or visual reference. Thus, it could be explicitly represented by one or more elements, to perform a metonymic function and offer “associative links by acting as a recall cue”(P.306).

2.1.2.2. Functions of Using Intertextual Allusions

Authors or politicians usually utilize intertextual allusions to deliver their visions to the audience, revealing different communicative functions. Rasheed(2018), generally identifies some of these functions as follows:

- 1- Expanding as well as enhancing the intended meaning of a text. In this case, an allusion may add a cover which might not be observable to all listeners/ readers.
- 2- Supporting the speaker's/ author's visions and arguments stated in a specific context, and giving them credibility.
- 3- Adding a dimension to a specific work by linking it to other texts or discourses.
- 4- creating a sense of cultural kinship between both parties of communication: speaker and listener. Since those who could pick up on allusions, "have a sense of being 'in the know' "(p.4).
- 5- Effectively revealing great ideas, or alluding to a specific event that would take too long to demonstrate.
- 6- Invite listeners/ readers to reflect on the similarities that exist between their own lives and the characters or authors' lives being referred to.
- 7- Explaining the author's/speaker's own cultural literacy, or test that of their audience (readers or listeners).
- 8- placing an author's or speaker's work in conversation with other works of those who affect them.

2.1.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

Recently, critical discourse analysis; shortened as (CDA), has been one of the main approaches in linguistics; it refers to discourse analysis which aims to systematically investigate the relationships of causality and determinations between events, text, and discursive practices and wider relationships and process and social-cultural structures(Fairclough, 1993). It also aims to critically explore the hidden ideologies, social inequalities, injustice, opaqueness, and power relations of texts(Jahedi et al., 2014). It explains the sociocultural context in different types of discourse, particularly, political discourse (PD)(Jahedi et al., 2014).

By adopting the CDA tool, a researcher could analyze a discourse from a variety of disciplinary lenses. The most representative figures include Wodak,2014; Van Dijk,1993, and Fairclough,1992(as cited in Jahedi et al., 2014). They distinguish themselves from other CDA researchers by their specialized and powerful strategies in language studies.

2.1.3.1. Fairclough's Approach for the Analysis of Intertextuality in CDA

Of all the CDA linguists, Fairclough has been described as the 'most influential practitioner' in the field(Zhsu&Wang, 2020). His main interest is in sociolinguistics (Jahedi et al., 2014). Influenced by Bakhtin's(1986) and Kristeva's (1986) theories about intertextuality, Fairclough (1993; as cited in Jahedi et al.,2014) claims that texts are inherently intertextual. In other words, Fairclough means that texts are interdiscursive; there is an articulation of multiple texts, voices, and discourses. In this regard, Fairclough illustrates that intertextuality takes the form of discourse representation. That is, it can be regarded as a social practice constructed by parts of other texts such as quotations and reported clauses, affected by the history and society in which they are generated.

Fairclough (2003, as cited in Ellah, 2022) recognizes two types of relation in texts: internal and external. On the one hand, the internal relation deals with the lexical, semantic, and grammatical relations included in texts. On the other hand, the external relation depicts the outside relations of these texts, which are represented by the elements of social events and structures, social practices, and "what is brought from one text into another"(p.11). In this respect, Fairclough(2003, as cited in Ella, 2022) argues that intertextuality is identified in terms of external relations, where 'intertextuality' covers: 1) other people's allusions, voices, codes, and responses to prior texts. 2) shared knowledge between both parties of communication. 3) the contextual beliefs, which could be deliberate or accidental in communication. 4) and the interaction or rather, the overlapping of different texts/discourses(intertextual/interdiscursive relationships).

In forming his theory of intertextuality, Fairclough(1992, as cited in Ellah, 2022) recognized two types of intertextuality:

1-Manifest intertextuality: it goes with the horizontal axe of Kristeva(1980). It is the “case where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text” (Fairclough,1992, as cited in Ellah,2015:13). For Fairclough (1992), it can be identified by exploration of discourse cues such as: a) quotation marks. b) presuppositions: they “are taken as given or taken for granted by the text producer”(p.13). c) negation: it refers to propositions that reject or contest others. D)metadiscourse: it refers to the differentiation of varied levels of text within a text by the text producer. e) irony: it shows the opposite of what is being said(as cited in Ellah,2022).

2- Constitutive intertextuality: it goes with the vertical axe of Kristeva(1980), which refers to the text-context relationship(Zannini, 2021). Fairclough(1992 as cited in Ellah,2022) prefers to call it interdiscursivity since it deals with the ‘discursive conventions’ rather than texts as constitutive. It is the blend of different “genres, style, register and discourse”(p.14). Put differently, it determines how a voice in a particular text is also heard in another (Ellah, 2022, pp.14-15). For example, an author/speaker might integrate a discourse of history, literature or others in a political discourse. The more combinations of genres, styles, and discourses in a text, the more heterogeneous and fabric intertextual/interdiscursive relationships that text has, which on the other hand have a crucial role in delivering the author’s/speaker’s intended messages in communication.

For Fairclough(2001; included in Jahedi et al.,2014), an analysis of intertextuality is a complementary part of the linguistic analysis of a text, since it serves as a bridge between a language and social contexts in which the intertextual relationships are created. In this regard, Fairclough (1992 as cited in Li & Guo, 2021) also indicated that in discourse, intertextuality can be researched from different orientations. Analysts may focus on: 1- how an utterance is

linked to other utterances. 2- the various features of intertextuality projected on a discourse. 3- the social functions of intertextual relationships, by identifying and interpreting the intertextual resources that a discourse refers to other discourses.

According to Fairclough (1989, as cited in Zhu and Wang,2020), language and power are richly interconnected. For Fairclough, by revealing the power relations and ideologies behind a language, we might bring to light the injustices in society. In Fairclough's three-dimensional theoretical framework(1989; as included in Zhu&Wang, 2020), Fairclough claimed that: three dimensions are required to effectively analyze all types of text/discourse including, textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice. In the case of intertextuality, the first dimension requires the description of the discourse. That is, an analyst needs to identify all types, references, or resources of a text/discourse to be used later for the analysis process, classifying the collected information according to the aims of the analysis. The second dimension involves the interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction. Here, an analyst will interpret the diverse contexts in which the identified text is generated, to reveal the delivered communicative functions, reasons, and effects of using intertextuality.

Finally, the last dimension can explain the communicative functions of intertextuality based on the sociocultural context of a society as a whole including, situational, institutional, and social contexts, revealing reasons, causes, outcomes, hidden ideologies and power relations. In other words, Fairclough's three dimensions are interrelated and depend on each other, and that provides a comprehensive understanding of the use of intertextuality in a discourse.

2.1.4. Palestinian Political Discourse since Al-Nakba in 1948:

Palestinian political discourse(PD) refers to the discourses which establish or reveal the political situation in Palestine, by its politicians. PD in Palestine is very different compared

with other political discourses of other countries in the world. Palestinian PD is in a continuing escalation every day and every year, due to the series of wars fought in Palestine since Al-Nakba in 1948; the year in which Israel established their country on the land of Palestine; such wars include The First Intifada 1987, The second Intifada(Al-Aqsa Intifada) 2000, Gaza War 2008, Gaza War 2012, and Gaza War 2014, and others. Palestinian PD is also influenced by all attempts at negotiation between both parties of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, such as Oslo Accords in 1993, and resolution 338 in 1973.

Palestinians still tackle the issue of Palestinian-Israeli conflict by the establishment of peace and a two-state solution, resistance and fighting for independence and achieving self-determination, or other visions. Hence, Palestinian national movements differ in their ideological visions and political agendas in dealing with this issue. Fateh and Hamas are the most active national forces in Palestine. In this line, Lotha and Zaeidan(2024) wrote about the interactional fight between both movements in 2006, which led to the dissolution of the Palestinian government. Accordingly, nowadays, the West Bank is ruled by the Palestinian Authority(PA), led by Fath and the Gaza Strip is administrated by Hamas. In this thesis, the researcher aspires to explore the last event regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, which is the Gaza War 2023-2024. Basically, it indicates the last and the most horrible warfare between Israel and the Hamas Islamic movement in Palestine, resulting in dire consequences for both parties at all levels. Yet, what is worth picking up on is that Palestinians witnessed a big dose of empathy, compassion, and most importantly political endorsement from people worldwide, due to Palestinians' harsh losses of suffering compared with Israel. As for the people of Gaza, many demonstrations, marches, and negotiations for peace are still held in different countries whether in Palestine or outside(Arab and Western countries), condemning the massacres, destruction, and all types of Israeli aggression against them, and asking for ending the war.

Today, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has become a question not only for Palestinians but also for all people, who have different identities and nationalities all over the world. Consequently, Palestinian (PD) has expanded in local, regional, and international communities.

2.1.4.1. Gaza War (2023-2024)

Gaza war(2023-2024) is the greatest decisive confrontation, rather, an unprecedented war in the history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict since Al-Nakba. It is also well known as Tofan Al-Aqsa(in Arabic language), Al-Aqsa Flood; or the battle of October 7, since Hamas waged it, specifically, Izz ad-Din-Qassam Brigades, on 7th October in 2023, in reply to the Israeli abuses of the squares of Al-Aqsa Mosque, and due to Israeli settlers' and soldiers' attack against Palestinians in West Bank, Jerusalem, and the occupied territory(as mentioned in Hamas's leader; Haniyah's speech on 7th October, 2023). Back then, al-Qassam Brigades launched an air, sea, and land-based attack against Israeli forces. Resistance fighters infiltrated into various surrounding settlements of the Gaza Strip. However, the war is also named *the Iron sword operation* in the Israeli community; in Arabic, معركة السيوف الحديدية (as mentioned in an article in France24, 2023)(<https://f24.my/9qWu>).

Al-Aqsa Flood was the hardest blow, rather, the most powerful battle, since it remanded the question of the Palestinian issue to the forefront of the Palestinian political scene, which represents destruction, displacement, diaspora, killing, massacres, and other heinous crimes committed by the Israeli occupation for more than 76 years. The battle of Al-Aqsa Flood became the question of the Middle East as well as the talk of the world to the present day.

During Gaza War 2023-2024, extensive political discourses in local, regional, and international communities were delivered regarding this great event. Different politicians tried to criticize, demonize, and show positive self-representation, or/ and negative other-representation of the roles made by all parties of the war, which on the other hand revealed

different ideologies and power relations, as well. In this regard, the researcher aspires to investigate the Gaza War 2023-2024 from a Palestinian discourse perspective. More specifically, the researcher selected speeches of the Hamas politician, Ismael Haniyah, as an attempt to gain deep insight into his eloquent style and figurative language that he used in describing the war for the audience, by using intertextuality as a discourse activity, or rather, practice in political discourse.

2.1.4.2 Brief Biography of Ismael Haniyah

Ismael Haniyah is one of the Palestinian politicians and Hamas leaders. He was born in 1962, in one of the refugee camps in Gaza Strip; called Al-Shati' refugee Camp, which his family resorted to in 1948 (Lotha & Zaeidan,2024). Like many Palestinian refugee children, Haniyah studied at schools run by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East(Lotha & Zaeidan,2024). In 1981, he attended the Islamic University of Gaza, where he studied Arabic Literature. He was an active student; “leading an Islamist student association affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood”(Lotha & Zaeidan,2024,parag:2).

When the Islamic Hamas movement was formed in 1988, Haniyah was one of its younger founding members(Lotha & Zaeidan,2024). He also had close ties with Sheikh Ahmad Yassin; the movement's spiritual leader(Lotha & Zaeidan,2024). He was arrested by the Israeli Military Occupation in 1988 for 6 months because he participated in The First Intifada, which aimed at uprising against Israeli occupation to create an independent Palestinian state. He was also arrested in 1989 until the Israeli Government deported him to south Lebanon with other Islamists and Hamas leaders in 1992. Yet, in 1993, he returned to Gaza following the Oslo Accords, which established a set of agreements between the Palestine Liberation Organization(PLO) and Israel(Lotha & Zaeidan,2024).

In 2006, Hamas movement won a majority of seats in Palestinian legislative elections; and Haniyah served as prime minister of the Palestinian Authority(PA). Back then, an interactional fight between Hamas and Fath movements led to the dissolution of the Palestinian government(Lotha & Zaeidan,2024). This also led to the establishment of an autonomous ‘Hamas-led administration’ in the Gaza Strip by Haniyah. In 2017, Haniyah, Khalid's Mashal successor, was selected as the head of the political bureau of Hamas(Lotha & Zaeidan,2024). In 2019, he left Gaza Strip(Lotha&Zaeidan,2024). He has lived in Qatar and Turkey, and represented Hamas Islamic movement abroad. During the Israeli-Hamas Wars, Haniyah led the Hamas delegation in negotiations mediated by Egypt and Qatar(Lotha & Zaeidan,2024). As a political spokesman, Haniyah is distinguished by his reasoned, rhetorical, and open public discourse(France24, 2023). Haniyah’s discourse, basically, calls for armed resistance, together with, the political struggle inside Hamas movement, which is classified as a terrorist organization by the USA and Israel(France24, 2023).

Suddenly, during the work on the current thesis, Haniyah was assassinated in Tehran on 31st July, 2024. As stated in an article in Al-Jazeera(2024), he was killed by an ‘ airborne guided projectile’. The Reports about who bears the responsibility for the killing, are still unclear. For Hamas, it is Israel who carries out the strike, calling it a ‘grave escalation’. Thus, Iran also blamed Israel for the assassination. Israel, however, has not issued a response or statement (as mentioned in an article in Al-Jazeera,2024)(<https://aje.io/s6rom6>). Due to that tragic and surprising event, the martyr Ismael Haniyah became a national symbol of struggle and resistance not only for Palestinians but also for Arab and Islamic ummah, as well as all free people in the world.

2.2. Previous Studies on Intertextuality and Political Discourse

Extensive research and studies explored the use of intertextuality in political discourse, especially, in political speeches. Some of these studies are reviewed here.

Eburuaja(2023) explored Nigerian political discourse, more specifically, the acceptance speech delivered by President Bola Ahmad Tinubu. The researcher indicated that the president was accused of not being coherent and showed signs of slurred speech. Therefore, the researcher investigated intertextuality and interdiscursivity, as elements of cohesion and coherence. The researcher collected data from the verified online page of TV channels. The collected data were analysed by using Bakhtin's theory of Dialogism. The findings showed that the President's speech was rich in intertextuality and interdiscursivity. The intertextual instances were employed as strategies for inclusivity at a time when the people were quite divided as a result of political affiliations and a result of the election. It is concluded that the president, in his speech, utilized citations, references, presuppositions, and a range of texts and discourses such as legal, as well as religious discourses, to seize the opportunity to refer, or/and respond to previous and existing texts of the nation, which on the other hand indicated the coherence and cohesion in his speech.

Furthermore, Ellah(2022)explored the intertextual references in President Mohammad Buhari's 2015 presidential inaugural speech, to illustrate how the president utilized intertextuality to convey his intentions and show his ideologies. The analysis is based on Fairclough's (1992) model of intertextuality which explores two dimensions (manifest and constitutive). The researcher first examined manifest intertextuality including discourse representation(direct or indirect speech), presupposition, negation, and references. Then, the data were investigated using the second dimension; constitutive intertextuality; also called interdiscursivity, to reveal the different resources and references that the president alludes to

in his speech. The paper revealed that the President intermixed his political speech with historical, religious, and literary references. It also showed the President's positivist, liberalist and religious ideological orientation.

Additionally, Almahasees and Mahmoud(2022) analyzed intertextuality as one of the persuasive tools used by politicians. They investigated 7 political speeches delivered by King Abdullah II of Jordan from 2007 to 2022, to illustrate how he conveyed his vision of peace regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The researchers adopted Fairclough's (1992) framework in CDA to analyze the collected data. It is revealed that King Abdullah II successfully applied all the persuasive strategies to convey his vision toward political issues. Aside from that, he utilized intertextuality to convince the international community of his vision. Moreover, many neutral references such as (we, our, your, you) were used in his speeches to avoid personalization.

Jamal(2022) analyzed the language of three presidential debates of 2012 between Barack Obama and Mitt Romney, to investigate the intertextual practices and allusions that the candidates utilize, how these practices are presented, and the functions of their usage, revealing manipulation of elements of power relation and ideology as well. The researcher argued that the candidates debated important issues in the USA. Therefore, the collected material was analyzed in terms of the most important one. Five topics were selected: Jobs, gas prices, immigration, gender discrimination, and Bipartisan Subjects. The researcher followed Ruth Wadak's (2011) Discourse-Historical Approach as the analytical framework. The findings showed that both candidates tended to produce intertextual discourses in the debate. They alluded to references either historical or repetition in order to support their visions and to win the poll. Moreover, it is indicated that both candidates used intertextuality to criticise each other. That is, some references help in the positive self-presentation, while other references

reveal the negative-other presentation. The researchers also concluded that intertextual discourses were ideologically driven while explaining the topics, especially domestic issues. They addressed different social groups such as the middle class, teachers, women, and seniors.

Li and Gue(2021) explored the role of rhetorical intertextuality in political discourse, more specifically, in the book *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China*. The researchers argued that the book has a unique language style and vivid rhetoric. Thus, an analysis of intertextuality will offer a better understanding of Chinese political concepts and important issues and views. The researchers, first, employed the socio-pragmatic framework to analyze the rhetorical intertextual resources in terms of allusion, analogy, and metaphor, and then, they explained its influence and functions on the construction of the government's identity. The findings showed that allusion as well as metaphor enhanced China's international discourse power, whereas, analogy plays a crucial role in revealing the discursive democratization. Moreover, it was concluded that the use of rhetorical intertextuality was helpful in reasoning, justifying purpose, constructing the government's authoritative status, and revealing the cultural features of China, which on the other hand helped in persuading the Chinese public.

Similarly, Vesela(2021) analyzed intertextuality as a means of persuasion used in political discourse. The researcher made a contrastive discourse analysis of persuasive strategies used in Obama's and Trump's political electoral speeches. The author followed the three classical Aristotelian concepts: logos, ethos, and pathos. In the thesis, intertextuality was illustrated in relation to logos. The findings revealed that the politicians' approach to logical appeals differed in technique. So, both presidents were influenced by their professional backgrounds. On the one hand, Obama, as a lawyer, alluded to a high number of intertextual references such as juridical, political, historical and literary ones. However, statistics and figures did not include references to official documents in his speeches. On the other hand,

Trump, as a business officer, used to count and work with numbers. The finding showed his excessive use of figures and statistics to support his logical appeal and to convince the audience. Yet, there was no reference to other sources while presenting the numbers and data.

Zhu and Wang(2020) made a contrastive DA of two political speeches delivered by the American President Trump and the Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi in the 72nd session of the UN Assembly, to explain how both politicians use intertextuality in their speeches, revealing hidden ideologies. The researchers adopted both qualitative and quantitative ways for the analysis process. They marked out every linguistic resource, by using SFL(systemic functional linguistic) framework. They also employed Fairclough's(1989) 3-dimensional framework along with Bakhtin's intertextuality and genre theory, as well as Gramsci's Theory of Hegemony. It is revealed that both leaders used a great number of intertextual resources. More precisely, Minister Wang Yi had a preference for the lines of Chinese sages in Antiquity, whereas President Trump was fond of using intertextual instances that refer to laws and statutes, legal texts, and documents of governments.

Alduhaim(2019) conducted a comparative study, to explore the most prominent linguistic features applied in Arabic and English political discourse. The researcher collected instances from political speeches, delivered by Arab and English politicians. The qualitative and quantitative approach was employed to analyse the data, identifying the number of times specific features were utilized in a speech, their usage, and their significance. Then, the researcher offered an in-depth analysis of the most common political strategies of political discourse in English and Arabic. Finally, the researcher established the similarities and differences between those linguistic features. The findings showed that Arab and English politicians have some features in common, specifically, intertextuality, repetition, and the usage of pronouns. In the case of intertextuality, it differs in the way it is utilized in English

and Arabic discourse. In English, it is represented in the form of quotations, allusions, and cultural references. Such references might refer to well-known politicians; however, in Arabic, it is widely used to refer to different types of references such as literary, poetic, religious, and cultural. The researcher argued that Arabic discourse is well known for quoting poetry and Qur'anic verses.

The other researcher was Rybachuk(2017) whose study was about " Intertextuality in the Political Discourse of the US Democratic Party in the 21st Century". The researcher investigated the different intertextual references along with their communicative functions in selected speeches delivered by Obama, Clinton, Biden, and John Kerry from 2008 to 2016. So, the author first brought transcripts of the oral speeches from official websites, identified the text sources, and finally made interpretations and explanations of the analyzed material. The findings showed that the Democratic public discourse as a whole tended to use different intertextual references such as political, and historical documents, public figures, mass culture, traditions, literature, proverbs, mottos, slogans, sayings, and jokes. Additionally, it was shown that Obama prefers to use jokes and vivid examples from real-life situations of ordinary people, to create a more positive and personal atmosphere for the audience. Clinton was well-known for appealing to human rights issues. In contrast, Biden made references to Irish poets by highlighting his family background.

Al-Laham(2016) investigated the language of the political discourse of Palestine in selected political speeches delivered by President Yaser Arafat. The researchers adopted Text linguistics and the Theory of Communication to analyze the collected data. Using Text linguistics, the speeches were analyzed in terms of the morphological, syntactic, pragmatic, rhetorical, and Acoustic levels. An analysis of intertextuality was explored under the rhetorical level, as one of the rhetorical tools that President Arafat used to convey his visions. In this

regard, the findings revealed that Arafat alluded to religious intertextuality by referring to Quranic verses, to show faith in God's promise to win the victory against enemies, represent the great status of Jerusalem for Palestinians, and convince the audience that, with justice and equity, he can be a good leader for Palestine. Moreover, mythical intertextual allusion was employed to indicate the starting point of the Palestinian national movement (Fath) and its role in Palestine.

Guerra(2013) offered a comprehensive analysis of the speech uttered by President Obama of the United States at Strasbourg, France in 2009, to uncover the rhetorical and intertextual elements that have been utilized to convey his vision to European audiences. As the researcher mentioned, in 2009, President Obama visited Europe to explain the need for collaboration in the Afghan war, since Europe was against this participation. The researcher made a text analysis offered by T. Locke (2004), updated with P. Simpson's contribution (2010), to investigate Obama's way of using vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and intertextuality. In terms of intertextuality, the researcher referred to the president's use of quotations and references, by showing the role of elements like presupposition and implicature. That helped the researcher to come across the level of knowledge President Obama has of the country and their problems. The findings showed that most of the president's use of intertextual references was related to war or conflicts. In addition, it was concluded that President Obama named them to get the audience to understand that the United States of America is not to be blamed for the current situation. Thus, the president tried to explain and justify the war with Afghanistan in a very pessimistic way.

Moreover, Kremneva and Manukhina(2013) explored the practice of intertextuality in the modern political discourse of the USA, revealing its different functions of uses. The researchers examined 'precedent utterances' as one of the intertextuality signals. They argued

that these utterances are one of the most effective means of persuasion used in political discourse. In doing so, the researchers studied specific characteristics of American presidential discourse and offered some examples of allusions, citations, and quotations, from political speeches, propaganda, slogans, aphorisms, cartoons, and others. What is really interesting in this paper is that the analysis of intertextuality was traced on the verbal as well as non-verbal levels, such as pictures, photos, comics, sculptures, and other artefacts of culture.

Momani et al. (2010) focused on investigating religious-historical intertextuality in political discourse related to the Middle Eastern conflict, to demarcate the ideological struggle and power relations in the selected speeches. The political speeches were delivered by Bin Ladin, Bush, and Pope. The researchers followed a multi-dimensional approach to CDA advocated by many discourse analysts such as Fairclough (1989), Wodak (2001), van Dijk (1995, 2003, 2005), and Chilton (2004). Additionally, a discourse historical approach was adopted to shed light on the origins of the context of the selected references. It was concluded that both opposing parties attempted to legitimize their wars against each other in the name of God. That is, each part thought that they were the righteous group and, therefore, they called their war a "holy war". So religious intertextual references in political discourse were used as a tool to justify the wars, killing people, violating ethics, and destroying.

It can be seen from the above discussion that many researchers have investigated intertextuality in political speeches delivered by many politicians and presidents of different countries from different perspectives and for several purposes. That is, intertextuality was explored in terms of its types, references, functions, impact on the audience, a politician's features such as ideology, style of speaking, and level of knowledge, or contrastive analysis of the use of intertextuality between politicians. As shown above, researchers deal with intertextuality as a social practice in political discourse, so it is preferred to be examined by

using theories in the field of CDA to critically uncover its heterogeneous nature and hidden ideological struggle and power relations. This thesis, however, aspires to investigate the use of intertextuality in Palestinian political discourse in selected political speeches delivered by Ismael Haniya; the head of the political bureau of Hamas during Gaza war, by following Fairclough's (1989) three dimensions in the field of CDA.

What distinguishes this research from the others, is that the previous studies analysed intertextuality along with other theories, and/or linguistic as well as rhetoric tools and devices. However, this thesis sheds light on analysing only 'allusion' as a feature of intertextuality, in order to attain deep insight and analysis of Palestinian political discourse, which on the other hand has been recently recognized by its internationality. In addition, having reviewed the literature, it is shown that politicians referred to different types of discourses (allusive sources) including, religious, historical, political, cultural, legal, literary, and mythological. In this regard, politician Haniyah is no exception. During Gaza War (2023-2024), it is noticed that he referred to different intertextual allusions worthy to be investigated. Analyzing these allusions will offer the audience a better understanding of important views and issues regarding the social and political situation in Palestine. It is also noticed that the previous studies addressed some kinds of allusion to the analysis process. For example, some research investigated only religious and historical sources; other research focuses on other types of these sources. However, this thesis seeks to analyze all possible allusions included in Haniya's selected speeches. The researcher, also argues that this thesis is unique since it investigates the latest trends regarding Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Moreover, up to the researcher's humble knowledge, this thesis is the first that examines intertextuality in Palestinian political discourse. Due to the aforementioned reasons, this thesis tries to fill the knowledge gap.

2.3. Conclusion

This chapter first presents reasonable information about the concept of intertextuality by introducing (origins, definitions, significance, forms, and types). Then, the research illustrates how intertextuality works in political discourse by introducing the topics of political discourse, the inevitability of intertextuality in political discourse, especially in political speeches, political discourse in Palestine, critical discourse analysis, intertextual analysis approach of Fairclough(1989) in his three dimensions in CDA. After that, the research introduces some previous studies that investigate intertextuality in political discourse. It is concluded that several studies have examined intertextuality in political speeches delivered by different politicians in different countries, to investigate its, types, instances, resources, reasons, effects, and communicative functions. However, up to the researcher's knowledge, this research is the first that will examine intertextuality in Palestinian political discourse.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.0. Introduction

Several studies (Zhu&Wang,2020; Vesela,2021; Guerra,2013; Ellah, 2022 and others) have been conducted to explore the usage of intertextuality in political speeches in different countries from different perspectives and for varied purposes. However, the main purpose of this study is to explore the way Haniyah employed intertextuality in selected political speeches delivered during Gaza War 2023- 2024, to convey his visions to the audience, reveal all of the possible types of intertextual allusions, and explain their communicative functions. That is, the main focus of analysis is on constitutive intertextuality, viz.; ‘interdiscursivity’. To carry out the research’s aim, this chapter thoroughly describes the research design, population, sample, and sampling strategy, data collection procedures, and data analysis procedures, respectively.

3.1. Research Design

The purpose of a study determines what type of research design is better to be adopted. In this thesis, the researcher selected the qualitative descriptive (QD) design as the most appropriate approach that meets the main objectives and questions of this study. It seeks to gain a rich and complex understanding of a given research problem and topic, which is effective in obtaining cultural-specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours, beliefs, emotions, and relationships of individuals(Mack, et. al., 2005). Qualitative methods are also efficient “in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion”(Mack, et. al.,2005, p.1). Similarly, Creswell et.al. (2007) state that qualitative research provides “a good understanding of the meaning of the events and actions that participants are involved with, “and of the accounts that they give of their lives and experiences”(p.221). It also offers a good interpretation and explanation of “how events,

actions, and meanings are shaped by the unique circumstances in which these occur”(p.221). Creswell (2014) adds that researchers understand the context and setting of the participants of a study by visiting this context and collecting information and notes personally.

In this regard, the qualitative design helped the researcher to make vivid descriptions and observations regarding Haniya’s speeches from his perspectives and beliefs. Hence, the researcher was able to find answers to the research questions: ‘how’ and ‘why’ Haniyah utilized allusion in terms of the theory of intertextuality. Having drawn on context, the researcher was able to identify and describe all possible kinds of intertextual allusions in Haniya’s selected speeches. Thus, this thesis is qualitative, since almost all data findings are presented in the form of words, not statistical numbers, or rather, statistical calculation. In terms of context, it was shown that Haniya's points of view are closely associated with the meaning of the social-cultural, historical, and political contexts in reality. As Creswell(2014) maintains people engage with the world and make sense of it based on their historical and social-cultural perspectives. The researcher also was able to illustrate the intertextual relationships of those allusions with the discourses they referred to, revealing vivid functions in political discourse as one type of human language communication. In other words, the qualitative design offered a detailed insight and in-depth understanding of meanings beyond observable and non-observable intertextual allusions included in the selected speeches.

3.2. Population, Sample, and Sampling Strategy

The population of this study is the head of the Political Bureau of Hamas outside of Palestine; namely Ismael Haniyah. The sample of the population was selected to find out the functions of all possible types of intertextual allusions delivered in his speeches during Gaza War 2023- 2024. The researcher noticed that all of Haniya’s speeches are rich in intertextual allusions; they offer ideal representatives and vivid input for describing and interpreting the

phenomena at hand, which, on the other hand, meet this study's aims. To collect the required corpus, the researcher prefers to explore intertextuality in Haniya's speeches delivered at the beginning of the war; more precisely, the first 8 political speeches were selected, since they were delivered in 2023. The corpora are included in the appendices of this study. The selected political addresses are named as [Haniyah-x] to specifically refer to the number of a speech. As for the sampling strategy, the researcher used purposive sampling since the collected data were taken as said by the participant; Haniyah, and they were given in a natural setting. More clearly, all of Haniya's selected speeches were broadcast on local and global TV stations.

3.3. Data Collection Procedures

In collecting the data, the researcher did the following:

- 1- The researcher downloaded the original videos of Haniya's speeches from reliable sources such as Google websites and channels on YouTube (see Table 1 below).
- 2- The written texts of the selected speeches were not completely available on Google websites; therefore, the researcher listened carefully to the videos and transcribed them to get the data transcription.
- 3- The researcher thoroughly read the selected speeches to mark out every linguistic resource and collect all appropriate allusions, in order to be analyzed. The intertextual allusions will be identified in terms of interdiscursivity, which is based on constitutive intertextuality, by following Fairclough's(1992) theory of intertextuality.
- 4- The researcher translated all examples of allusions into the English language. For further emphasis, the researcher has checked the data and made agreements about the accuracy of the corpus, taking into account the supervisor's notes in terms of data collected identification, their classification into their types of allusions, and their translation into the English language by skilful translators at Hebron

University. In this regard, the researcher used ‘The Holy Qur’anic Translation by Yusuf Ali, which was published online in 2022(<https://quranyusufali.com/>) to translate religious allusions of all Qur’anic verses in the selected speeches. All translated allusions are included in the appendices (9-15).

Table (1): Selected Political Speeches (2023) of Haniyah for Analysis of Intertextuality

No. Speech	Date	Posted on (channel/e.newspaper)	Link
[Haniyah-1]	7 th October	الجزيرة نت	https://aja.me/6tei6p
[Haniyah-2]	14 th October	قناة الجزيرة	https://youtu.be/innYkcPyoIs?si=TXp5bBaBn4mqrm3y
[Haniyah-3]	17 th October	قناة الجزيرة	https://youtu.be/GKruWykthzw?si=Nqn0uwfd5Bf9ICA5
[Haniyah-4]	19 th October	قناة العربي – أخبار	https://youtu.be/X_R4pfR9vKw?si=oTDdQTH_KpktAaAd
[Haniyah-5]	26 th October	قناة أخبار الميادين	https://youtu.be/ruv9-3BZz5s?si=sluUNoPlswQRdiB5
[Haniyah-6]	1 st November	قناة العربي-أخبار	https://www.youtube.com/live/QbHTcne7aX8?si=FO68pYchPKJnQkRm
[Haniyah-7]	24 th November	القاهرة الإخبارية	https://youtu.be/SJtteQVJ-5I?si=gXJIZQ0PDgsbA7Ms
[Haniyah-8]	13 th December	قناة الجزيرة	https://youtu.be/DnshQIn5R3k?si=tIzg_05tPFJ1T4Ug

The above table describes specifically all of Haniyah's 2023 selected speeches used in this study. They are arranged respectively according to the date when they were delivered. Thus, it shows the sources and links of the speeches.

3.4. Data Analysis Procedures

The researcher analyzes and explores all possible examples of intertextual allusions included in the selected speeches, by following the three dimensions of CDA proposed by Fairclough (1989) as a theoretical framework: Text analysis (description), discursive practice (interpretation), and social practice (explanation).

In the first tier, the researcher explores what kinds of intertextual allusions exist in Haniyah's speeches, by describing them according to their sources (religious, historical, cultural, mythical, and others...). The collected data is written properly using tables for each speech. The second tier offers an interpretation of the intertextual relationship between the collected allusions and previous discourses referred to, to reveal their delivered communicative functions, reasons, and effects from Haniyah's perspective. In doing so, the researcher also considers the repetition of allusions whenever they exist. Thus, the researcher used Ibn Kathir's (2000) interpretation of the Holy Qur'an from: (<https://surahquran.com/>), to illustrate the religious allusions that represent Holy Qur'anic verses utilized by Haniyah in the selected speeches. By doing so, the researcher could identify the intertextual/interdiscursive relationships between his political discourses and discourses in the Holy Qur'an, explaining how Haniyah communicates his visions in light of Holy Qur'an messages and stories. What is special about Ibn Kathir's interpretation is that it offers readers an explanation of Holy Qur'anic verses supported by Hadiths and stories of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Thus, the website link offers an explanation of the Holy Qur'an by Ibn Kathir in both English and Arabic languages. In Arabic language, it is called تفسير القرآن العظيم لابن كثير (2000).

(<https://surahquran.com/tafsir-ibn-kathir/altafsir.html>) in English, it is named (Tafsir Ibn Kathir, in English language: <https://surahquran.com/tafsir-english.php?soraIbn-Kathir>)

The last tier explains how the intertextual allusions of a speech function along with the topic and the context of the Gaza War 2023-2024 as a whole. The third dimension also explains how Haniyah's way of delivering messages to the audience, reveals hidden ideologies and power relations regarding Palestine society, as well. In other words, the purpose of this research lies in uncovering how the meanings of intertextual allusions at three dimensions are constructed through the researcher's analysis from the perspective of intertextuality theory.

3.5. Conclusion

This study aimed to explore the functionality of the practice of intertextuality in selected speeches delivered by Haniya during Gaza War 2023- 2024. Accordingly, this chapter offered a detailed description of the methodology used to achieve the main objectives of the study. The researcher selected all of Haniyah's political speeches that were delivered only in 2023. Thus, the researcher adopted a qualitative approach to inductively collect the required data. For the analysis process, the three Dimensions of Fairclough(1989): presentation(text analysis), interpretation(discursive practice), and explanation(social practice) are employed as an analytical framework in CDA, to analyze intertextuality in terms of interdiscursivity(constitutive intertextuality), to uncover all possible types of intertextual allusions that are included in the selected speeches, and illustrate how Haniyah applied different types of intertextual allusions to convey his visions on Gaza War 2023-2024, revealing the diverse communicative functions, reasons, and effects beyond their uses. The analysis of intertextuality also reflects power relations, hidden disputes as well as political social issues, such as (injustice, hegemony, racism, and others...) that existed in Palestinian political discourse from Haniyah's perspective.

Chapter Four

Analysis and Results

4.0. Introduction

This thesis explored intertextuality in the first 8 political speeches delivered by Hamas's leader, Haniyah, during Gaza War 2023-2024. To achieve the aims of the study, the researcher adopted the qualitative method to gather all the required data. For the analysis process, Fairclough's (1992) theory was followed to highlight and collect all possible intertextual allusions included in the selected speeches. However, this chapter presents the results and answers to the research's main questions, based on the three dimensions of CDA proposed by Fairclough (1989), as an analytical framework: text analysis(description), discursive practice(interpretation), and social practice(explanation). This chapter is divided into three sections. The first part introduces the analysis and results of the first dimension. The second part gives a detailed analysis and results of the second and third dimensions. The last part offers a conclusion of the research's results and findings regarding the three dimensions.

4.1. Text Analysis Dimension

According to Fairclough (1989), the first dimension offers a good understanding and description of all possible intertextual allusions in Haniyah's selected speeches. The data were collected qualitatively, and then, classified according to their sources to answer the first research question:

What are the different intertextual allusions Haniyah utilized in the selected speeches to convey his visions to the audience? (Historical, cultural, religious, . . .)

The different types of intertextual allusions were presented, using tables for all the selected speeches (see Appendices 9-15). It is clear from the tables that Haniyah's selected speeches are vivid in the use of intertextuality. Analysis of intertextuality shows that the corpora contain a huge number of intertextual references to other discourses. Haniyah employs

different categories of intertextual allusions to deliver his messages to the audience efficiently. As shown from the tables, religious, political, cultural, literary, legal, and mythological intertextual allusions were found in the selected speeches. Their existence differs from one speech to the other. Thus, some allusions are repeated during his selected speeches.

More specifically, Haniyah’s selected speeches alluded to 31 religious references, 6 historical references, 4 cultural references, 4 political references, 3 legal references, 1 literary reference, and 1 mythological reference. As mentioned above, allusions were determined in terms of interdiscursivity. All those intertextual allusions will be discussed in the following section (see Table 2 below). Throughout the analysis, the researcher sheds light on the repeated allusions, which are highlighted and underlined in the selected speeches(Appendices 1-8).

Table(2): Types and Frequency of Intertextual Allusions in Haniyah’s Selected Speeches (2023)

Intertextual Allusion Categories in Haniyah’s Speeches	Religious	Historical	Cultural	Political	Legal	Mythological	Literary
Total Examples of allusive sources	31	6	4	4	3	1	1

4.2. Discursive Practice and Social Practice Dimensions

This section offers a detailed analysis and results of the second and third dimensions of Fairclough’s (1989) Model in CDA. As stated by Fairclough(1989), the three dimensions are closely interconnected and depend on each other. Therefore, it is better to take into account the three dimensions in the analysis process, in order to give a better understanding and a

comprehensive analysis of the phenomena at hand. In this line is also Janks(1997); he clarified that Fairclough’s approach to CDA is so useful since it offers multiple points of analytic entry. He added that it does not matter which dimension of analysis one starts with, “as long as in the end they are all included and are shown to be mutually explanatory. It is in the interconnections that the analyst finds the interesting patterns and disjunctions that need to be described, interpreted and explained”(Janks, 1997, p.329)

In this thesis, the researcher attempts to explore the phenomena of intertextuality as a discursive strategy of communication in Haniyah’s selected speeches. The researcher tries to reveal the different functions, reasons and effects of Haniyah’s use of intertextual allusions as stated in the second research question:

What are the different functions, reasons, and effects of Hanyah's use of intertextual allusions?

Fairclough (1989) stated that the second dimension; discursive practice, illustrates the interrelationships between text and interaction. In this sense, this dimension provides an interpretation of the intertextual relationships that connect the collected discourses, or rather, the intertextual allusions that existed in Haniyah’s selected speeches with the previous discourses that Haniyah alluded to, by illustrating the contexts and conditions in which they were created. By doing so, the second dimension reveals the different communicative functions, constitutive effects, and constructive reasons that Haniya utilizes to deliver his visions regarding Gaza War 2023-2024 meaningfully.

Throughout the analysis of the intertextual relationships, the researcher also explains the hidden ideologies, power relations, and political-social issues like, injustice, discrimination, and hegemony behind Haniyah’s use of intertextual allusions, as stated in the third research question:

What are the hidden ideologies, power relations, and political issues behind Haniyah's use of intertextual allusions?

For Fairclough (1989), the third dimension; social practice, offers an explanation of the relationships between the intertextual relationships and the whole context of a speech, as well as the social-cultural context of a society as a whole. In this case, the researcher tries to reveal how an analysis of intertextuality from the eye of CDA reveals power relations, ideologies, and political issues regarding Gaza War 2023-2024 in particular, and the society of Palestine in general.

The collected data are interpreted and explained from Hamas leader, Haniyah's perspectives and ideology. All possible examples of intertextual allusions will be discussed. The most common type of allusions will be explored first.

4.2.1. Religious Intertextual Allusions

The findings of the study show that all of Haniyah's selected speeches convey religious intertextual allusions, by referring to religious discourses from the Holy Qur'an, Prophetic Sunnah, and religious actions associated with the religion of Islam. Thus, from Table (2), it could be seen that Haniyah alluded to (31) religious references to communicate different messages to the audience(see Appendix 9 for allusions' translation).

Example 1:

" الله أكبر الله أكبر، الله أكبر كبيرا والحمد لله كثيرا وسبحان الله وبحمده بكرة وأصيلا. لاله الا الله وحده صدق وعده و نصر عباده وأعز جنده وهزم الأحزاب وحده . . . أنتم اليوم على موعد مع النصر العظيم والفتح المبين. من على جبهة غزة العزة بدأ طوفان الأقصى " (هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023).

The spokesman of the Political bureau of Hamas, Haniyah appeared on 7th October for the first time, after Hamas announced the start of the war. With enthusiasm, Haniya delivers

his first address, starting it with Islamic phrases. These phrases are well known as At-Takbir; التكبیر, At-Tahlil; التهليل, At-Tahmid; التحميد, and At-Tasbih; التسبيح in the Islamic religion. In this context. It seems that Haniyah alludes to a historical sacred event in prophetic biography, which happened during the Muslim-Quraish conflict, specifically, at ‘غزوة فتح مكة’ (The conquest of Makkah). In this respect, Otaybi(2008) cited in his thesis a Hadith for Prophet Muhammad (pbuh)(peace be upon him), when he delivered his first speech at that time. Muhammad (pbuh)said (God is Great) three times, then continued: “ لا إله إلا الله وحده، صدق وعده، ونصر عبده ” (Otaybi,2008, p.488). Otaybi(2008) clarifies in his thesis the legality of ‘At-Takbir’ when Muslims deliver speeches in better and worse events during the wars. While some claimed that ‘pacifist phraseology’ was long associated with terrorism, for Muslims, these words are inherently used in their everyday speeches as mentioned in an article in Rassef22, 2020). They usually use them to convey their emotions and reveal their faith in the great God, whose everything is under his control whether in good or bad conditions(Otaybi, 2008). Accordingly, that clearly reveals why Haniya delivered those phrases at the beginning of his speech. Thus, his action shows how he followed Prophet Muhammad's (pbuh)prophetic biography, being a role model for Muslims.

Example 2:

Another interpretation that could be noted from the above quotation, is that Haniyah’s use of these phrases also alludes to what Muslims say in their religious holidays, called Eids(feasts). There are two Eids for Muslims: Glories Eid al-Fitr عيد الفطر المجيد and Glorious Eid-al-Adha عيد الأضحى المجيد. In this sense, Haniyah considers this war as Eid for all Muslims. That's why he describes it many times as ‘*Majeed*’ (مجدد, *Glorious*) in his selected speeches. According to the Meaning of Names Dictionary(<https://www.almaany.com/ar/name/%D9%85%D8%AC%D9%8A%D8%AF/>), the word ‘مجدد’ dates back to Arabic origins; it also means ‘great’ or ‘honourable’. Arabs

usually refer to it in their speeches to convey the greatness of someone or something. In Islamic religion, this word is one of God's names. God is the most great one for Muslims. Yet, they also use it to describe great events from their perspectives. Here, from Haniyah's point of view, the battle of 'Al-Aqsa Flood' is a great event for the sake of God. The following are examples of the word 'مجيد' in Haniya's selected speeches:

- "لقد هزمتهم في 7 أكتوبر المجيد" (هنية، 1 نوفمبر، 2023)
- "نقف اليوم أمام هذه التداعيات الهائلة والمهولة للهزيمة الاستراتيجية التي تلقاها العدو الصهيوني في السابع من أكتوبر المجيد" (هنية، 14 أكتوبر، 2023).
- "في اليوم العشرين لهذه المعركة المجيدة التي تغير وجه التاريخ، وسنكتب التاريخ المجيد لشعبنا ولأمتنا (هنية، 26 أكتوبر، 2023)

Example 3:

" أنتم اليوم على موعد مع النصر العظيم والفتح المبين. من على جبهة غزة العزة بدأ طوفان الأقصى" (هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023).

Here, Haniyah expresses his hope and confidence to win the 'battle of October 7'. For him, it will be as 'الفتح المبين' (*clear conquest*). Muslims recognize these words as an allusion to 'غزوة فتح مكة' (the battle of 'The Conquest of Makkah). More precisely, Haniyah alludes to the following Quranic verse: "إِنَّا فَتَحْنَا لَكَ فَتْحًا مُّبِينًا" (Holy Qur'an, Al-Fath surah: 1). "Verily We have granted Thee a manifest Victory" (The Holy Qur'an translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). More precisely, Ibn Kathir clarified that this honourable verse was revealed to indicate ' صلح الحديبية' (Al-Hudaybiyyah treaty). It was revealed in Al-Madinah, after Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), returned from the area of Al-Hudaybiyah. That was when "idolaters prevented him from reaching al-Haram Mosque to perform 'Umrah (Minor pilgrimage) he intended" (Ibn Kathir, 2000). Back then, they stopped Muhammad (pbuh), to reach Makkah. But then, Muslims and idolaters were prone to peace negotiations. So, they conducted 'Al-Hudaybiyyah treaty'. As mentioned by Ibn Kathir (2000), Allah declared it a 'manifest victory' due to the

good things that originated from it, for example, Islam became ‘visible and clear’ for everyone. Hence, many people converted to the religion of Islam. However, some companions disliked the Treaty terms. Hence, ‘The Conquest of Makkah’, came as a response to their denunciation.

In this regard, it seems that Haniyah tries to Justify ‘ Hamas’s attack on October 7’. Like ‘the Conquest of Makkah’ and Al-Hudaybiyyah peace’, Haniyah hopes that ‘ Hamas’s surprise attack on October 7’ will be a ‘manifest victory’. For them(Hamas), it came as a response to Israeli aggression, denouncing treaties, and preventing Muslims from reaching Al-Aqsa Mosque, by the Israeli occupation. Hence, Haniyah hopes that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict will be cleared out during this war. For Haniyah, this attack is to show the world the right of Palestinian resistance to fight for the sake of God, their homeland and self-determination.

Example 4:

“أنتم اليوم على موعد مع النصر العظيم والفتح المبين. من على جبهة غزة العزة بدأ طوفان الأقصى، على أيدي
كتائب القسام وفصائل المقاومة وابتداء شعبنا الفلسطيني” (هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023)

It seems that calling Gaza War 2023- 2024 ‘طوفان الأقصى’; (Al-Aqsa Flood) by Hamas is very symbolic. During this war, Haniyah repeatedly uses this term to talk about it(see religious allusions in Appendices 9-16). What can be noted is that Hamas tries to allude to the religious discourse associated with the story of ‘Prophet Noah and the Flood’. Indeed, the word ‘Toofan طوفان’ which means ‘flood’, was first used to refer to his story in Holy Quran:

“وَلَقَدْ أَرْسَلْنَا نُوحًا إِلَىٰ قَوْمِهِ فَلَبِثَ فِيهِمْ أَلْفَ سَنَةٍ إِلَّا خَمْسِينَ عَامًا فَأَخَذَهُمُ الطُّوفَانُ وَهُمْ ظَالِمُونَ” (Holy Qur’an, Al-’Ankabut Surah:14)

“ We (once) sent Noah To his people, and he tarried Among them a thousand years Less fifty, but the Deluge Overwhelmed them while they (Persisted in) sin”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022)

According to Ibn Kathir(2000), this Qur’anic verse was revealed to console Messenger Muhammad(pbuh), that God would punish those who did not believe in him and God’s words

so that he previously punished those who ‘were wrongdoers’ and did not believe in Prophet Noah (peace be upon him) despite the many years of complaints and warnings against their tyranny and apprehension. In other words, ‘Nouh Flood’ is a battle of the truth over falsehood. In this regard, Haniyah’s use of the word ‘Toofan’ (As declared by Hamas), is to show this war as a ‘holy victory’ for the sake of God. Likewise, Hamas might say that ‘Al-Aqsa Flood’ is Allah’s punishment for the many years of Israel's aggression against the people of Palestine. It will destroy the Israeli military occupation, and the right will triumph over injustice. In response to Hamas’s use of this name, the Israeli army wrote a part of this Quranic verse: “فَأَخَذَهُمُ الطُّوفَانُ وَهُمْ ظَالِمُونَ” and threw it over Khan Younis; a city in Gaza Strip. They want to say that the ‘Flood’ will destroy the people of Gaza not them(as mentioned in Arabic CNN.news, 2023) (<https://search.app/XzvdzsvMZQAyjeLAA>) .

In a metaphorical sense, Haniyah means that this battle must be like ‘Flood’. It started in Gaza Strip, and it is supposed to be extended to reach other areas in the world, in order to achieve victory. In other words, Haniya tries to say that ‘Al-Aqsa Flood’ is a battle for all people who call for freedom in Palestine and all over the world. So, this ‘Flood’ is a world-flood against the enemy’s injustice and aggression everywhere. In this sense, here are other examples that allude to the ‘Flood’(see Appendix 9 for translation):

- " أقدر باسم شعبنا الفلسطيني عالياً هذا الحراك وهذا الطوفان الجماهيري وأدعو الى الاستمرار في ذلك " (هنية، 14 أكتوبر، 2023).
- لا ينبغي ان نظل نتحرك في ذات المكان، على كل الصعيد. طوفان يجب ان يتواصل (هنية، 26 أكتوبر، 2023)

Example 5:

In addition, Hamas connects the word ‘Flood’ with ‘Al-Aqsa Mosque’, to justify the surprise attack of Hamas on October 7. Al-Aqsa Mosque is one of Islam's most revered shrines and holy places. Maybe Haniyah, here, also tries to arouse all Muslims' emotions towards this war and influence public opinion. For him, this flood should extend worldwide to convey the

real truth and achieve victory. Haniyah says: “ ثم هذه معركة ليست فقط معركة الشعب الفلسطيني وحده ولا غزة وحدها، غزة سنديان المقاومة رافعة هذه المقاومة، ولكن لأن المعركة تتعلق بأرض فلسطين وتتعلق .
فهي معركة الأمة. *Then, . . . since the battle relates to the land of Palestine, Jerusalem, and Al-Aqsa, it is the battle of ummah(the nation)*”(as mentioned by Haniyah, 7th October, 2023). (My own translation).

Example 6:

”من كان يتصور . . . هذه الشجاعة هذه الأنفة من رجال صدقوا ما عاهدوا الله عليه فمنهم من قضى

نحوه ومنهم من ينتظر وما بدلوا تبديلا” (هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023).

In [Haniyah-1], Haniyah describes Al-Qassam Brigades based on the following Qur’anic verse: “ *مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ فَمِنْهُمْ مَّنْ قَضَىٰ نَحْبَهُ وَمِنْهُمْ مَّنْ يَنْتَظِرُ وَمَا بَدَّلُوا تَبْدِيلًا* ” (Holy Qur’an, Al-Ahzab:23).

“Among the Believers are men who have been true to Their Covenant with God: Of them some have completed Their vow(to the extreme), And some (still) wait: But they have never changed(Their determination) in the least”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022).

According to Ibn Kathir(2000), this holy Quranic verse indicates ‘Anas Ibn al-Dur’ (May God be pleased with him), who did not fight with prophet Mohammad (pbuh) in ‘Badr battle’. Hence, he promises to do so in ‘Ohod battle’. Back then, he was true to what he promised. That is, he had been martyred. Like Anas, believers are the men who go out for Jihad. Some of them become martyrs, and others are still waiting to gain victory or become martyrs. Thus, these men never broke ‘God’s vow’ and did not change it(Ibn Kathir, 2000). In the above quotation, Haniyah says that Al-Qassam brigades are among those believers. In other words, Haniyah tries to show that ‘ Hamas’s attack on October 7’ is a ‘holy fighting’, in the name of God and his words in the Holy Qur’an. So, Haniyah says that some of Al Qassam's men were martyred

on October 7. Their resistance will continue until they gain victory. That is, they will never stop fighting until they achieve their aims of ‘Al-Aqsa flood’ battle.

Example 7:

“عباداً لله سبحانه وتعالى، اقتحموا وداسوا خلال الديار في أرضنا المحتلة في غلاف غزة وأبعد من غلاف

غزة . . . ما أعظمكم يا رجال الايمان، يا رجال القسام، يا رجال غزة (هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023).

Here, Haniyah clarifies that what happened during ‘ Hamas’s attack on October 7’ is based on the Holy Qur’an. More precisely, Haniyah, here, alludes to the holy version:

“فإِذَا جَاءَ وَعْدُ أُولَاهُمَا بَعَثْنَا عَلَيْكُمْ عِبَادًا لَنَا أُولِي بَأْسٍ شَدِيدٍ فَجَاسُوا خِلَالَ الدِّيَارِ^٥ وَكَانَ وَعْدًا مَّفْعُولًا” (Holy Qur’an, Al-Isra:5). “When the first of the warnings Came to pass, We sent Against you Our servants Given to terrible warfare: They entered the very inmost Parts of your homes; And it was a warning(Completely)”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022).

According to Ibn Kathir(2000), God condemned Jews in the Qur’an, as they would cause mischief on the earth twice so that they would become extremely arrogant and tyrants. That is, they would be ‘shameless oppressors’ of people everywhere. But if God’s promise of the first episode of the mischief caused by the Jews, God will send against them unleashed soldiers, from Allah’s creatures, who are given to terrible warfare, meaning they are strong and have great weapons and power(Ibn Kathir,2000). Thus, those creatures would enter the very inmost parts of Jews’ homes, going between and through their houses(as clarified by Ibn Kathir). They also are coming and going freely without being afraid of them(Ibn Kathir,2000). Here, Haniyah refers to the men of Al-Qassam Brigades during ‘ Hamas’s attack on October 7’, when they infiltrated to Gaza border area and many other areas in the region. They “entered the very innermost parts” of Israeli lands and homes, and captured a large number of Israeli soldiers and settlers, among them children, women, and elderly. For them, it was God’s promise in the Holy Quran that they won the victory. For Haniyah, Al-Qassam Brigades were not afraid of

the state of Israel. Rather, they confidently fulfilled God’s promise against their oppression and occupation in the land of Palestine. Haniyah alludes to the above Holy Qur’anic verse in other speeches. For example, he clearly describes Al-Qassam men as believers, who are ‘ذوي بأسٍ شديد’ ; “given to terrible warfare”(as mentioned by Haniyah, 1st November, 2023).

Example 8:

“اقتحموا و داسوا خلال الديار في أرضنا المحتلة في غلاف غزة وأبعد من غلاف غزة . . نصر من الله وفتح

قريب” (هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023).

Here, Haniyah sees that ‘Hamás’s attack on October 7’ is Allah’s promise for believers, as mentioned in Holy Qur’an: “تَصْرُفُ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَفَتْحٌ قَرِيبٌ” (Holy Qur’an, as-saff: 13).

“*help from God and a speedy victory*” (The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali,2022).

Ibn Kathir explained that victory is God's reward, blessing and help for believers who fight and go out for the cause of Allah. They stand firmly against their enemies to support God's religion on earth. This reward is also a ‘near victory’, meaning it will come sooner. Thus, believers will earn victory and Allah’s blessings in this life, and continue to the Hereafter.

Example 9:

ولكن كما قال الله سبحانه وتعالى: “ما ظننتم أن يخرجوا وظنوا أنهم مانعتهم حصونهم من الله فأتاهم الله من حيث لا

يحتسبوا وقذف في قلوبهم الرعب (تكررت مرتين كلمة الرعب) يخربون بيوتهم بأيديهم وأيدي المؤمنين فاعتبروا يا

أولي الأبصار” (هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023).

For Haniyah, what happened to Israelis after Hamás’s surprise attack on October 7, is like the Jews of Bani An-Nadir during their conflict with Prophet Mohammad peace be upon him. Haniyah alludes to their story in the holy Quran:

هُوَ الَّذِي أَخْرَجَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ لِأَوَّلِ الْحَشْرِ مَا ظَنَنْتُمْ أَنْ يَخْرِجُوا وَظَنُّوا أَنَّهُمْ
مَا يَعْنُهُمْ حُصُونُهُمْ مَنِ اللَّهِ فَآتَاهُمْ اللَّهُ مِنْ حَيْثُ لَمْ يَحْتَسِبُوا وَقَذَفَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمُ الرِّعْبَ يُخْرِبُونَ بُيُوتَهُمْ بِأَيْدِيهِمْ وَأَيْدِي
مَا يَعْنُهُمُ حُصُونُهُمْ مَنِ اللَّهِ فَآتَاهُمْ اللَّهُ مِنْ حَيْثُ لَمْ يَحْتَسِبُوا وَقَذَفَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمُ الرِّعْبَ يُخْرِبُونَ بُيُوتَهُمْ بِأَيْدِيهِمْ وَأَيْدِي
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَاعْتَبِرُوا يَا أُولِيَ الْأَبْصَارِ (Holy Qur'an, Al Hashr:2). These lines are underlined and translated in the above quotation.

According to Ibn Kathir(2000), the above holy Qur'anic verse was revealed to Messenger Muhammad (pbuh) in Al Madina, when 'Bani An- nadir Jews' denounced the treaty with him and fought Muslims there. Therefore, he fought them and evicted them outside Al Madina. Back then, they had not expected that they would leave and that their fortresses would protect them. But Allah's power is always over disbelievers. So, they destroyed all things that they could not carry before they fled from their houses with their own hands and believers(Ibn Kathir,2000). Ibn Kathir added that Allah's painful torment is for those who do not believe in Allah's Messenger and deny his Holy book. In this context, Haniyah clarifies the reasons and consequences of Hamas's attack on October 7' against Israel. He says that Israeli military occupation is still practicing aggression against Palestinians, such as the expansion of settlements, arrests, and the ongoing blockade on Gaza(see Appendix 1). As a result, Hamas surprisingly attacked them. Haniyah says: they *“reached them from a place whereof they expected it not”*(as mentioned in the above quotation). Back then, Al Qassam Brigades cast 'terror' into Israel's hearts. Haniyah repeated this word twice so that he could describe the horrible event, or rather, an unexpected action at that moment. For Haniyah, those Israelis thought that the separation wall, which separates Palestinians and Israelis, would protect them from attacks; yet, they were surprised by Hamas war. So they fled their homes.

Example 10:

“كان موعدهم الصبح، وكنا نقول لهم بقول الله عز وجل ” الليس الصبح بقريب“. كان هذا الصبح اشراق شمس
النصر والعزة على شعبنا وعلى أمتنا وعلى أحرار العالم، وكان صبح الهزيمة والمذلة والانكسار على عدونا ومستوطناته
ومستوطنيه وجنوده” (هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023).

Haniyah says that ‘ Hamas’s attack on October 7’ on the (so-called) State of Israel was God’s punishment for their sin against the people of Palestine. Al-Qassam attacked them in the morning so that ‘morning was their appointed time’. Here Haniyah reminds us of ‘Prophet Lut’s story (pbuh), in Holy Quran as follows: “إِنَّ مَوْعِدَهُمُ الصُّبْحُ أَلَيْسَ الصُّبْحُ بِقَرِيبٍ” (Holy Quran, Surah Hud: 81). “Morning is their appointed: Is not the morning nigh?” (The Holy Qur’an Translation By Yusuf Ali, 2022). As mentioned by Ibn Kathir(2000), ‘morning’, here, indicates the time of the Peoples of Lut calamity. Back then, a group of angels informed Prophet Lut that: God asked him and his followers to leave the city. Thus, God's punishment was in the morning. It afflicted his people, who were (disbelievers)so that God sent them an earthquake and destroyed them(as explained by Ibn Kathir,2000). Haniyah, here, likens the state of Israel to the people of Lut. Al-Qassam bombed many cities and attacked their homes, capturing a large number of them. Like the people of Lut, many Israelis were afraid and could not determine where to go. From Lut's story, Haniyah tries to say that Allah’s punishment will befall those who don’t obey his commandments. In this case, he means the Israeli government. He tries to say that they have to review their accounts with the People of Palestine, repent and ask Allah’s forgiveness.

Example 11:

“ولذلك أوجه النداء لكل أبناء هذه الأمة على اختلاف جغرافياتهم وتواجدهم أن ينخرطوا كل بطريقته في هذه المعركة . . . و ألا تكونوا من الذين قال الله سبحانه وتعالى فيهم كره الله انبعاثهم فنبطهم وقيل اقعديوا مع القاعدین ” (هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023)

In the above quotation, Haniyah calls out all ‘ummah’(nation) to fight for the sake of God and asks them not to be like hypocrites, who have been exposed in the Holy Qur’an: “كَرِهَ اللَّهُ انبِعَاثَهُمْ فَنبَطَهُمْ فَقبِلَ اقعُدُوا مع القاعدین” (Holy Quran, Surah Taubah:46);

“But God was averse To their being sent forth; So He made them lag behind, And they were told, “Sit ye among those Who sit (inactive)”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022).

According to Ibn Kathir(2000), if hypocrites intended to march out to participate with believers in Jihad, Allah hated their participation so that he made them lag, in order to be away from Jihad; and ‘*sit among those who sit at home*’. Haniyah further, tries to say that Hamas’s attack succeeded on October 7 because none of them is among the hypocrites who will cause problems, disorder, and corruption. Thus, he calls out all Muslims to do so.

Example 12:

“ قولٌ فصلٌ، لا تردد فيه. ان هدفنا واضح هو أننا نريد أن نحرر أرضنا ومقدساتنا وأقصانا وأسيرانا ”(هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023).

In the above quotation, Haniyah tells his audience about the aims of Hamas’s attack on October 7, which is to “*liberate our homeland, sanctities, al-Aqsa mosque, and prisoners*”(Haniyah, 7th October, 2023). In this sense, Haniyah says: “*إِنَّهُ لَقَوْلٌ فَصْلٌ*”(Holy Quran, Surah Tarik:13); “*Behold this is the Word That distinguishes (Good From Evil)*”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). According to Ibn Kathir(2000), this Qur’anic verse indicates the “truthfulness of the Qur'an and the failure of those who oppose it”. That is, ‘The holy Qur’an’ includes decisive statements that separate the ‘truth from falsehood. Ibn Kathir added that this holy Qur’anic verse also indicates a ‘just ruling’. In this sense, many Qur’anic verses command punishment against the enemy and evil. So, Haniyah, here, is swearing that their aims and actions are based on the Holy Qur’an. He tries to say this ‘truth’.

For him, Hamas's attack, is the Palestinians' right to fight against falsehood (Israeli occupation), to achieve their legal aims for a free homeland and to self-determination.

Example 13:

"وسيكون ان شاء الله اللقاء على أرض فلسطين وفي القدس وفي المسجد الأقصى المبارك. ويسألونك متى هو قل

عسى أن يكون قريباً" (هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023)

In this context, Haniyah says that one day, Palestinians and Muslims will win the victory. That is God's promise for those who believe in the 'Holy Qur'an'. In this sense, Haniyah says that they will achieve their goals of the battle of 'al-Aqsa Flood', so that, they will meet "*in the land of Palestine, Jerusalem, and the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque*". Haniyah directs his speech to those who doubt this saying. He quoted Allah's saying:

“(Holy Qur'an, Al-Isra': 51);“*When is that? Say 'Perhaps it will be soon!'*” (The Holy Qur'an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). For Ibn Kathir(2000), this means that 'victory' no doubt will come to you. So, it could be seen how Haniyah, here, shows us his faith in Allah's promise for believers. Hence, he tells Muslims and Palestinians to do so, as well.

Example 14:

"يا غزاة... إن الله اشترى من المؤمنين أنفسهم وأموالهم بأن لهم الجنة يقاتلون في سبيل الله فيقتلون ويقتلون وعدا

عليه حقا في التوراة والانجيل والقرآن ومن أوفى بعهده من الله فاستبشروا ببيعكم الذي بايعتم به وذلك هو الفوز العظيم" (هنية،

7 أكتوبر، 2023)

In the above quotation, Haniyah encourages Muslims, especially Palestinians to fight against their enemy, in order to win victory in this life and Paradise in the afterlife. For him, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict will be resolved by the ongoing Palestinian resistance, going out for Jihad, martyrs, and prisoners. Haniyah also says that their fighting should be for the cause

of God and their beliefs in his Messengers, and holy books. In this sense, he Quotes Allah's saying:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ اشْتَرَى مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ بِأَنْ لَهُمُ الْجَنَّةَ يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَيَقْتُلُونَ وَيُقْتَلُونَ وَعُودًا عَلَيْهِمْ حَقًّا “
(Holy Qur'an, Surah Tawba: 111). (see Appendix 9 for translation).

Ibn Kathir(2000) clarified that Allah purchased from believers their souls and properties in return for Paradise. Allah's promise for believers is mentioned not only in the Holy Qur'an but also in the Torah and the Gospel. Hence, that would be a great victory. In other words, Haniyah shows believers that they will never lose the victory. It is God's generosity for them.

Example 15:

”وما النصر الا من عند الله ان الله عزيز حكيم.. . . نقف اليوم أمام هذه التداخيات المائلة والمهولة للهزيمة الاستراتيجية التي تلقاها العدو الصهيوني في السابع من أكتوبر المجيد على أيدي كتائب الشهيد عز الدين القسام، التي أحدثت زلزالا كبيرا ومدويا في قلب الكيان الصهيوني، بل وتعدت ذلك الى كل حلفائه والمناصرين لهذا الاحتلال البغيض”(هنية، 14 أكتوبر، 2023)

For Haniyah, it is Allah who granted them(Hamas) victory and help on ‘the battle of October 7’. In this sense, Haniyah alluded to Allah's promise for the Messenger of Allah Mohammad (pbuh)and his followers during ‘Badr battle’, as mentioned in the Holy Qur'an:

”وَمَا جَعَلَهُ اللَّهُ إِلَّا بُشْرَىٰ وَلِتَطْمَئِنَّ بِهِ قُلُوبُكُمْ وَمَا النَّصْرُ إِلَّا مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ“ (Holy Qur'an, Surah Al-Anfal: 10); “*God made it but a message Of hope, and assurance To your hearts: (in any case) There is no help of hope Except from God: And God is Exalted in Power, Wise(The Holy Qur'an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022)*”. As mentioned in Ibn Kathir's(2000) interpretation, this holy verse was revealed to the Messenger of Allah Muhammad (pbuh), when he asked Allah to offer them help and give them victory over their enemy (idolaters of

Quraish). That was because the number of idolaters was more than a thousand, but Muslims were few (Ibn Kathir,2000). So, Allah sent them down a thousand angles and informed them of this fact as glad tidings so that they surely would grant victory (Ibn Kathir,2000). In other words, the victory is only from Allah, whose wisdom decides human affairs. In this regard, it seems that Haniyah indicates that they are granted the victory despite their small number as an army compared with the Israeli military occupation.

Example 16:

”وسرعان ما ينكشف هذا الكذب وهذا التضليل وهذا الخداع أمام قيم المجاهدين، أمام نبيل الفرسان وأخلاق الفارس الفلسطيني وهو يطلق المرأة وأطفالها ويعامل الأطفال . . . والله سبحانه وتعالى غالبٌ على أمره ولكن أكثر الناس لا يعلمون” (هنية، 14 أكتوبر، 2023).

Throughout [Haniyah-2], Haniyah expresses his faith in Allah’s power and control over human affairs(see Appendix 2). Specifically, Haniyah quotes Allah's saying:

“*وَاللَّهُ غَالِبٌ عَلَىٰ أَمْرِهِ وَلَكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ*” (Holy Qu’an, Surah Yousuf:21), “*And Allah has full power and control over His affairs, but most of men know not*”). Ibn Kathir (2000) elaborated that if God wills something, “then there is no averting of His decision, nor can it ever be stopped or contradicted. Rather, Allah has full power over everything and everyone else”(Tafsir Ibn Kathir in English,2000). Yet, many people still “have no knowledge of Allah's wisdom with regards to His creation, compassion and doing what He wills”(Tafsir Ibn Kathir in English,2000). In this regard, (see Appendix 2) Haniyah appreciates the solidarity of Arabs and Muslims with the Palestinian issue and their positions against the Zionist plan that aims to displace all Palestinians and the erasure of the state of Palestine from existence. More specifically, Haniyah saluted Egypt's visions, which confirmed that it is a sister nation and an ‘incubator state’ for the people of Palestine, but it never accepted annexing them to the state of Egypt(as mentioned by Haniyah, 14th October, 2023). For Haniyah, it is Allah who controls

these positions and reveals the “*Israeli misleading narrative*’(Haniyah, 14th October, 2023). For Haniyah, it is Allah who shows the world falsehood, misinformation, and deception against Palestinian resistance morals (Haniyah, 14th October, 2023). Here, he alludes to Al- Qassam's good treatment of an ‘Israeli woman and her children(Haniyah, 14th October, 2023). If you focus deeply on Haniyah’s words, you can note how Haniyah relates his speech to Prophet Yousef’s story so that the above Quranic verse is said to show Allah’s predominant over His affairs. That is, it is Allah’s power that protected him, regardless of the ‘misleading narrative’ of his brothers that he has fallen in the well(Ibn Kathir,2000). Back then, Prophet Yosuf was adopted as a son in the land of Egypt. Egypt was an ‘incubator state’ for him. Everyone saw the good morals of Prophet Yousuf peace be upon him; that was God’s wisdom to do so(Ibn Kathir,2000).

Example 17:

"ولا تهنوا ولا تحزنوا أنتم الأعلون إن كنتم مؤمنين، إن يمسسكم قرح فقد مس القوم قرح مثله وتلك الأيام نداولها

بين الناس، وليعلم الله الذين امنوا ويتخذ منكم شهداء والله لا يحب الظالمين" (هنية، 17 أكتوبر، 2023).

During his speech [Haniyah-3] about ‘the massacre of al-Mamadani Hospital’(see Appendix 3), Haniyah comforts his people by quoting holy Qur’anic verses that the Messenger of Allah Muhammad(pbuh) said to console Muslims who suffered losses during the ‘Uhod Battle’, including (70) dead. In this respect, Haniyah quotes:

“*وَلَا تَهْنُوا وَلَا تَحْزَنُوا وَأَنْتُمْ الْأَعْلَوْنَ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ*” (Holy Qur’an, Surah Al-Imran: 139); “*So lose not heart nor fall into despair: for ye must gain mastery if ye are true in faith*”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). Haniyah, here, says to his people in Gaza not to be sad nor be weak because of what they suffered from the Israeli military occupation. Instead, they should

fight for the sake of God. Thus, Allah will grant them victory. They would be superior if they were true believers in God’s promise(Ibn Kathir,2000).

Example 18:

In the above quotation(Example 17), Haniyah also quoted Allah’s saying:

“ *إِنْ يَمَسُّكُمْ فَرَحٌ فَقَدْ مَسَّ الْقَوْمَ فَرَحٌ مِّثْلُهُ وَتِلْكَ آيَاتُ نُدَاوِلْهَا بَيْنَ النَّاسِ وَلِيَعْلَمَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا وَيَتَّخِذَ مِنْكُمْ شُهَدَاءَ* ”
(Holy Qur’an, Surah Al-Imran: 193-140).(see Appendix 9 for translation)

Here, Haniyah tries to say that, if the people of Gaza suffered injuries and many of them were killed, then their enemy (the state of Israel) also suffered fatalities, injuries, and prisoners. In addition, Allah does not like wrongdoers, but rather, he tests believers’ patience so that he will raise their grades according to their losses of suffering(Ibn Kathir,2000). Ibn Kathir also added that it is Allah’s wisdom that He gives victory to the enemy but surely they have to know that it will be for believers at the end.

Example 19:

“ولا تهنوا في ابتغاء القوم إن تكونوا تألمون فإنهم يألمون كما تألمون وترجون من الله ما لا يرجون وكان الله

عليماً حكيماً” (هنية، 17 أكتوبر، 2023)

Moreover, in [Han-3], Haniyah quotes Allah’s saying:

“ *وَلَا تَهِنُوا فِي ابْتِغَاءِ الْقَوْمِ إِنْ تَكُونُوا تَأْلَمُونَ فَإِنَّهُمْ يَأْلَمُونَ كَمَا تَأْلَمُونَ وَتَرْجُونَ مِنَ اللَّهِ مَا لَا يَرْجُونَ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلِيمًا* ”
(Holy Qur’an, An-Nisa:104); “*And slacken not in following up the enemy: if Ye are suffering hardships they are suffering similar hardships; but ye have hope from God while they none. And God is full of knowledge and wisdom*”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). Here, Haniyah emphasizes that both parties of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are suffering. However, as mentioned in Ibn Kathir's(2000) interpretation, the difference between

believers (in this case, people of Gaza) and wrongdoers (Israeli occupation), is that believers hope to grant victory from Allah, but the enemy hopes nothing. Hence, it's their role to support Allah's words and religion, and believe in His messengers, and holy Book(Ibn Kathir,2000). Allah will offer them what they hope so that they will earn Allah's reward, advocacy, and aid. In addition, it is Allah's wisdom, that decides human affairs(Ibn Kathir,2000). In other words, Haniyah hopes that his people be patient in order to win Allah's promise in this world(achieve the aims of Al-Aqsa flood battle) and Paradise in the afterlife.

Example 20:

"يا أهل غزة يا من تزفون في كل لحظة الشهداء، يا من يخرج الشهداء زمراً زمراً الى الرحمن وفداً، لا تبتئسوا ولا تحزنوا" (هنية، 17 أكتوبر، 2023).

In his speech about the tragic 'Massacre of Al-Mamadani Hospital', Haniyah says that in every moment there are many martyrs in Gaza, because of the ongoing Israeli aggression by bombing aircrafts. In this sense, he describes Allah's reward for martyrs based on the Holy Qur'an. He may quote Allah's saying: "وَسِيْقَ الَّذِينَ اتَّقَوْا رَبَّهُمْ إِلَى الْجَنَّةِ زُمَرًا حَتَّىٰ إِذَا جَاءُوهَا وَفُتِحَتْ وَاسِيْقَ الَّذِينَ اتَّقَوْا رَبَّهُمْ إِلَى الْجَنَّةِ زُمَرًا حَتَّىٰ إِذَا جَاءُوهَا وَفُتِحَتْ" (Holy Qur'an, Surah Zumar:73); "And those who feared their Lord will be led To the Garden in crowds: Until behold, they arrive there; Its gates will be opened; And Keepers will say: "Peace be upon you! Well have ye done! Enter ye here, To dwell therein." (The Holy Qur'an Translation by Yusuf Ali,2022) So, Haniyah says that the martyrs of Gaza are among blessed believers who, surely, will be driven to Paradise in groups "زمراً", "one group after another, starting with the best of them: those who are closest to Allah, then the most righteous, then the next best and the next best"(as mentioned in Tafsir Ibn Kathir in English,2000).

Example 21:

In the above quotation(**Example 20**), Haniyah also says that those martyrs are taken to Allah “ وفداً ”. Here, he may quote Allah’s saying: “ *يَوْمَ نَحْشُرُ الْمُتَّقِينَ إِلَى الرَّحْمَنِ وَفْدًا* ” (Holy Qur’an, Surah Maryam: 85);“ *The day We sah gather The righteous to (God) Most Gracious, like a band Presented before a king for honours*”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). According to Ibn Kathir's(2000) interpretation, Haniyah says that those martyrs are among righteous people, who have Takwa, meaning they feared Allah in this world, followed His messengers and obeyed what they were commanded to do. Therefore, they will be gathered like ‘Wafd وفداً’ (delegation), meaning they will come as a group(Ibn Kathir,2000). Accordingly, Haniyah, here, refers to martyrs in Gaza Strip.

Example 22:

”يا أيها الذين آمنوا استعينوا بالصبر والصلاة ان الله مع الصابرين. ولا تقولوا لمن يقتل في سبيل الله اموات بل

أحياء ولكن لا تشعرون” (هنية، 17 أكتوبر، 2023)

In [Haniyah-3], Haniyah tells his people of Gaza to be patient and pray for Allah, so that Allah will be with him, and God will give them His blessing and generosity. He quotes Allah’s saying: “ *يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اسْتَعِينُوا بِالصَّبْرِ وَالصَّلَاةِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ الصَّابِرِينَ* ” (Holy Qur’an, Surah Baqarah: 153); “*And say not of those who are slain in the way of God: “They are dead.” Nay they are living though ye perceive(it) not*”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali,2022). Talking about the martyrs, Haniyah quoted Allah’s saying: “ *وَلَا تَقُولُوا لِمَنْ يُقْتَلُ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتٌ بَلْ أَحْيَاءٌ* ” (Holy Qur’an, Surah Baqarah:154); “*O ye who believes! Seek help with perseverance and prayer: for God is with those who patiently persevere*”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). Haniyah says that the martyrs of Gaza are not dead, but rather they are alive, receiving their sustenance, because they are dead for the cause of God.

Example 23:

"لا يحترم قيما ولا قوانين ولا اعراف ولا شرائع كيف لا! وهم الذين قتلوا الأنبياء! وقتلوا الذين يأمرون بالقسط من الناس وتجروا على حرمة الله وحدوده في الأرض والمقدسات، في الشعب الفلسطيني والأمة" (هنية، 17 أكتوبر، 2023).

In the above quotation, Haniyah alludes to religious-historic discourse in the history of Jews. During his speech [Haniyah-3] about the tragic massacre and genocide that happened in al-Mamadani hospital in Gaza, Haniyah reveals Israel's aggression even against messengers (prophets) peace be upon them, based on the Holy Qur'an. Haniyah says that Israelis are known as 'killers of God's Prophets'. Many Qur'anic verses state that truth. Here, it seems Haniyah alludes to Allah's saying: "الَّذِينَ يَكْفُرُونَ بِآيَاتِ اللَّهِ وَيَقْتُلُونَ النَّبِيِّينَ بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ وَيَقْتُلُونَ الَّذِينَ يَأْمُرُونَ بِالْقِسْطِ مِنْ النَّاسِ فَبَشِّرْهُمْ بِعَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ" (Holy Qur'an, Surah Al-Imran: 21); "As those who deny the Signs of God and in defiance of right slay the Prophets and slay those who teach just dealing with mankind announce to them a grievous penalty" (The Holy Qur'an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). As mentioned in Ibn Kathir's (2000) interpretation, this holy verse was revealed to indicate that the people of Israel had killed 43 of Allah's messengers in an hour and at the same time. Those prophets (peace be upon them), were killed because they ordered justice, so the people of Israel disbelieved in them and the signs of Allah. Therefore, Allah will punish them (the people of Israel) painfully.

Example 24:

"منتصرون بإذن الله، هذا وعد الله، والله لا يخلف وعده لأوليائه وعباده، وكان حقا علينا نصر المؤمنين. والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته." (هنية، 19 أكتوبر، 2023).

In reading these lines, it could be noted how Haniyah shows complete certainty and faith in Allah's promise for believers. He tries to say that despite the many years of Israeli conflicts and wars against the people of Palestine, they (Palestinians) will win victory. Haniyah quotes Allah's statement: "وَعَدَ اللَّهُ لَا يُخْلِفُ اللَّهُ وَعْدَهُ وَلَكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ" (Holy Qur'an, Surah Rum: 6);

“(It is) the promise of God. Never does God depart From His promise: But most men understand not”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022) As mentioned in Ibn Kathir's(2000) interpretation, this holy verse indicates the many years of Persian wars and conflicts against the Romans. Back then, the Romans were defeated. Hence, Muslims were sad that they wanted Romans to prevail over Persians because they were people of the Book. However, idolaters (Muslims’ enemy) wanted Persians to prevail over Romans, because they were idol worshippers. Hence, the holy verse was revealed in Makkah to the Messenger of Allah Muhammad(pbuh), telling him and his followers that the Romans were defeated but then they would become victorious. Indeed, Romans regained their lands, by Heraclius, the emperor of the Romans, as mentioned in the Holy Qur’an. Of course, that is Allah’s promise to believers. In this sense, Haniyah also emphasizes that truth. He also quotes Allah’s saying: “ *وَكَانَ حَقًّا عَلَيْنَا* ” (Holy Qur’an, Surah Rum, 47);“*And it was due from us To aid those who believed*”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). As Ibn Kathir elaborated, in this holy verse, Allah consoles His messenger not to be sad because of the ones who denied him and did not believe in him and Allah’s words. He said to him that Allah will grant him the victory. This promise is Allah’s duty that He took upon Himself as a favor and blessing to believers.

Example 25:

" 20 يوم والمقاومة وفي مقدمتها القسام تواصل ضرباتها، تحرس حدودها . . . امضوا الى الامام. والله سبحانه وتعالى مولانا ولا مولى لهم، ذلك بان الله مولى الذين امنوا وان الكافرين لا مولى لهم(هنية، 26 أكتوبر، 2023).

After 20 days of the ongoing Israeli war in Gaza Strip, in [Haniyah-5], Haniyah says that his people still steadfast in their lands despite the pressures, and the genocide war against them. Thus, he says that Palestinian resistance in Gaza also still stands firmly to protect Gaza’s borders from their enemy. He ends his speech with Allah’s saying:

"ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّ اللَّهَ مَوْلَى الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا وَأَنَّ الْكُفْرِينَ لَا مَوْلَى لَهُمْ" (Holy Qur'an, Surah Muhammad: 11); in English, "That is because God Is the Protector of those Who believe, but Those who reject God Have no protector"(The Holy Qur'an translation by Yusuf Ali,2022). Based on Ibn Kathir's (2000) interpretation, Haniyah tries to say that the people of Gaza are under Allah's tutelage. God will give them victory and protect them. Thus, they believe in God's promise for believers. However, the Israeli military occupation is among wrongdoers, who deny justice and Palestinians' rights in their homeland. As mentioned in Ibn Kathir's(2000) interpretation, this holy verse is said by the Messenger of Allah Muhammad peace be upon him after the 'Uhod battle'. He asked his followers to respond to their enemy by saying it for idolaters, especially their commander at that time, Sufyan Sakhr bin Harb when he said 'Glory to Hubal'.

Example 26:

"كما نؤكد لك أن كل شعوب الأمة تغلي وتحفز للمشاركة في هذه المعركة المحيية . . . وسيعلم الذين ظلموا أي منقلب ينقلبون" (هنية، 1 نوفمبر، 2023).

In the above quotation, Haniyah quotes Allah's saying: "وَسَيَعْلَمُ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا أَيَّ مُنْقَلَبٍ يَنْقَلِبُونَ" (Holy Qur'an, Surah Shuara: 227); "And soon will the unjust Assailants know what vicissitudes Their affairs will take!"(The Holy Qur'an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). As mentioned in Ibn Kathir's(2000) interpretation, this holy verse tells the Messenger of Allah Muhammad (pbuh) that Allah will punish those who wronged Him and accused Him of lying and slander. Similarly, Haniyah responds to the Israeli Military occupation, telling them that Allah would punish them harshly in Hereafter because of their aggression, injustice, and fabrications against the people of Palestine.

Example 27:

”وتحية لقيادة غزة . . . وهم مع كل أبناء شعبهم الثابتون الراسخون صناع المجد التليد. والعاقبة للمتقين“ (هنية،

24 نوفمبر، 2023).

Here, Haniyah ends his speech [Han-7], saying: “والعاقبة للمتقين”. It could be seen that Haniyah’s message is closely related to Allah’s saying: “تِلْكَ الدَّارُ الْآخِرَةُ نَجْعَلُهَا لِلَّذِينَ لَا يُرِيدُونَ عُلُوًّا” (Holy Qur’an, Surah Qasas: 83); “*That Home of the Hereafter We shall give to those Who intend not high-handedness Or mischief on earth: And the End is (best) For the righteous*”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). Based on Ibn Kathir's(2000) interpretation, Haniyah tries to say that the good end of the ‘battle of Al-Aqsa Flood’ is for the righteous who have ‘Taqwa’, meaning the ones who fear Allah’s punishment since they(Al-Qassam brigades and all Palestinian resistance) fight for the sake of God, against injustice and corruption made by Israeli occupation. So, for Haniyah, people of Gaza are among humble believers who are worthy of blessings of the Hereafter.

Example 28:

” وصدق الله القتال، انما المؤمنون الذين امنوا بالله ورسوله ثم لم يرتابوا وجاهدوا بأموالهم وانفسهم في سبيل الله

اولئك هم الصادقون . . . لا يزال شعبنا العظيم المجاهد ومقاومته الباسلة يقدمون صورة مشرقة في الجهاد والنضال والصمود

الأسطوري . . .“ (هنية، 13 ديسمبر، 2023)

In the above quotation, Haniyah describes the Palestinian resistance in quoting Allah’s saying: “إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا بِاللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَرْتَابُوا وَجَاهَدُوا بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الصَّادِقُونَ” (Holy Qur’an, Surah Hujuraat: 15); “*Only those are Believers Who have believed in God And His Apostle, and have Never since doubted, but Have striven with their Belongings and their persons In the Cause of God: Such are the sincere ones*”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). Haniyah, here, tries to say Palestinians who fight against the Israeli occupation are among true believers, who go out for Jihad for the cause of God, His

messengers, and the right. They are not only Muslims but also do not have doubts and their Faith was not shaken. As explained by Ibn Kathir(2000), this shows that not all Muslims have the same level of faith in Allah's wisdom in this world.

Example 29:

" وكل أمل أو حلم دمرته الهجمات الصهيونية الهمجية، وكل معاناة من جوع وعطش ونقص في الأموال والأنفس والثمرات، ستبقى محفورة في ذاكرتنا، لا يمكن نسيانها أو التسامح مع مرتكبيها في أي حال وتحت أي ظرف. وسيضع العدو المجرم ثمن كل ذلك مهما طال الزمن" (هنية، 13 ديسمبر، 2023).

For Haniyah, Palestinians, especially the people of Gaza, will never forget the Israeli aggression against them. What can be noted is that Haniyah mentions their losses of suffering based on the Holy Qur'an. He alluded to Allah's saying: "وَلَنَبَلِّغَنَّكُمْ بَشِيرًا مِّنَ الْخَوْفِ وَالْجُوعِ وَنَقْصٍ" (Holy Qur'an, Surah Al-Baqarah:155); "Be sure We shall test you with something of fear and hunger some loss in goods or lives or the fruits(of your toil) but give glad tidings to those patiently persevere"(The Holy Qur'an Translation by Yusuf Ali,2022). Haniyah says to his people that Allah tests them during this war, to see who is patient and is worthy of Allah's reward in the Hereafter. In this sense, Haniyah says some Palestinians suffered something of fear, hunger, and wealth, meaning losing parents, children, relatives, or friends. Thus, some of them suffered from losing their properties like homes, gardens, and others. Others lose their hopes and dreams. In other words, Haniyah comforts his people, telling them that what they suffered (Ibn Kathir,2000) is Allah's affliction for believers, so they have to be patient and succeed in Allah's test

Example 30:

"فإننا نرى أن هذه المعركة البطولية تقترب من نهايتها المشرفة وصدق الله القائل، ولو قاتلكم الذين كفروا لولوا الأديبار ثم لا يجدون وليا ولا نصيرا سنة الله التي قد خلت من قبل ولن تجد لسنة الله تبديلا، صدق الله العظيم" (هنية، 13 ديسمبر، 2023).

Here, Haniyah shows us complete certainty in Allah’s wisdom in this world. For him, Palestinians will be granted victory very soon, even if their enemy fought them again. He justifies that they(He and the Palestinian resistance) are believers, who fight in the cause of God against injustice and Israeli aggression in the land of Palestine. For him, God is the best protector and helper in the field. He supports his vision by quoting Allah’s saying: “ *وَلَوْ قَاتَلَكُمُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَوَلَّوْا الْأَدْبَارَ ثُمَّ لَا يَجِدُونَ وَلِيًّا وَلَا نَصِيرًا*” (Holy Qur’an, Surah Al-Fath:22), “ *If the Unbelievers Should fight you, they Certainly turn their backs; Then would they find Neither protector nor helper*”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). As mentioned in Ibn Kathir’s(2000) clarification, this honourable verse was revealed to indicate the ‘Conquest of Makkah’ and the treaty of Al-Hudaybiyyah. Back then, the Messenger of Allah Muhammad(pbuh) and his faithful followers were given victory without fighting. So, in this sense, Allah told Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) that if idolaters in Makkah fought them, He would also have given them victory and help against idolaters. Because those idolaters did not believe in God’s words, His messengers, and the right way in life. So, they would turn their backs, then they would never find who protects or helps them. For surely, Allah will stand against whom they fought Him and His believers.

Example 31:

In the above quotation(**Example 30**), Haniyah also supports his vision by quoting Allah’s saying: “ *لَسُنَّةَ اللَّهِ الَّتِي قَدْ خَلَتْ مِنْ قَبْلُ وَلَنْ تَجِدَ لِسُنَّةِ اللَّهِ تَنْدِيلًا*” (Holy Qur’an, Surah Al-Fath:23); “ *[This is] the established way of Allah which has occurred before. And never will you find in the way of*

Allah any change". Haniyah sends the message that this is Allah's way to deal with His creation. "(Such has been) the practice (Approved) of God already In the past: no change Wilt thou find in The practice (approved) of God" (The Holy Qur'an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). "Whenever faith and disbelief meet at any distinguishing juncture, Allah gives victory to faith over disbelief, raises high truth and destroys falsehood"(as mentioned in Tafsir Ibn Kathir' in English, 2000).

4.3.2. Historical Intertextual Allusions

Based on the findings of the study, it is also shown that the discourse of history is greatly woven into Haniyah's political speeches. In doing so, Haniyah brings the past to the present, by alluding to historical events during the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Here, Haniyah points out 6 references in the selected speeches(see Appendix 10 for allusions' translation):

Example 1:

" كان أربع أسرى وما بكم تتجاوزوا لا مع وسطاء ولا مع نداءات ولا مع أي شيء من هذا القبيل. وقال المقاومة أكثر من مرة الغلة حتزيد والقاتورة حتزيد. المقاومة وقادة المقاومة ما بيحكوا كلام هيك!! الآن انظروا الى أسراكم، وانظروا الى هذا العدد الذي أصبح في يد القسام ويد المقاومة "(هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023)

In [Haniyah-1], Haniyah recalls one of the most important issues in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, which is the Palestinian prisoners as well as the Israelis. More specifically, in the above quotation, Haniyah reminds his enemy of the four Israeli prisoners who were captured by the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) before Gaza War 2023-2024. They are Hadar Goldin, Afera Mangisto, and Aron Shaool, captured during Gaza War in 2014. Thus, Hisham al-Said was captured in 2015(as stated by Wakalat al-Anadol in Aljazeera newspaper, 2022). Haniyah says that the Israeli government did not respond to their calls to conclude

prisoner exchange deals. Here, he tries to convey to the audience the enemy's disregard for their prisoners. On the other hand, Haniyeh says that Palestinian prisoners are one of their priorities in their conflict against the occupation. As Haniyeh mentioned above, their complacency will not be in vain. He says: “*The yield will increase*”(Haniyah, 7th October, 2023). Here, Haniyah hints that the resistance was planning a ‘major war’, to achieve their goals. As a result, Hamas unexpectedly attacked them on October 7, and a large number of Israelis were captured by al-Qassam and Palestinian resistance. It seems that Haniyah relates the present discourse to the past, to show the enemy how they are stronger than before. For him, Hamas’ attack on 7 October is a “*stunning defeat*”(Haniyah, 7th October, 2023) and a harsh response to their aggression. Accordingly, he tries to get the enemy to review their accounts and make better decisions regarding Palestinian prisoners. (See Appendix1: [Haniyah-1]).

Example 2:

"وتجروا على حرمان الله وحدوده في الأرض والمقدسات ، في الشعب الفلسطيني والأمة، هم ذاتهم الذين ارتكبوا مجزرة المستشفى المعمداني، ارتكبوا مجزرة صبرة وشاتيلا، وارتكبوا مجزرة مدرسة بحر البقر، هم الذين قتلوا أسرى الجيش المصري" (هنية، 17 أكتوبر، 2023)

In the above quotation, Haniyah talks about the tragic massacre, that happened in ‘Al-Mamadani Hospital’ in Gaza on October 17. It is the first and one of the most terrible massacres during Gaza War 2023-2024, in which hundreds of martyrs were murdered at the same time. That was really a rough day, as ‘hearts reached the throats’. That day, the world witnessed shocking images of pieces of flesh and blood, which were spattered around the site of the blast targeting the hospital. It was a horrible genocide that cannot be forgotten. In this context, Haniyah, recalls tragic events that are still etched in Arabs’ memory. Firstly, he alludes to the massacre of Sabra and Shatila in 1982. It was committed by militias loyal to Israel against Palestinian refugees in Sabra and Shatila camps, in Lebanon, resulting in thousands of martyrs.

The event of 'Sabra and Shatila' was a global shock. It had truly shaken the hearts of everyone. Another historical event is 'Bahr El-Baqar School' massacre, which was committed by the Zionist enemy in 1970. It was a humanitarian catastrophe in the history of the people of Egypt. Back then, as stated by Sha'lan(2021), the Israeli aircraft bombed a children's school, killing 19 male and female students and wounding 50 others. The images of the bombed school and the families rushing to search for their children had become a tragic anniversary for Egypt. The other historical event is the massacre of 'the prisoners of the Egyptian army', who were killed at the hands of the Israeli army at Ras Suder in Sinai during the 1967 War. As mentioned in Silverstein(2016), credible reports revealed that the Egyptian prisoners were between 50 – 70, were executed, and then were buried in a mass grave. The reports also indicated that other massacres against them refer to 1956, as well.

Alluding to these massacres, different messages could be recognized from Haniyah's words. First, Haniyah tries to reveal the enemy's policy during wars. He says: the enemy "*does not respect values, laws, customs, or laws*". In addition, he shows the world the ongoing Israeli aggression against Arab societies. In this sense, he also emphasises the enemy's brutality not only against Palestine but also against the people of 'ummah'. Here, you can see how Haniyah shows a national affiliation not only to Palestine but also to all Muslims. Haniyah says: "*We are one blood*"(Haniyah, 7th October, 2023). The other message seems to be for the enemy as if Haniyah says: 'We will never forget what you did'. See Appendix 3: [Haniyah-3] .

Example 3:

"أدعو الجميع . . . لوقف العدوان على غزة، لوقف هذه الحرب ضد أطفالنا ونسائنا وشيوخنا، مساجدنا جامعاتنا بيوتنا، ليتوقف هذا العدوان الغاشم لتتوقف هذه المحرقة، الهولوكوست الجديد، الذي يمارسه جيش الاحتلال الصهيوني ضد شعبنا الفلسطيني" (هنية، 26 أكتوبر، 2023).

Here, Haniyah recalls one of the most terrible events in the history of Jews, which is the 'Holocaust'. In doing so, he tries to reveal the brutality of their enemy. According to Berenbaum(2024), 'Holocaust' is the systematic killing of Jews, which indicates the slaughter of many Jewish people all over Europe. Nearly 6 million men, women, children and others at the hand of the German Nazi reign with their collaborators, were killed during World War II. Holocaust was also known by other names such as catastrophe, Genocide against Jews, the War against Jews, and the final resolution of the Jewish Question. It is indicated that German Nazis were anti-Semitic, particularly, Nazi leader Hitler, the one who tried his best to clean Europe of Jews. They were oppressed, displaced and, killed everywhere there. After killing them, their bodies were burned, too. So, the era of the Holocaust witnessed many acts of violence against Jews including, many massacres, genocides, destruction of their properties, temples, schools, burning of their books, and other heinous crimes. The Holocaust ended as a final resolution to the Jewish Question at the expense of Palestinians(as mentioned in Berenbaum,2024). That is, they established the state of Israel on the land of Palestine.

As seen in the above quotation, Haniyah likens the Nazi Holocaust, or Genocide against Jews to the Israeli-Zionist Genocide against the people of Gaza, because of the terrible crimes they committed during the Gaza War of 2023-2024. Throughout his speech[Haniyah-5], Haniyah clarifies that the people of Palestine "*suffered from this historical injustice, occupation, asylum, displacement, deportation, siege, arrests, and checkpoints*"(my own translation)(Haniyah, October 26th, 2023). Haniyeh says that the Zionists, like the Nazis, killed children, women, and the elderly. They also destroyed homes, mosques, and in this context, they also bombed Al-Mamadani Hospital, where body parts and blood were scattered everywhere. Likewise, property, infrastructure and economic activity have not been spared from attacks and destruction in Gaza Strip(Haniyah, October 26th, 2023). Moreover, Haniyah says that the Israeli Government also cut off all necessities of life, including water and food

resources, “*everything needed for the life cycle in Gaza*”(my own translation) (Haniyah, October 26th, 2023), and sanitary supplies. Haniyah explains that the people of Gaza were also forced to displace their homes under pressure and indiscriminate bombing. Hence, in his speech, he calls on everyone “*to restore the life cycle of all facilities in Gaza Strip, especially hospitals, electricity, water, bakeries, and all that*” (my own translation) (Haniyah, October 26th, 2023). See Appendix 5: [Haniyah-5].

From the eye of intertextuality, Haniyah alludes to the Holocaust event as a trying to raise the audience's awareness of the grave situation in Gaza. As the Holocaust was the cause of finding a final resolution for Jews, it can be noted that Haniyah is calling on everyone not only to relieve the Gaza people but to find a final solution for the people of Palestine, or rather, ‘the Question of Palestine’ as a whole!

Example 4:

” إن شعبنا بهذا الصمود والثبات والتشبث بوطنه أفضل مخططات العدو بنكبة جديدة من التهجير والشتات (هنية،

1 نوفمبر، 2023).

In light of the grave situation in Gaza Strip, Haniyah invokes the memory of the most tragic event in Palestinian history, which is al-Nakba in 1948. It indicates the year when European Jews established a state of Israel in the land of Palestine. 1948 marks the year when Jews established the state of Israel in the land of Palestine. As stated by Qabaha and Hamamra(2021), almost more than 7,000 thousand Palestinians were uprooted and expelled from their native land(Palestine), by Israeli military occupation. So many Palestinians were displaced inside as well as outside their country. Thus, they destroyed many villages and killed Palestinian children, women and civilians, to increase settlement and invite European Jews to Palestine. That was part of the Zionist project made for the final solution to the Jewish Question

after the Holocaust(as cited in Qabaha&Hamamra,2021). They committed many massacres, extending over all of Palestine.

In this regard, Haniyah warns his people that the Israeli Government is attempting to carry out its Zionist plans, most importantly, the expansion of the Jewish state, to establish the Greater State of Israel over all of Palestine. Accordingly, the Israeli government continues their attacks and aggression against Palestinians. In the above quotation, Haniyeh clarifies how massacres, pressures, indiscriminate bombing, and ground war, spread throughout Gaza Strip by Israeli Military occupation as an attempt to displace and expel them to Sinai. Haniyah says that his people will be steadfast in their homeland “*despite the massive destruction and the fall of large numbers of martyrs and wounded, the last of which was the brutal massacre in Jabaliya camp, Nuseirat, Al-Shati and Al-Fallujah. I would even say the massacre that extended throughout Gaza Strip(my own translation)*”(Haniyah, 1st November, 2023). See Appendix 6: [Haniyah-6].

4.3.3. Cultural Intertextual Allusions

Haniyah makes associations between his speeches and well-known sayings and proverbs in Arab societies. Using such proverbs, helps the audience to better understand his visions of Gaza War 2023-2024. In this study. There are 4 proverbs in the selected speeches(see Appendix 11 for allusions’ translation):

Example 1:

" أيها الأخوة والأخوات، لقد حذرنا كل العالم مع هذه الحكومة الفاشية التي أطلقت العنان للمستوطنين أن

يعيشوا فساداً في المسجد الأقصى وفي القدس، وقلنا لهم لا تلعبوا بالنار، ولا تتجاوزوا الخط الأحمر، ولكنهم صموا

آذانهم وأعموا أبصارهم "(هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023)

In the above quotation, it could be seen that Haniyeh alludes to the popular proverb, “ لا تلعبوا بالنار ”, “Don’t play with fire”. It is often used in many contexts in daily life situations. Thus, it takes other forms, for example, some people say, “اللي يلعب بالنار بتحرقه”, “Whoever plays with fire will get burned” or “لا تلعب بالنار تحرق أصابعك”, “Do not play with fire, you will burn your fingers”. It is usually used with the intention of conveying the speech act of ‘warning’, in order to be aware and stay away from anything that exceeds the red line. It is also said to show the ‘gloating’ of people who still do not care, so they play with fire(dangerous matters) (Abu-al-Qassim, 2021). Hence, there can be dire consequences (Abu- al-Qassim, 2021). In [Haniyah-1], Haniyah explains the main causes of Hamas’s attack. Haniyah justifies that they had warned the Israeli occupation: “not to play with fire”, but the Israeli occupation did not care; rather, they “Deafened their ears and blinded their eyes” That is, they ‘played with fire’. For Haniyah, the fire, here, refers to beating and assaulting Palestinian women by Israeli soldiers, in addition to, desecrating Al-Aqsa Mosque with their shoes, increasing the number of settlements in the West Bank (the project to Judaize the West Bank), as well as the ongoing attacks against the Palestinians there(see Appendix 1: [Haniyah-1]). Accordingly, Haniyah, says that Israeli occupation exceeded the red line; therefore, there were dire consequences, namely ‘Al-Aqsa Flood’. In this line is also the spokesman of Hamas Brigades, Abu Obeeda. In his speech, he alluded to the following proverb “Whoever plays with fire will get burned”, to point out a ‘harsh response’, ‘threat of retaliation’ and ‘severe consequences’, in response to the assassination of the freed prisoner ‘Mazen Fiqha’ by the Israeli occupation.

Example 2:

"متزامنا ذلك مع العدوان المتواصل على أهلنا هناك . . . لم يرعون، نعم، هناك مقاومة في الضفة الغربية

، بل كانت ترد بالصاع صاعين، وتنفيذ العمليات البطولية، هذا هو شعبنا" (هنية، 7 أكتوبر، 2023)

Another proverb Haniyah alluded to is: “يرد الصاع صاعين”, “Hit him back twice as hard”. In a rhetorical sense, it is commonly used in the field of competition, disputes, and attempts to establish arguments, proofs, or prevails in any way, such as revenge, sanction, retribution, victory, or restitution. The proverb does not indicate a good reward, but rather a response to evil with a similar or greater act (Dayel, 2019; Humedy,2017). Accordingly, in [Han-1] Haniyah conveys the meaning of his visions by building associations with this phrase. One interpretation is to justify Hamas’s attack on October 7. In this sense, he says that ‘al-Aqsa Flood’ came as a response to Israeli aggression and its ongoing attacks against Palestinians(see Appendix 1: [Haniyah-1]). According to Haniya, Al-Aqsa Flood is the greatest blow in the Israeli history since 1948. Hence, ‘evil’, here, is Israeli heinous crimes against Palestinians. On the other hand, al-Aqsa Flood’ is ‘the greater evil’ and ‘retribution’ against Israeli aggression. For Haniyah, Israel’s Government crimes, massacres, and genocides establish proof and evidence of their brutality and therefore, Palestinian resistance has the right to “hit them back twice as hard”(as mentioned in the above quotation: see Appendix 11 for translation). Moreover, Haniyah may try to say that ‘Al- Aqsa Flood’ is a ‘settling scores’ war of the Palestinian-Israel conflict. That is, it came as a response to the injustice that Palestinians have suffered since al-Nakba in 1948. So, Palestinian resistance tries to restore the Palestinian issue to the political landscape. Additionally, Haniyah attempts to say that the Palestinian resistance has become stronger now. They, further can respond more harshly to Israelis' heinous crimes. In other words, Haniyah’s alluding to this proverb is to show ‘Palestinian’s resistance great abilities, as well.

Example 3:

"غزة يا جمل المحامل . . . تحية لكم أيها الال الاشداء رغم وحشية وحرب الإبادة التي يمارسها العدو . . . 20 يوم وغزة تقف كالطود الشامخ . . . 20 يوم والمقاومة وفي مقدمتها القسام تواصل ضرباتها، تحرس حدودها" (هنية، 26 أكتوبر،

(2023

In a symbolic sense, Haniyah alluded to the popular proverb: “جمال المحامل Jamal al-Mahamel”. In English, it means “Camel of Heavy Burdens”. The proverb took its name from the camel’s patience. However, it is often said to indicate a strong person who has the patience and endurance of concerns and life difficulties (Aseeda, 2018). In the above quotation, Haniyah describes Gaza as “جمال المحامل” during the war, revealing Palestinian’s great culture and values. 20 days have passed since the war. Despite the grave situation in Gaza, the ongoing aggression, killing, and destruction, and the genocide waged against our people in Gaza Strip, it is still steadfast and strong, standing ‘*like a great towering mountain*’(Haniyah, 26th, October, 2023), Gaza continues to hold out for 20 days, “*with blood in the streets and roads*” (Haniyah, 26th, October, 2023). Thus, the Palestinian resistance, “*led by Al-Qassam, continues its strikes, guarding its borders . . .*” (Haniyah, 26th, October, 2023), It moves forward to achieve “*the lofty goals of the people who have suffered from historical injustice, occupation, oppression, displacement, siege, arrests, checkpoints, and preventing people from reaching the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque*”(my own translation)(Haniyah, 26th, October, 2023). In other words, Gaza “جمال المحامل” , has suffered and endured a lot throughout the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. From the eye of intertextuality, the audience can clearly see how the meaning of this proverb overlaps and interacts through Haniyah’s words.

A well-known saying is “A picture paints a thousand words”. In this regard, readers and listeners can recognize how Haniyah’s powerful words about Gaza, are drawing a picture similar to the famous painting by Suleiman Mansour, a key figure in Palestinian art since the 1970s. Like, Gaza, his painting is also named ‘Jamal Al- Mahamel’ or ‘Camel of Heavy Burdens’ (Sadiq, 2021). It has become an iconic portrayal in the hearts of all Palestinians, symbolizing Palestinian steadfastness in the struggle for their homeland with Jerusalem as its capital(Sadiq, 2021). Mansour had produced 3 versions of his painting.

The first edition was printed in 1973. The second edition was printed in 1975. Both versions depict an elderly porter who is struggling to carry Jerusalem over his bent back, tied to a misery rope. The old man is holding Jerusalem's concern and the historical injustice that Palestinians suffered since al-Nakba 1948 (Sadiq, 2021). However, the third version, which was produced in 2005, represents how the Palestinian resistance and steadfastness have changed over the years. So 'the old man' with a bent back was changed to 'a young resistance' with a straight back. The lofty youth stand confidently and firmly against the enemy (as cited in Sadiq, 2021).

If you contemplate the first edition, you can see the elderly porter is 'Gaza' with many years of injustice, conflicts, and siege. Haniyah, here, tries to convey a message that the people of Gaza will never forget their sufferings. Thus, the third edition shows us how Gaza is still steadfast and how resistance, led by al-Qassam and all Palestinian resistance is standing firmly and fighting valiantly against Israeli aggression and genocides. For Haniyah, Gaza is 'Al-Aqsa Flood'. It carries the issue of Jerusalem and Palestinians' painful history over its back. Haniyah says: Gaza is "*O back of every Palestinian, O support of every Arab and Muslim, O arm of advanced deterrence, O protector of Al-Aqsa, O hope of liberating prisoners*"(my own translation)(Haniyah, 26th, October, 2023). See Appendix 5: [Haniyah-5].

All in all, Haniyah here shows us Gaza's strength, steadfastness, endurance, and ongoing resistance against Israeli occupation. Mentioning the proverb three times in [Haniyah-5] emphasizes these features as well as gets the audience to remember the historical injustice since al-Nakba. Aside from that, Haniyah also shows us the beauty of Palestinian culture by presenting their sufferings over the years

Example 4:

"ترحب الحركة باستمرار المساعي الحميدة ومواصلة الجهود لإنهاء العدوان الصهيوني على شعبنا . . . وأن

الافراج بموجب اتفاق الهدنة عن الأسيرات والأطفال من سجون العدو هو أول الغيث وأول الغيث قطرٌ ثم ينهمرُ (هنية، 24

نوفمبر، 2023).

The other proverb that Haniyah alluded to is: "أول الغيث قطرٌ ثم ينهمرُ". It is commonly used by Arabs to indicate augurs well, blessing, and livelihood. The proverb greatly matches the meaning of the following English proverb: "Great oaks from little acorns grow". According to the Cambridge Dictionary, it is "said about organizations or plans that start very small or simple and become extremely large or successful". In the context of this study, Haniyah referred to this saying during his speech on 'the temporary truce and limited prisoners' exchanges', which was reached on 24th November, after 50 days of the ongoing war on Gaza. In doing so, diverse messages can be seen. As mentioned in the above quotation, Haniyah says that female prisoners and captured children are "أول الغيث". Maybe Haniyah, here, indicates the first step to calm matters down. He may also indicate the first step in succeeding to achieve one of their aims of 'Al- Aqsa Flood', which is 'releasing all Palestinian prisoners from the Israeli occupation jails. Moreover, it seems that Haniyah sees this 'truce' as an 'augur well' for a lasting ceasefire. He says: "The movement welcomes the ongoing good offices and efforts to end the Zionist aggression against our people"(my own translation)(Haniyah, 24th November, 2023). Additionally, alluding to this proverb reveals Haniyah's ambitions and "aspirations for freedom and return" (Haniyah, 24th November, 2023). In other words, he shows us hope for achieving all the desired goals of the war, which are: "lifting the siege on Gaza, exchanging prisoners, stopping the assault on Al-Aqsa Mosque, and enabling our people to exercise all their legitimate national rights to establish an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, the right to self-determination, and return." (my own translation)(Haniyah, 24th November, 2023). See Appendix 7: [Haniyah-7].

4.2.4. Political Intertextual Allusions

Throughout Gaza War 2023-2024, Haniyah tried to reveal all parties' policies associated with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, by referring to different political discourses of issues or phenomena similar to the current situations in this war. In this study, Haniyah alludes to 4 political references(see Appendix 12 for allusions' translation).

Example 1:

" هذه الجرائم التي يتابعها العالم أيضا بأسره. والتي تسجل من جديد طبيعة هذا العدو النازي الوحشي
الفاشي القاتل" (هنية، 19 أكتوبر، 2023).

Fascism and Nazism, are what Haniyah alludes to, to describe the Israeli Government's policy and ideological visions against Palestinians. Both concepts represent far-right ideological political movements that appeared in Europe during World War I. Fascism first appeared in Italy, led by its founder 'Benito Mussolini'(Weisberger, 2021). While Nazism originated in Germany, led by 'Adolfe Hitler'(Weisberger, 2021). The fascist and Nazi movements were recognized for their racist and dictatorial policy and violent practices against minorities, especially Jews, who were harshly oppressed and persecuted in Europe (Weisberger, 2021). Millions of them were killed and others suffered from injustice and discrimination, due to the heinous crimes and genocide wars committed against them. In other words, both movements were antisemitic (Weisberger, 2021).

In this regard, Haniyah likens the Fascist Nazi aggression, its crimes, persecution and wars of extermination against the Jews in Europe, to the Jewish aggression against Palestine in general and Gaza Strip in particular. As is clear in the above quotation, Haniyah says that the Israeli occupation has once again recorded the brutal nature of the Fascist and Nazi movements. Accordingly, Haniyah explained that 'Al-Aqsa Flood' came in response to Israeli aggression and its heinous crimes against the people of Palestine. Haniyah explains the Israeli occupation

crimes very clearly along with these two political concepts. From the examples below, it appears that Haniyah used these intertexts and political relationships not only to clarify the Israeli aggression but also to justify the reasons for Hamas’s surprise attack on October 7, as follows: One example is: *“لأن غزة اليوم في كارثة انسانية بسبب الوحشية النازية الصهيونية”* (هنية، 19 أكتوبر، 2023) (2023; “Because Gaza today is in a humanitarian catastrophe due to Nazi-Zionist brutality”(my own translation)(Haniyah, 19 October, 2023). Another example is: *“ولكن هم انهم سيدفعونهم الى النزوح والى الهجرة والى الخروج من ارض غزة. . . لذلك فاني احيي اهلنا في غزة بيعتقدوا هولاء الذين بالدم والنار يقفون في وجه آلة القتل والبربرية والوحشية والفاشية الصهيونية”* (هنية، 14 أكتوبر، 2023) in English, “*But they believe that . . . , will push them to displacement, emigrate, and to leave the land of Gaza. . . Therefore, I salute our people in Gaza, who with blood and fire stand against the Zionist killing machine, barbarism, brutality, and fascism*”(my own translation). The other example is: *“هذه الحرب أحد اهم اسبابها هو نتنياهو، الذي يقود مجموعه يمينيه عنصرية فاشية . . . ان استمرار نتنياهو وحكومته الفاشية في سياسات العريضة والباطجة والاعتداء على المسجد الاقصى والمقدسات الاسلامية والمسيحية وبناء المستوطنات وإطلاق العنان لعنات المستوطنين ليعيشوا في الارض خرابا وتدميرا وقتلا”* (هنية، 1 نوفمبر، 2023) in English,

“One of the most important causes of this war is Netanyahu, who leads a right-wing, racist, fascist group. . . The continuation of Netanyahu and his fascist government in the policies of orgy, bullying, assaulting Al-Aqsa Mosque and Islamic and Christian holy sites, building settlements, and unleashing the violence of the settlers to wreak havoc, destruction, and murder on the land”(my own translation)(Haniyah, 1st November, 2023).

Example 2:

“وانه لجهاد لجهاد نصر أو استشهاد، والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته” (هنية، 14 أكتوبر، 2023)

“And it is a jihad, a ‘jihad of victory or martyrdom’, and peace and blessings be upon you”(Haniyah, 14th October, 2023).

Basically, the above quotation describes Hamas's political visions since the beginning of the Palestinian-Israel conflict. Like many Hamas politicians, Haniyah usually ends his political speeches with the above statement. It is indicated that the phrase was used as a slogan for resistance by Al-Qassam Brigades(Zaghilat, 2023). Basically, those words are taken from Hamas leader, Izz al-Din al-Qassam. Specifically, it went back to the period when he was fighting at al-Istiqlal Mosque in Haifa against the British Mandate since 1925(Zaghilat, 2023). Back then, Izz al-Din Al-Qassam announced that the ‘British’ were the ones who created and adopted the Zionist nation-state goal. For him, they are the prime cause of all Palestinians’ misfortunes(Zaghilat, 2023). Hence, he called to fight and drive them out before fulfilling their plan: the ‘Balfour Declaration’, which promised Jews to create an Israel state on the land of Palestine(Zaghilat, 2023). Accordingly, here, Haniyah alludes to one of the most common jihadist words of Izz al-Din al-Qassam, to heed the call for resistance and justify the war against Israel. He tries to say that the victory will never end. For Haniyah, the leader Izz al-Din al-Qassam became a martyr, but his words are still alive and rooted in their minds. Hence, Haniyah’s final message is that Palestinian resistance will continue to achieve their aims and gain victory. This political allusion is mentioned two times in Haniyah’s selected speeches, specifically in [Haniyah-1] and [Haniyah-3].

Example 3:

" هذا العدو اليوم الذي يقوم بما يقوم به بدعم وللأسف الشديد من الإدارة الأمريكية وبعض الدول الغربية على قاعدة ازدواجية المعايير والنفاق وتبني الروايات والأضاليل الكاذبة التي تراجعوا عنها بالمناسبة!" (هنية، 14 أكتوبر، 2023).

Haniyah also employs intertextuality to shed light on Western countries’ policies and ideological visions in dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during this war. For him, their policy is basically “*based on double standards*” (as mentioned in the above quotation). According to Merriam-Webster dictionary, ‘double standard’ refers to a situation in which two

sets of standards, or rules “apply differently and usually more harshly to one group of people or circumstances than to another”, although they act in the same way in that situation. Almal-Khas(2023) clarifies that ‘double standards’ is a political concept formulated in its modern form in 1912. It applies to any country or an individual that supports the oppressed when this action coincides with its own interest. Thus, it stands with the oppressor when standing with the oppressed goes against its interest and general strategy (Almal-Khas, 2023). The policy of ‘Double standards’ is practiced only by ‘major powers’ without fear of blame or accountability. In addition, they do not even care that their credibility may be affected by this policy.

Accordingly, here, Haniyah says that some Western countries, especially America, are dealing with ‘double standards’ regarding Gaza War. For it, Hamas’s surprise attack on Israel on October 7 is considered ‘terrorism’. Yet, it believes that the Israeli response to this attack is nothing but ‘self-defence’ and ‘deterrence’ of threat to its security and existence in the region. For ‘the major Western countries’, threatening Israel's security might pose a threat to international peace and security, and therefore could also harm their interests in the Middle East. Accordingly, it constantly supports Israel’s government financially, militarily, and even in the media, regardless of Israel’s aggressive practices against the people of Palestine. For Haniyah, this ‘Double Standards’ policy also shows how Western countries have adopted ‘false narratives and misinformation’ against Al-Qassam Brigades. Here, Haniyah alludes to its claims of beheaded babies and sexual assault, which was attributed to Hamas's attack at the very beginning of the war, specifically, on 11 October(Scahill, 2023).

All in all, from the eye of intertextuality, it seems that two single words pack more meaning! That is, Haniya’s alluding to the ‘double standards’ concept is to reveal power relations, domination, discrimination, and injustice, against Palestinian issues.

Example 4:

"لا للتهجير ولا للوطن البديل. ونحن هنا نشيد بهذا الموقف العربي والاسلامي وخاصه مصر، لأنه الحديث عن إنه أهل غزة بدهم يترحلوا الى مصر ولاحقاً أهل الضفة بدهم يترحلوا الى الأردن، وأدعو الى إسناد هذا الموقف، وأدعو الى احتضان هذا الموقف والثبات عليه" (هنية، 19 أكتوبر، 2023)

One of the most important political issues that Haniyah alluded to regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, is the Israeli plans that have been previously proposed as a resolution to this conflict once and for all such as Yigal Allon's plan in 1967, Ariel Sharon's 1970 plan, The project of the Zionist National Security Advisor Giora Eiland in 2004, Joshua Ben Aryeh Plan 2013, the secret document of the Israeli Ministry of Intelligence calling for the displacement of Gaza residents to Sinai in 2023, and the study by the "Misgav" Institute for National Security and Zionist Strategy 2023(for details see Waleem, 2024). Basically, the plans strive to displace the Palestinians from their land so that the people of the West Bank are annexed to Jordan and the people of Gaza Strip are annexed to Egypt. But it failed many times due to the complete rejection of the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic positions.

In this context, Haniyeh points out to the Palestinian as well as Arab and Islamic public, that Israel is exploiting the war on Gaza to implement this plan, namely 'the displacement of the people of Gaza to Egypt'. Haniyah alludes to this plan many times in his speeches in [Haniyah-2], [Haniyah-4], and [Haniyah-7]. In [Haniyah-2] he says, *"There is no immigration from Gaza nor the West Bank,"* and in [Haniyah-4] he says, *"Despite the pressures, temptations, and severity of the Israeli aggression and massacres, they are steadfast in their land. They will not leave Gaza(my own translation)"* *"No one accepts the Israeli displacement plan covered by America(my own translation)"* [Haniyah-4]. Haniyeh also praised the Palestinian position, as well as the Arab and Islamic position on the Palestinian issue and these plans. In particular, Haniyeh thanks the Egyptian position, saying, *"Egypt, yes, is a sister*

country, and it is an incubator and a welcoming brother to the children of the Palestinians, but it is based on no immigration or displacement (my own translation). . .” [Haniyah-2]. Likewise, Egypt’s position “was clear and decisive in President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi’s speech at the Egyptian Festival yesterday(my own translation” [Haniyah-7].

Another point worth considering is Haniyeh’s shift in his dialect from classical to colloquial, more specifically when he explicitly directed his words to the Arab and Islamic position on the conflict, in the last two lines of the text mentioned above. With this tone, Haniyah seems closer to his people and the Arab Islamic ummah, which gives his words a sense of belonging, and therefore it seems that this also played a major role in convincing the public of his opinions and responding to his call, as he called on them the next day to “*general mobilization on Friday*” under the title “*No to displacement or alternative homeland*”.

Accordingly, perhaps this ‘fabric of political intertextual relations’ in Haniyeh’s speeches reveals to the audience his essential message, which is to affirm, firstly, the rejection of the occupation and its plans by the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic sides. Second, Haniyah emphasizes Palestinian steadfastness and belonging to their homeland. Third, he raises public awareness of the danger of the Israeli occupation plans and calls on them to unite and stand in solidarity together against geopolitics.

4.2.5. Legal Intertextual Allusions

Haniya attempts to locate meaning in the audience’s understanding, by referring to legal texts or describing practices against the humanitarian law. Haniya alluded to only 3 examples in the selected speeches(see Appendix 13 for translation).

Example 1:

" ويحاولون تشويه الصورة، صورة هذه الحركة العملاقة التي تركز في ثقافتها ومقاومتها وأدبياتها الى ديننا الى فقنها الى شرعنا الى قيمنا الى اخلاقيات شعبنا الفلسطيني، ولطالما اكدت حماس انها لا تستهدف المدنيين لا تستهدف الكبار ولا الصغار رغم ما يقوم به هذا العدو الصهيوني. حماس . . . هي حركة تحرر وطني تنتمي الى هذه القيم وتنتمي الى هذه الثقافة" (هنية، 14 أكتوبر، 2023)

As shown above, Haniyah links his political speeches with legal discourse to reveal Hamas's ideological visions and justify their actions against the Israeli Government during the War. In this regard, he alludes to the concept of the 'national liberation movement' three times in the selected speeches:[Haniyah-2], [Haniyah-5], and [Haniyah-7]. According to Jenady(2018), the national liberation movement is regarded as one of the most crucial factors in international Society. It's one of the most essential subjects of international Public law. Thus, it is a regulated entity and anticolonial in all its forms. This movement stretches back before World War II, however, its real emergence was during the war when their actions were continuous and dynamic(Jenady,2018). It appeared as a reaction against the brutal occupier, mainly aimed at removing occupying and achieving freedom and independence. Hence, it plays a crucial role in the stage of international relationships, "benefiting from many external and internal factors especially the support of much of the forces and states rather than the international legal support (serve as a basis)"(Jenady,2018,p321). The Charter of the United Nations and international agreements have specifically recognized the right of all people to self-determination, specifically in articles 2 and 55 under international law(p.323). Such legal support and realistic justification greatly provide these movements with this legal status(Jenady,2018,p.322).

In [Haniyah-2], Haniyah attempts to convince the audience of the legitimacy of Hamas's position during this war. So, he considers Hamas a 'national liberation movement'

that belongs to Palestine society. It is a daughter of this ummah. Like all societies, it has its own culture, values, and literature. Being Muslims, it is a national and moral duty to preserve their identities and homeland from occupation (Haniyah, 14th October, 2023). Haniya also clarifies that Hamas is not a terrorist; they do not kill civilians, compared with the Israeli military occupation, which committed several massacres, whether against Palestine society or others (Haniyah, 14th October, 2023). See Appendix 2: [Haniyah-2].

In [Haniyah-5], Haniyah calls for everyone to 'recognize' the legitimacy of this national liberation movement and their right to 'self-determination'. (See Appendix 13 for translation): Haniyah says: *ادعو كل الرؤساء والزعماء وقاده الفكر وأصحاب الراي التاكيد وبشكل واضح وصريح . . . على شرعيه حركه المقاومه الاسلاميه حماس، وكل حركات المقاومه على ارض فلسطين، بانها حركات تحرر وطني تسعى الى تحرير ارضها ووطنها وشعبها" (هنية، 29 أكتوبر، 2023)*

Moreover, in [Haniyah-7], Haniyah emphasizes that Hamas is a national liberation movement, and their resistance is not only in Gaza and Jerusalem but also wherever they exist in the land of Palestine. (See Appendix 13): Haniyah states: *ان شعبنا يخوض معركة التحرر الوطني عبر جبهة متراسة في غزة والقدس وفي كافة أماكن تواجهه" (هنية، 24 نوفمبر، 2023)*

Example 2:

كما ونعبر عن تقديرنا لمواقف الأمين العام للأمم المتحدة انطونيو غوتيرش، وخاصة رسالته لمجلس الامن حول الاوضاع في الأراضي الفلسطينية، باعتبارها تشكل تهديدا للأمن والسلام الدوليين، وذلك تفعيلًا للمادة 99 من النظام الاساسي لميثاق الأمم المتحدة، وقدم بناء عليه مشروع قرار لوقف اطلاق النار غير انه اصطدم مثل سابقه بالفيتو الأمريكي (هنية، 19 ديسمبر، 2023).

In [Haniyah-8], Haniyah describes his visions along with the attitude of member states and the Security Council's positions in dealing with the ongoing Israel war on Gaza. Within his political speech, he sheds light on important issues under international law. Specifically, he

alludes to Article 99 and veto power. To illustrate, Haniyah states that the grave situation in Palestinian territories, especially in Gaza Strip, poses a threat to international peace and security. Accordingly, he calls on the necessity of an immediate cease-fire(see Appendix 8). In this regard, he thanks all efforts made for relief to the people of Gaza and to alleviate their suffering. Along with this discourse, Haniyah points out the General Security Council Goterrish's discourse in the Security Council since October 18. Back then, Antonio Guterish, in a bold and rare move, invoked Article 99 of the UN Charter. Article 99 is often regarded as preventative; it plays a crucial role in tackling complex crises (Davimes, 2023). It simply states that "the Security general may bring to the attention of the Security Council to any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security" (Tollast,2023). In this regard, Goterrish was dismayed about the tragic situation in Gaza, where a humanitarian crisis looms. He sent a letter to the president of the Security Council (<https://x.com/antonioguterres/status/1732457928496496793>). As mentioned in Goterrish's letter, he condemned the eight weeks of the Gaza-Israel conflict resulting in more than 15, 000 Palestinian martyrs, and thousands of others have been injured. Many homes were destroyed. 80% of Gaza population were forcibly displaced. He also warned the Security Council about the collapse of health facilities in Gaza, the potential for epidemic disease to spread there, and "potentially irreversible implications for Palestinians as a whole and for peace and security in the region . . . such an outcome must be avoided at all cost"(as mentioned at the end of his letter).

As a matter of fact, Goterrish's request came after continuing failures calling for an immediate cease-fire and a lasting truce (Davimes, 2023). Yet, the UN 'vetoed' a Security Council resolution. In this regard, Haniyah alludes to another issue under international law, which is 'Veto'. It originally meant 'I forbid'(Tandon, 2022). It is used by the five permanent members of the Security Council(China, France, Russia, the United, Kingdom, and the United

States of America), in order to veto any substantive resolution(Tandon, 2022). It seems that Haniyah deliberately made intertextual/interdiscursive relationships with these issues. By alluding to Article 99, he confidently tries to support his visions from an international law perspective. Thus, alluding to veto power, he attempts to show the injustice and power of great countries over the whole world. In other words, it seems that Haniyah raises global awareness regarding important facts in reality, to influence public opinion.

Example 3:

القسام سينتصر على هذا المحتل سينتصر على هذا العدو وعلى شريعة الغاب التي يريد البعض ان يرسخها في هذا الواقع اما الارهاب فهو المحتل . . . اما الارهاب هو الذي يسكت على هذه المجازر وهذه المذابح . . . ولذا فإنني أحيي كل الاصوات وكل المواقف الشجاعة والجريئة التي أعلنت بوضوح عن هذه الشرعية وعن هذا الحق في ممارسه المقاومة المشروعة التي كفلتها كل الاعراف والقوانين الدولية فضلا عن الشرائع الإسلامية والسماوية" (هنية، 19 أكتوبر، 2023)

In [Haniyah-4], Haniyah employs intertextuality to describe the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during the war. Within his political speech, he tries to build judgments regarding 'Israeli occupation' compared with 'Palestinian resistance', along with the humanitarian law. On the one hand, you can see Haniyah alludes to 'the law of the jungle' to describe Israel's policy and practices against Palestinians, especially the people of Gaza. According to Mackie(1978), this phrase was first coined by Rudyard Kipling, in *The Second Jungle Book*. People usually use it to mean 'unions restrained', 'ruthless competition', and 'self-interest'.(Mackie,1978). Collins English Dictionary adds that 'the law of the jungle' is used to refer to "a situation in which there are no values, rules, laws to govern the way that people behave. Rather, people follow force to get what they want. In this regard, Haniyah says that Israeli Occupation follows 'the law of the jungle'. This brutal occupation does not know values or laws. In a symbolic sense, Haniyah tries to say that the Zionist monsters are like the beast

of the jungle. They are not satisfied with one prey but rather are serial killers, committing genocide against “*our children, women, elders, mosques, universities*”(my own translation) (see Appendix 4).

On the other hand, Haniyeh explains the Palestinian steadfastness against “*historical injustice*” and “*the Zionist plan*”(see Appendix 4). Hence, Haniyeh calls for the legitimacy of the Palestinian resistance, which is “*guaranteed by all international norms and laws, as well as Islamic and heavenly laws(my own translation)*”(as mentioned above). Haniyeh adds that ‘terrorism’ is this occupation, and who remains silent about these massacres. Here, he refers to the absence of international law; therefore he is calling to hold the occupation accountable. For Haniyeh, this cannot happen without a victory over ‘the law of the jungle’. There should be a victory in the ‘Awareness Battle’, which accurately describes what is happening on the ground, without ambiguity.

In other words, Haniyeh’s alluding to ‘The law of the jungle’ is to convey injustice, discrimination, racism, violence, brutality, bullying and authoritarianism that Palestinians suffer because of the Israeli occupation. In doing so, he raises his audience's awareness to recognize what is legal and illegal in wars.

4.2.6. Mythological Intertextual Allusion

”نفق اليوم بكل شموخ و اباء امام هذه المقاومة الباسلة على أرض غزة، والممتدة الى كل أرض فلسطين التي بدأت كتابة هذا التاريخ بطوفان الأقصى. . . هذه المقاومة التي تخرج في كل ساعة وفي كل لحظة، مثل طائر العنقاء لتضرب في كل مكان في قلب هذا الكيان الصهيوني المجرم الذي لم يستطع ولم يتمكن جيشه الجبان من مواجهة هؤلاء الرجال الشجعان الابطال”(هنية، 14 أكتوبر، 2023)

In a mythological sense, the findings show that Haniyeh employed one mythological reference in his selected speeches. More specifically, in [Haniyeh-2], Haniyeh alludes to the

legendary ‘Anqa’ bird, to describe the ‘Palestinian resistance steadfastness’ in Gaza. Originally, it is recognized as a ‘phoenix bird’. According to Sama (2022), it is one of the most prominent mythological symbols in Arab and Western cultures and literary works, such as Greek, ancient Egyptian, Pharaonic, Chinese, Christian, and others. Phoenix is a fantastic creature; distinguished by its beauty and strength. “It is amazing that the people of ancient Greece and Rome believed that it actually existed. Many ancient writers wrote about it, including Ovid, Tacitus and Lactantius. The stories differed in detail, but all agreed that it was unique”(Lewis, 2017, p.1) In Islamic culture, it is called ‘Anqa’(Sama,2022). This bird is often used by many people to indicate, rebirth, renewal, life after death, immortality, and strength(Lewis, 2017, p.6).

As seen in the above quotation, the legendary tale of the ‘Anqa’ bird reacts with Haniyah’s words, which gives his speech an aesthetic meaning along with his intended messages. This also would impart to Haniya’s words more depth and meanings, as well. To illustrate, it is believed that the bird ‘Anqa’ never dies, rather, it self-combusts and turns into ashes. And what comes out of the ashes, is another new phoenix. Similarly, Haniyah, here, indicates the ‘ongoing resistance’ by Al Qassam Brigades and all Palestinian resistance forces in Gaza. For them, Hamas is a national liberation movement; it is a legal idea and honourable ideas will never die. If one member of Al-Qassam's resistance dies, then another one will be born to achieve their goals. While Anqa rises from the ashes every thousand years, the Palestinian resistance comes out of the rubble and ruins every moment, to fight their enemies. Here, Haniyah indicates their ‘strength’ and ‘determination’ to achieve their goals. Thus, Anqa’s bird is still alive in the history of different cultures. Likewise, Palestinian resistance, as Haniyah says: “ *started to write history by Al-Aqsa Flood*”.

4.2.7. Literary Intertextual Allusions

"لذلك فاني احيي اهلنا في غزة . . . متمسكون بدورهم ببيوتهم بجوامعهم بمساجدهم. احيي تلك المسيرات التي خرجت بالأمس تحت القصف وتحت الطيران لتهدف للمقاومة، لكل فصائل المقاومة ولكتاب القسام ولتؤكد اننا هنا باقون في وطننا ما بقي الزعتر والزيتون" (هنية، 14 أكتوبر، 2023).

As seen in Table 2, the findings show that Haniyah refers to one literary discourse, in order to convey his vision(see Appendix 15 for the allusion's translation). More specifically, in the above quotation, Haniyah describes how the 'people of Gaza' are steadfast and rooted in their homeland, despite the ongoing Zionist crimes and attempts to force them out. In his speech, he quotes the well-known phrase "انا باقون ما بقي الزعتر والزيتون"; in English, "we are in our homeland as long as Thyme and Olives are here". It is a symbolic phrase, delivered by Mahmoud Darwish; the Palestinian poet. In his poem, Darwish reflects the strong will of Palestinians and their ability to confront challenges and harsh conditions. In this line is the people of Gaza. They are like 'thyme and olives', rooted in the land of Palestine, which also emphasizes the Palestinian's identity and culture, too.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the findings of the study and answered the main research questions. It has offered a detailed analysis of all examples of intertextual allusions included in Haniyah's selected speeches, which were delivered only in 2023 during Gaza War (2023-2024). The researcher dealt with 'intertextuality' as a discursive strategy that the politician Haniyah used to communicate his visions during the war. The researcher adopted the qualitative approach to collect the required data, employed Fairclough's(1992) model of constitutive intertextuality (interdiscursivity) to identify all possible examples of intertextual allusions; then followed the three dimensions of Fairclough's (1989) analytical framework in

CDA: Text analysis(description), discourse practice (interpretation), and social practice (explanation), to achieve the aims of the study. The findings have shown that Fairclough's three dimensions are closely interconnected to deliver the intended message and desired impact. As shown in the tables, religious, political, cultural, literary, legal, and mythological intertextual allusions were found in the selected speeches. Their existence differed from one speech to the other. It seems that Haniyah tried to be selective, to produce specific discourses that suited his perspectives and ideology according to the context and circumstances in which the political speeches were delivered. He also employed appropriate intertextual allusions to meet the objectives of a speech. Thus, some allusions were repeated during his selected speeches.

Chapter Five

Conclusion, Recommendations, and Suggestions

This chapter sums up the findings of the study and introduces some recommendations, and suggestions for further research

5.1. Conclusion

Intertextuality, along with its kin term interdiscursivity has been one of the widely circulating theories in the late 20th century in linguistics. Recently, research has dealt with ‘intertextuality’ as a social practice, or rather a discursive strategy that politicians use in their speeches. Intertextual allusion is one of the most common features they employ to communicate their messages and hidden ideologies to the audience. This is due to the fact that our speeches, as Kristeva and Bakhtin(1986) claimed, cannot be detached from the social-cultural aspects of society. Therefore, varied types of allusions, references, and quotations would interact, intertext, or overlap within people’s texts/ discourses. This study aimed to investigate the use of intertextual allusion in Palestinian political discourse in selected political speeches delivered by Ismael Haniyah; the head of the political bureau of Hamas during Gaza War (2023-2024), which nowadays, is one of the most crucial topics in contemporary history. This thesis first offered a good understanding of the what, why, and how intertextuality, especially intertextual allusion is represented in political speeches, and then it explored the phenomena of intertextuality in Palestinian PD.

More precisely, this thesis aimed to investigate how the head of the political Bureau of Hamas, Haniyah made intertextual/interdiscursive relationships between his political discourses and other discourses (allusive sources), in order to describe Gaza War 2023-2024(reasons, aims, causes, and results) concerning those sources, that are closely associated

with Palestine society from different orientations. The thesis aimed to identify all possible types of intertextual allusion in Haniya's selected speeches, reveal the vivid communicative functions and reasons and explain the power relations, ideological struggle, and social-cultural issues related to Palestine society from Haniyah's perspectives and ideology. The researcher followed Fairclough's (1992) model of constitutive intertextuality(interdiscursivity) and Fairclough's (1989) three dimensions: text analysis(description), discursive practice(interpretation), and social practice(explanation), in the field of CDA, to critically analyze the collected data and answer the research questions. To answer the first research question, the findings of the textual analysis dimension, have shown that Haniyah employed (7) types of intertextual allusion including, religious, historical, cultural, political, legal, mythological, and literary. Besides, the discursive and social dimensions offered detailed answers for the second and third research questions. Both dimensions revealed that the intertextual/interdiscursive relationships were employed to describe the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during Gaza War(its aims, reasons, causes, consequences, results, themes, and issues). More specifically, they conveyed different communicative messages for each category, power relations, hidden ideologies, and political-social issues in Palestine.

To begin with, religious intertextual allusion was the most prominent within Haniyah's political speeches. All of his speeches convey religious intertextual allusions, by referring to religious discourses. Second, the discourse of history was also greatly woven into Haniyah's political speeches. In doing so, He brought the past to the present, by alluding to historical events during the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Third, Haniyah made associations between his speeches and well-known sayings and proverbs in Arab societies. Using such proverbs, helps the audience to better understand his visions of Gaza War 2023-2024. Forth, Haniyah tried to reveal all parties' policies associated with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, by referring to different political discourses of issues or phenomena similar to the current situations in this

war. Fifth, legal intertextual allusion was represented by referring to legal texts or describing practices against the humanitarian law. Finally, mythological and literary intertextual allusions were also found. Although each category is represented by one reference in Haniyah's selected speeches, it offered depth and enriched the meaning of Haniya's words to efficiently describe Palestinians' resistance, steadfastness in the land of Palestine, and their right to achieve self-determination.

All in all, at the level of discursive and social dimensions, some allusions were utilized to reveal the ongoing Israeli aggression against the people of Palestine and their sufferings since al-Nakba 1948. Other allusions were used to compare the different positions during Gaza War 2023-2024, by showing the ideological visions and political agendas of Haniyah and the Palestinians' resistance in Palestine, especially Hamas Islamic movement, led by Al- Qassam Brigades, as well as the ideological visions of other parties associated with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (the position of Arab countries, great countries like America, and the state of Israel). Other allusions were used to justify the main reasons for Hamas's surprise attack on the state of Israel. Other allusions have revealed Haniyah's perspectives of legal and illegal positions in this war. Moreover, other allusions illustrated crucial social-political issues that exist in Palestine society such as the question of Palestine, and the long history of injustice, discrimination, and racism practices that are committed by the Israeli Military Occupation. Other allusions revealed the power, solidarity, and hegemony practiced by the great countries and Israel over the people of Palestine and Palestinian resistance, especially Hamas movement. Other allusions conveyed Haniya's affiliation to his homeland (Palestine), Arab and Islamic ummah(nation) and their culture. Other allusions were employed to convince his audience of his visions. Above all, other allusions were referred to by Haniyah as an attempt to raise his audience on all issues discussed above. The common use of religious intertextual allusions has shown clearly how Haniya's ideology, is basically, based on the teachings of Islam. In doing

so, Haniya showed us his faith in Allah, His wisdom, and control of human affairs on this earth. In simple words, Haniyah's intertextual/interdiscursive relationships showed us how his political discourses are 'in dialogue' with previous discourses of different aspects of Palestine society. An analysis of intertextuality in CDA from the perspective of Fairclough's (1989) powerfully revealed 'the heterogeneous combination' of discourses, power relations, and ideological struggles included in the selected political speeches. Those relations efficiently confirmed the notion of 'dialogism' of Fairclough(1992), who in turn, was influenced by Kristeva's and Bakhtin's(1986) theories of intertextuality.

Finally, having used different categories of intertextual allusions, Haniyah offers us information not only about Palestinian society but also about himself. That is, throughout the analysis of intertextuality, it could be seen how Haniyah employed varied connotations and overtones from different kinds of contexts, which on the other hand reveals the depth of knowledge he has to appropriately deliver his visions to the audience. Through his reasoned language and eloquent style, Haniyah represents a powerful model of Palestinian political discourse to see the society of Palestine from different orientations.

5.2. Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Research

Based on this study, the researcher generally suggests the following recommendations:

- There is a lack of studies on intertextuality in Palestinian political discourse. So, more research is needed to explore the social-cultural aspects of the society of Palestine, which offer a better understanding of all societal aspects, power relations, and ideologies that exist there.
- It is recommended to explore the phenomena of ‘intertextuality’ in different domains in society in literary and non-literary works such as art, paintings, politics, literature and others, to examine its heterogeneous nature and critically reveal the ideological struggle, power relation, and important issues and themes in Palestinian society.
- This thesis studies intertextuality, allusion, and political discourse in Applied linguistics. These three concepts are considered a vast area for research. In light of this study, the results open the mind to different aspects of society, which are interesting, and most importantly, beneficial for language learners’ development(creativity and communication competence). Accordingly, language teachers and instructors should pay more attention to intertextuality studies due to their great contribution to enhancing 21st-century skills (high language skills, especially critical thinking, cultural awareness, problem-solving, and others.
- More research is needed to distinguish between interdiscursivity and intertextuality, by examining all sub-tools that undergo both concepts. Moreover, more research is needed to offer precise knowledge and results to distinguish the above concepts among researchers. In this case, contrastive analysis would be good to compare the results between political speeches of different languages.

However, in light of the findings of this study, the researcher suggests the following recommendations:

- This thesis focused on analyzing only intertextual allusion (in the form of interdiscursivity) as one of the linguistic features that politicians use in their speeches. Further research is recommended to examine the second type that is proposed by Fairclough(1992) of intertextuality, which is ‘manifest intertextuality’, in Haniyah’s selected speeches.
- The thesis studies intertextual allusions in Haniyah’s selected speeches to explore the vivid communicative functions and opaque relations behind Haniya’s use of intertextuality and how it contributes to conveying his vision to the audience. Further research would be good to examine both intertextuality and interdiscursivity as elements and tools for coherence and cohesion in Haniya’s speeches.
- The thesis explored intertextual allusion in Palestinian political discourse from Haniyah’s perspectives and ideology. Further research is needed to investigate Palestinian PD from other perspectives such as political speeches delivered by other Palestinian politicians or movements, or from Israeli political discourse during Gaza War 2023-2024. In this regard, this thesis suggests doing a contrastive analysis of political speeches delivered by both parties of the conflict, since that would be beneficial to reveal the different ideological visions and power relations regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.
- Interdiscursivity means how an author or a speaker refers to other types of styles, genres, and discourses(Fairclough,1992). This thesis analyzed intertextual allusions in terms of interdiscursivity, by looking into how Haniyah’s discourses alluded to other kinds of discourse. In this respect, the researcher noticed that Haniyah many times changed his style of speaking from standard to colloquial language. Further research

could investigate this area for further results. As a matter of fact, little attention has been paid to this issue in the discussion chapter(see political intertextual allusions/**Example 4**)

- The thesis analyzes intertextuality by following Fairclough's theory of intertextuality and his analytical framework(1989) in CDA. Further research could be conducted by adopting other approaches whether in CDA such as Van Dijk(1995), Ruth Wodak's (2011) historical approach, or by employing other theories like the three classical Aristotelian concepts: logos, ethos, and pathos.
- The thesis investigated Fairclough's classification of intertextuality: manifest intertextuality and constitutive intertextuality(interdiscursivity). Further research could examine intertextuality in terms of other techniques, types, and forms proposed by other researchers.
- The thesis adopted the qualitative research design to collect the required data to achieve the aims of the study. Further research can be conducted to explore intertextuality, by using both qualitative and quantitative approaches for the analysis. For example, a researcher may investigate to what extent Haniyah utilizes direct/indirect intertextual references. A researcher may also explore the most common form of intertextuality in his speeches and its significance in delivering his visions appropriately.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: [Haniyah-1]

Haniyah's First Speech During Gaza War 2023 (7th October)

<https://aja.me/6tei6p>

الله أكبر الله أكبر الله أكبر، الله أكبر كبيراً، والحمد لله كثيراً، وسبحان الله وبحمده بكرةً وأصيلاً. لا إله الا الله وحده صدق وعده ونصر عباده وأعز جنده وهزم الأحزاب وحده. الحمد لله حمداً طيباً كثيراً مباركاً فيه، ملئ السموات والأرض وملئ ما بينهما وملئ ما شئت من شيء بعد. والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد، إمام المنقذين وقائد الغر المحجلين، وعلى آله وصحبه أجمعين. أبناء شعبنا الفلسطيني أبناء أمتنا العربية والإسلامية، أنتم اليوم على موعد مع النصر العظيم والفتح المبين. من على جبهة غزة العزة بدأ طوفان الأقصى، على أيدي كتائب القسام وفصائل المقاومة وأبناء شعبنا الفلسطيني. شاهدتم هذه الصور وهذه العملاقة من هؤلاء المقاتلين المؤمنين الشجعان، الذين رسموا معالم الذل والهزيمة والانكسار على وجه هذا العدو. طوفان الأقصى الذي أعلنه الاخ الحبيب قائد أركان المقاومة، المجاهد محمد الضيف. طوفان الأقصى الذي تقوده على الارض قياده حركة المقاومة الإسلامية حماس وفي مقدمتها الاخ الحبيب المجاهد يحيى السنوار. طوفان الأقصى الذي تقوده قياده هذه الحركة في كل أماكن تواجدها مع كل فصائل المقاومة مع كل أبناء شعبنا، مع كل أبناء الأمة التواقفة للنصر العظيم. من كان يتصور من أولئك المهزومين الذين نشروا ثقافة الإحباط واليأس وأرادوا لمسيرة التطبيع أن توصم هذه المرحلة والاعتراف بالعدو! من كان يتصور من هؤلاء أن يشاهد هذه المظاهر! هذه الصور! هذه العملاقة! هذه البطولات! هذه التضحيات! هذه الشجاعة هذه الأنفة من رجال صدقوا ما عاهدوا الله عليه فمنهم من قضى نحبه ومنهم من ينتظر وما بدلوا تبديلاً. من رجال صنعوا بوابه النصر العظيم، بل فتحوا بوابه النصر العظيم لشعبنا ولأمتنا. من رجال حفظة للقران الكريم، صوامين قوامين، عباداً لله سبحانه و تعالى. اقتحموا وداسوا خلال الديار في أرضنا المحتلة في غلاف غزة وأبعد من غلاف غزة. نصر من الله وفتح قريب. ما أعظمكم يا رجال الايمان يا رجال القسام يا رجال غزة، غزه الإباء والعزة والشجاعة والبطولة والتضحية. غزة اليوم التي تسمح عن الأمة عار الهزائم و عار السكون والسكينة. ما اعظمكم أيها القادة وأنتم تقودون هذه المعركة، معركة بداية التحرير لقدسنا ولأرضنا ولشعبنا ولأسرانا من سجون الاحتلال الصهيوني. أيها الأخوة والأخوات لقد حذرنا كل العالم مع هذه الحكومة الفاشية التي أطلقت العنان للمستوطنين أن يعيشوا فساداً في المسجد الأقصى وفي القدس، وقلنا لهم لا تلعبوا بالنار، ولا تتجاوزوا الخط الأحمر، ولكنهم صموا آذانهم وأعموا أبصارهم. وبغطرستهم خلال الأيام الماضية، في أعيادهم المشؤومة، اقتحموا المسجد الأقصى، دنسوا المسجد الأقصى، سحلوا نساءنا،

داسوا بأحذيتهم حتى وصلوا الى المحراب والى المنبر. فرضوا ما يشبه منع التجوال. ما زالت تخطط لأن يستوطن 2 مليون صهيوني في الضفة الغربية، على طريق تهويد الضفة وعلى طريق احداث الاختلال في التوازن الديمغرافي حتى في داخل الضفة الغربية، متزامنا ذلك مع العدوان المتواصل على أهلنا هناك وعلى شعبنا. كم مرة قاموا بعدوانهم على جنين وطوباس ونابلس و طولكرم وسلفيت والخليل ورام الله والبيرة وبيت لحم وفي كل المدن؟ كم مرة قتلوا شبانا ونسائنا وأطفالنا أمام أعين العالم؟ لم يرعون، نعم، هناك مقاومة في الضفة الغربية ، بل كانت ترد بالصاع صاعين، وتنفذ العمليات البطولية، هذا هو شعبنا، ولكن هذا العدو وهذه الحكومة ظنت أن الأمور قد دانت لها فذهبت باستمرار هذا العدوان. كم مرة حذرنا العالم وحذرنا هذا العدو من أن هناك أسرى في سجون الاحتلال الصهيوني. أكثر من 6000 من أخواننا وأبنائنا وشبابنا وأبطالنا رجالنا وبناتنا. منهم من أمضى 30 سنة؟ 40 سنة، 43 سنة، وهذا العدو يمعن في التنكيل بأسرانا، وبن غفير المأفون بياخذ قرارات بمزيد من الضغط والتنكيل بأسرانا، أدارت هذه الحكومة وكل الحكومات الإسرائيلية ظهرها عن الاستجابة لإمكانية التوصل لصفقة التبادل من أجل أن نحرر أسرانا. كم مرة حذرناهم من أن هذا الحصار الظالم المفروض على قطاع غزة والذي خلف كل هذه المعاناة الإنسانية. غزة! الي بيصل 20 سنة اليوم تقريبا مدة هذا الحصار وتخلل هذا الحصار أربع أو خمسة حروب خلفت عشرات الآلاف من الشهداء والجرحى والبيوت المدمرة. غزة التي تعيش هذه المأساة الإنسانية، هذا السجن الكبير. أكثر من 2 مليون و200 ألف من أبناء شعبنا وأهلنا في غزة في قلب هذا الحصار، وبمنوا عليهم ببعض المساعدات وبعض الإجراءات والتسهيلات لذر الرماد في العيون. وكانوا يعتقدوا بيتصوروا انه غزة وأهل غزة وشعبنا حبيلى هذا الطعم وحيسكت على هذه المأساة الإنسانية وحيسكت عاللي بصير في القدس و في الأقصى وفي الضفة. كم مرة حذرناكم من اللي يتسووه و بتعملوه في داخل ال48 ومحاولة الاستفراء بشعبنا في ال48؟ . نشرتوا القتل والترويع والاغتيالات عند أهلنا هناك في ال 48 . كل عمليات القتل هذه لرموز وشيوخ وعلماء وأعيان، وحتى نساء وأطفال و عاديين اللي بتصير في داخل ال 48 هي من سياسة الاحتلال وهي من سياسة ومخططات الشباك الإسرائيلي. كم مرة حذرناكم أنه في شعب فلسطيني إله أكثر من 75 عام بيعيش في المنافي والشتات في مخيمات اللجوء؟ لا بتعترفوا بشعب ولا بتعترفوا بحق. وللأسف الشديد كثير من دول العالم غطت هذه السياسة الإسرائيلية وهذا الصلف الإسرائيلي. لذلك حينما يصبح المسجد الأقصى في خطر حقيقي. لأنه ما الذي جرا أخواني... خلال الأيام الماضية رأينا العجب العجاب ولدينا معلومات مؤكدة بأن هذا الاحتلال سيفرض السيادة الكاملة على المسجد الأقصى المبارك. ولدينا المعلومات الكاملة عن أنه سيستمر في العدوان والاستيطان والاعتقالات وسيستمر في الحصار وبدو يستثمر خطيئة التطبيع اللي صارت مع بعض الدول والحكومات العربية ليشر عن وجوده في المنطقة على حساب شعبنا وحقوقنا وأماننا وتضحياتنا وشهدائنا وأوجاعنا. كان يعتقد أنه البيئة الاستراتيجية المحيطة به، وقوته و غطرسته وسكوت الشعوب العربية والإسلامية وانتشال العالم بالحرب الروسية الأوكرانية أن الوقت

مناسب لينفذ هذه المخططات ويحسم هذه المعركة في القدس وفي الأقصى وفي الضفة وفي غيرها ولكن كما قال الله سبحانه وتعالى: **"ما ظننتم أن يخرجوا وظنوا أنهم مانعتهم حصونهم من الله فأتاهم الله من حيث لا يحتسبوا وقذف في قلوبهم الرعب (تكررت مرتين كلمة الرعب) يخربون بيوتهم بأيديهم وأيدي المؤمنين فاعتبروا يا أولى الأبصار"** . حينما طمح الكيل كان لا بد من السير في هذا المسار الاستراتيجي واستكمال حلقة الانتفاضات والثورات والمقاومة وتوجيهها بمعركة التحرير لأرضنا ولمقدساتنا ولأسرانا في سجون الاحتلال الصهيوني. **كان موعدهم الصبح، وكنا نقول لهم بقول الله عز وجل " أليس الصبح يقريب"**. كان هذا الصبح اشراق شمس النصر والعزة على شعبنا وعلى أمتنا وعلى أحرار العالم، وكان صبح الهزيمة والمذلة والانكسار على عدونا ومستوطناته ومستوطنيه وجنوده . ان الذي جرى أيها الشعب الفلسطيني اليوم ويا أبناء الأمة يكشف عظمة هذه المقاومة ويكشف عظمة الاعداد ويكشف مصداقية الكلمة ويكشف صدق الوعد ويكشف طوفان الأقصى. إن ما جرى اليوم يكشف هشاشة هذا العدو ، هذا العدو لحقت اليوم به هزيمة سياسية وعسكرية و استخباراتية و أمنية ومعنوية، و سنتوجه ان شاء الله بهزيمة مدوية ليخرج من أرضنا من قدسنا من أقصانا، لنحرر أسرانا من سجون الاحتلال الصهيوني. **كان أربع أسرى وما بكم تتجاوزوا لا مع وسطاء ولا مع نداءات** ولا مع أي شيء من هذا القبيل. وقال المقاومة أكثر من مرة الغلة حتريد والقاتورة حتريد. المقاومة وقادة المقاومة ما بيحكوا كلام هيك!! **الآن انظروا الى أسراكم،** وانظروا الى هذا العدد الذي أصبح في يد القسام ويد المقاومة. لذلك أقول اليوم لكل أبناء شعبنا الفلسطيني: يا شعبنا الفلسطيني كونوا على أعلى درجات الجهوزية، هذه معركة بدأت فصولها بالدم والنار وبالعزة وبالبارود وانتقلت المعركة الى قلب الكيان الصهيوني، ليس فقط بصواريخ المقاومة ولكن أيضا برجال المقاومة ورجال كتائب القسام. لذلك ثلاث أمور يجب أن تكون واضحة. الأمر الأول أن طوفان القدس بدأ من غزة وسيتمد الى الضفة الغربية والقدس واهلنا في ال48 وأيضا الى المقاومة وشعبنا الفلسطيني في الخارج. ثم هذه معركة ليست فقط معركة الشعب الفلسطيني وحده ولا غزة وحدها، غزة سندان المقاومة رافعة هذه المقاومة، ولكن لأن المعركة تتعلق بأرض فلسطين وتتعلق بالقدس وفي الأقصى ، فهي معركة الأمة. ولذلك أوجه النداء لكل أبناء هذه الأمة على اختلاف جغرافياتهم و تواجدهم أن ينخرطوا كل بطريقته في هذه المعركة وألا يتأخر وألا يتخلف و ألا تكونوا من الذين قال الله سبحانه وتعالى فيهم **" كره الله انبيعائهم فثبثهم وقيل اقدعوا مع القاعدين"** بل كونوا إن شاء الله من الذين اذا استنفروا نفروا ومن الذين اذا استبيحت مقدساتهم وقفوا بكل اباء. جهاد بالمال وجهاد بالنفس لا يتخلفوا ، وهذه معركة شعب ومعركة أمة بدأناها وستنتهي ان شاء الله بما وعد الله عباده بالنصر وبالتمكين. والأمر الثالث: **قولٌ فصل،** لا تردد فيه. إن هدفنا واضح هو أننا نريد أن نحرر أرضنا ومقدساتنا وأقصانا وأسرانا. هذا هو الهدف الذي يرقى الى مستوى هذه المعركة والى مستوى هذه البطولة والى مستوى هذه الشجاعة. لقد أفقد القسام العدو توازنه في دقائق معدودة عبر هذا العبور المعظم المبارك و عبر هذا الشهود الحضاري لرجال يكتبون التاريخ بدمهم ببنادقهم بأقدامهم

التي تدوس الغزاة المحتلين. نداء الى مقاومتنا الى ضفتنا الة أهلنا الى مقاومتنا في الخارج الى حلفائنا الاستراتيجيين ، الى كل أبناء هذه الأمة، اليوم هو يومكم . نحن مع موعد مع النصر، لنكون شركاء في صناعة هذا النصر العظيم ان شاء الله تعالى. في الختام، هذا العدو الذي يهدد ويعربد نقول له " لا تهديداتك ولا عربدتك ولا غطرتك نفعتك ولن تنفعك. قول واحد: اخرجوا من أرضنا اغربوا عن وجوهنا، اخرجوا من قدسنا من أقصانا. لا نريد أن نراكم فوق هذه الأرض. هذه الأرض لنا والقدس لنا والكل لنا. أنتم طارئون على هذه الأرض الطاهرة المباركة، ولا مكان ولا مقام لكم. ونقول لكل الدول بما فيه الأشقاء العرب . بدهم يعرفوا انو هذا الكيان الذي لا يستطيع أن يحمي نفسه أمام هؤلاء المقاتلين ما بقدر يوفركم أمن لا حماية. وكل التطبيع والاعتراف بهذا الكيان وبكل الاتفاقيات اللي تم توقيعها معاه لا يمكن أن تحسم هذا الصراع. الصراع يتم حسمه في أرض الميدان. يتم حسمه على أيدي هؤلاء المجاهدين الأبطال. يتم حسمه بدم هؤلاء الشهداء الأطهار وبيطولات هذا الشعب أسراه وجرحاه. يا غزة العزة يا غزة الإباء يا شرف هذه الأمة يا صناع المجد التليد يا قسام المستقبل و يا كل فصائل المقاومة. تحية عز وفخر. لقد رفعتم رؤوسنا عاليا فطالت عنان السماء . ندك الأرض بأقدامنا ونسمع الجوزاء صوت هتافنا وسيكون ان شاء الله اللقاء على أرض فلسطين وفي القدس وفي المسجد الأقصى المبارك. ويسألونك متى هو قل عسى أن يكون قريبا ان الله اشترى من المؤمنين أنفسهم و أموالهم بأن لهم الجنة يقاتلون في سبيل الله فيقتلون ويقتلون وعدا عليه حقا في التوراة والانجيل والقرآن ومن أوفى بعهده من الله فاستبشروا ببيعكم الذي بايعتم به وذلك هو الفوز العظيم و صلى اللهم وسلم على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم تسليما كثيرا . وانه لجهاد لجهاد نصر أو استشهاد والسلام عليكم ورحمه الله وبركاته.

Appendix 2: [Haniyah-2]

Haniyah's Second Speech During Gaza War 2023 (14th October)

<https://youtu.be/innYkcPyoIs?si=TXp5bBaBn4mqrm3y>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، الحمد لله رب العالمين، ناصر المؤمنين ومؤيد الموحدين، والصلاة والسلام على سيد المرسلين، سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه أجمعين، وما النصر إلا من عند الله إن الله عزيز حكيم. أبناء شعبنا الفلسطيني أبناء الأمة العربية والإسلامية يا أحرار العالم، أهلنا في غزة غزة البطولة والفداء والتضحية والعزة والكرامة والشجاعة والإقدام والمقاومة والقسام، نقف اليوم أمام هذه التدايعات الهائلة والمهولة للهزيمة الاستراتيجية التي تلقاها العدو الصهيوني في السابع من أكتوبر المجيد على أيدي كتائب الشهيد عز الدين القسام، التي أحدثت زلزالاً كبيراً ومدوياً في قلب الكيان الصهيوني، بل وتعدت ذلك إلى كل حلفائه والمنصرين لهذا الاحتلال البغيض. نقف اليوم بكل شموخ وإباء أمام هذه المقاومة الباسلة على أرض غزة، والممتدة إلى كل أرض فلسطين التي بدأت كتابة هذا التاريخ بطوفان الأقصى ووضعت البداية الحقيقية لزوال هذا الاحتلال عن أرضنا وعن قدسنا وعن مقدساتنا. هذه المقاومة التي تخرج في كل ساعة وفي كل لحظة، مثل طائر العنقاء لتضرب في كل مكان في قلب هذا الكيان الصهيوني المجرم الذي لم يستطع ولم يتمكن جيشه الجبان من مواجهة هؤلاء الرجال الشجعان الأبطال، فلجأ إلى ارتكاب هذه المجازر وهذه الإبادة الجماعية والأرض المحروقة ومحاولات تهجير أبناء شعبنا وأهلنا في غزة. ويعتقد بأن هذه الجرائم الوحشية البربرية التي يقوم بها سيمحو بها عار الهزيمة وعار الذل والانتكاس الذي لحق به، مع ضربه القسام الاستراتيجية في السابع من أكتوبر ولكن أننا له ذلك. هذه الضربة لن تمحو كل أدوات القتل والقمع آثارها وتدايعاتها السياسية والعسكرية والأمنية والإعلامية، بل أقول أنها وضعت حد لهذا الشره ولهذه السياسة ولهذه الخطط الصهيونية، لهذه الحكومة الفاشية، في الأقصى وفي الضفة وفي غزة وضد أسرارنا وضد أهلنا في ال 48 وضد أبناء شعبنا الفلسطيني، لنستأنف استراتيجية التحرير والعودة بإذن الله سبحانه وتعالى. هذا العدو اليوم الذي يقوم بما يقوم به بدعم وللأسف الشديد من الإدارة الأمريكية وبعض الدول الغربية على قاعدة ازدواجية المعايير والنفاق وتبني الروايات والاضاليل الكاذبة التي تراجعوا عنها بالمناسبة! ولكن هم يعتقدوا أن به الفعل وبهذا التهويش وبهذه الحرب النفسية وبإزالة الأوراق والاسطوانات التي تمرر على أبناء شعبنا انهم سيدفعونهم إلى النزوح وإلى الهجرة وإلى الخروج من أرض غزة. هيهات هيهات، أهل غزة متجذرون في أرضهم متمسكون بوطنهم لن يخرجوا من غزة، لن يهاجروا مهما فعلتم أيها القتلة أيها المجرمون ليس لنا إلا خط واحد هو العودة إلى أرضنا إلى ديارنا إلى أرض آبائنا وأجدادنا. هذا أصبح ليس بعيد المنال بل قريب المنال. ان الضربة الإستراتيجية التي لحقت بكم تقول أن تحريرنا وعودتنا أصبحت قريبة المنال بإذن الله سبحانه وتعالى. لذلك فاني أحيي أهلنا في غزة هؤلاء الذين بالدم والنار يقفون في وجه آلة القتل والبربرية والوحشية

والفاشية الصهيونية، متمسكون بدورهم ببيوتهم بجوامعهم بمساجدهم. أحيي تلك المسيرات التي خرجت بالأمس تحت القصف وتحت الطيران لتهتف للمقاومة، لكل فصائل المقاومة وكتاب القسام ولتؤكد اننا **هنا باقون في وطننا ما بقي الزعتر والزيتون** نعم هذا موقف يسجل في سجل الشرف والبطولة لغزة كما كل أبناء شعبنا الفلسطيني ولكن اليوم غزه تحت حمم النار تقول كلمتها التاريخية وثبتت حق شعبها في الوطن وفي الارض وفي الكرامة وفي العزة. **لا هجرة من غزة، ولا هجرة من الضفة، لا هجرة من غزة إلى مصر، وهنا أنا أحيي أيضا موقف الأشقاء في مصر الذين يؤكدون بأن مصر نعم هي دولة وهي شقيقة وهي حاضنة وهي مرحية، بأبناء الشعب الفلسطيني، ولكن ليس على أساس لا هجرة ولا نزوح، ولا يمكن أن نقبل ولا تقبل.** وأنا أقول لإخواني في مصر قرارنا هو ان بقى في أرضنا، وبالتالي قراركم هو قرارنا والوقوف في وجه **المخطط الصهيوني** المدعوم من الادارة الامريكية سنفضله ان شاء الله بهذا الصمود وبهذا الموقف الموحد وبهذا التضامن العربي الاسلامي من كل احرار العالم. يتباكون على المدنيين ويتباكون على الاطفال والنساء والشيوخ ويحاولون تشويه الصورة، صورة هذه الحركة العملاقة التي تركز في ثقافتها ومقاومتها وأدبياتها الى ديننا الى فقها الى شرعنا الى قيمنا الى اخلاقيات شعبنا الفلسطيني، ولطالما أكدت حماس أنها لا تستهدف المدنيين لا الكبار ولا الصغار رغم ما يقوم به هذا العدو الصهيوني. حماس هي بنت هذا الشعب هي من شجرة هذه الأمة الأصيلة **هي حركة تحرر وطني** تنتمي الى هذه القيم وتنتمي الى هذه الثقافة. ولكن لكن أين موقفكم من قتل المدنيين من أبناء شعبنا، أين موقفكم من قتل الأطفال من ارتكاب المجازر والمذابح وتدمير البيوت على رؤوس ساكنيها. أين موقفكم من تدمير الجوامع والجامعات والمؤسسات من تدمير البنية التحتية أين موقفكم أين موقفكم من القتل الاسرائيلي الذي قتل من ذي قبل جنسيات مختلفة فلسطينية وجنسية اخرى على أرض فلسطين. لذلك هذه الحركة لا يمكن ان ترتجف يدها ولا أن ترتجف بندقيتها أمام هذه الآلة الإعلامية الكاذبة المضللة، وأقول المضللة أيضا بعض منها بالرواية الإسرائيلية، وسرعان ما ينكشف هذا الكذب وهذا التضليل وهذا الخداع امام قيم المجاهدين وامام هذه وامام نبل الفرسان واخلاق الفارس الفلسطيني وهو يطلق المرأة واطفالها ويعامل الأطفال. و ليس لدينا المانع من ان يكون لنا المزيد من الخطوات على هذا الصعيد. ابها الأخوة أيتها الأخوات، أمام **طوفان الأقصى** الذي بداه القسام ومضت به فصائل المقاومة المباركة، نقول امام هذا **الطوفان وامام طوفان جماهير الامة العربية والاسلامية وأحرار العالم**، أوجه كلمة الشكر والتقدير والاعتزاز بهذه الجماهير التي احتشدت في كل العواصم العربية والاسلامية في كل مدن العالم ورفعت صوتها عاليا مع غزة مع فلسطين مع القدس مع الأقصى، أنها مع المقاومة أنها ضد هذا الاحتلال الصهيوني. أقدر باسم شعبنا الفلسطيني عالياً هذا الحراك وهذا **الطوفان الجماهيري** وادعو الى الاستمرار في ذلك. لا تتوقفوا، استمروا صعدوا من حركتكم الشعبية والجماهير حاصروا الاحتلال في كل مكان ارفعوا الضوء الأحمر والشارة الحمراء في وجه الإدارة الأمريكية التي تعطي كل هذا الغطاء لهذا القتل والتدمير. لا تتوقفوا لأن مسيرة المقاومة متواصلة، لا تتوقفوا بل

واصلوا استمروا بكل مكونات هذه الشعوب العربية والاسلامية بكل منابيتها بكل تياراتها بكل انتماءاتها وأحرار العالم الذين رأيناهم في أوروبا وفي أمريكا اللاتينية وفي أمريكا نفسها وهم يقولون لا لهذا الاحتلال، لا لهذا القتل، لا لهذا التدمير، نعم، ونحن نقول أن هذه الضربة الاستراتيجية وهذه المقاومة التي سجلت صفحة مجيدة في تاريخ شعبنا الفلسطيني، أنها تقول بكل وضوح وتعبر عن ضمير شعبنا وأمتنا أننا نريد أن يرحل هذا الاحتلال عن أرضنا وعن قدسنا وأن تكون لنا دولة على كامل ترابنا الفلسطيني وعاصمتها القدس. أن يتحرر أسراننا أن يعود شعبنا الفلسطيني ان يرفع الحصار والقتل والتدمير عن غزه الأبية. سلام عليكم يا أهل غزة أيها الرجال الشجعان، سلام على نساءها أطفالها على شبابها، وفخر واعتزاز بمقاومتها ووحدة هذه المقاومة، وتحية لأهلنا في الضفة الثائرة التي يجب ان تواصل ثورتها ومقاومتها، لأننا شعب واحد ومقاومة واحدة، وتحية لأهلنا في ال 48 ولشعبنا في المنافي والشتات. والله سبحانه وتعالى غالب على أمره ولكن أكثر الناس لا يعلمون. والسلام عليكم ورحمه الله وبركاته.

Appendix 3: [Haniyah-3]

Haniyah's Third Speech During Gaza War 2023 (17th October)

<https://youtu.be/GKruWykthzw?si=Nqn0uwfd5Bf9ICA5>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الرحيم، ولا تهنوا ولا تحزنوا وأنتم الأعلون إن كنتم مؤمنين ان يمسسكم قرح فقد مس القوم قرح مثله وتلك الأيام نداولها بين الناس وليعلم الله الذين آمنوا ويتخذ منكم شهداء والله لا يحب الظالمين ولا تهنوا في ابتغاء القوم إن تكونوا تالمون فإنهم يالمون كما تالمون وترجون من الله ما لا يرجون وكان الله عليماً حكيماً. هذه الآيات نقرأها الآن أمام هذا الدم الذكي المردار الذي يسيل من أبناء هذا الشعب، خاصة في هذه المجزرة البشعة المتوحشة التي ارتكبتها الصهاينة، في المستشفى المعمداني، وراح ضحيتها المئات من الشهداء والجرحى. هذه المجزرة التي تؤكد على وحشية هذا العدو، بل وتؤكد أيضاً رغم المرارة ورغم الألم والوجع تؤكد على حجم الهزيمة المدوية التي مني بها هذا العدو أمام هذه المقاومة المباركة أمام هؤلاء الرجال الشجعان. هذه المجزرة التي تضاف الى سلسلة المجازر التي ارتكبتها الصهاينة منذ احتلال فلسطين. هذا هو عنوانهم هذه هي سجيبتهم هذه هي صفاتهم، أن يرتكبوا المذابح والمجازر، لا يحترم قيما ولا قوانين ولا أعراف ولا شرائع كيف لا! وهم الذين قتلوا الأنبياء! وقتلوا الذين يأمرون بالقسط من الناس وتجروا على حرمان الله وحدوده في الأرض والمقدسات ، في الشعب الفلسطيني والامة، هم ذاتهم الذين ارتكبوا مجزرة المستشفى المعمداني، ارتكبوا مجزرة صبره وشاتيلا الله وارتكبوا مجزره مدرسة بحر البقر، هم الذين قتلوا اسرى الجيش المصري، هم الذين انتهكوا كل القيم التي يعرفها الانسان على هذه البسيطة. هذه المجزرة يتحمل مسؤوليتها هذا العدو، الذي ضرب مستشفى ومسجداً وكنيسة في ذات المكان. يتحمل مسؤوليتها الأمريكان الذين أعطوا الغطاء اللامحدود لهذا العدو ليرتكب هذه المجازر هذه جرائم الحرب هذه الإبادة الجماعية. يتحمل مسؤوليتها الذين وفروا الغطاء في مجلس الأمن ورفضوا إدانة هذا الاحتلال وهذا العدوان. نعم، هؤلاء جميعاً هم في قلب هذا الدم الزكي، لهذا العدو المغتصب لأرضنا ولمقدساتنا. أننا أمام هذه المجزرة وأمام هذه الدماء، لنؤكد على ما يلي: أن العدو واهم إن ظن أن هذه المجازر والمذابح ستغطي على هزيمته المدوية أو ستدفع شعبنا الى الاستسلام ، لأننا شعب يعشق الشهادة ولأننا شعب يعشق الحياة العزيزة الكريمة فوق أرضه وفي وطنه، فالمقاومة مستمرة المقاومة متواصلة والمقاومة لن تتوقف الا برحيل هذا المحتل عن أرضنا ومقدساتنا. ثانياً: إنني أقف مع كل عوائل الشهداء ، دمكم هو دمنا جميعاً هو دم كل هذا الشعب دم كل هذه الأمة وشعوبها دم كل أحرار العالم وأصحاب الضمائر، هذه الدماء رغم غزارتها ستظل نوراً وناراً، نوراً للسالكين، طريق الحرية والكرامة وناراً على هذا العدو المغتصب. ثالثاً: ادعو شعبنا الفلسطيني في كل مكان، وخاصة في ضفة الإباء، في الضفة الغربية الشفاء وفي القدس وفي ال 48 ان يخرجوا الان في كل المدن وفي كل الشوارع، يا شعبنا يا اهلنا يا شباينا في الضفة الباسلة

اخرجوا الان في كل المدن والقرى والمخيمات، قفوا في وجه هذا المحتل وفي وجه هؤلاء المستوطنين الغزاة. نحن شعب واحد دم واحد مصير واحد وأيضا سنصنع بإذن الله معا المستقبل الواعد لشعبنا الفلسطيني لشعبنا في ال 48 وفي المناقي والشتات. واربعا: أدعو شعوب الأمة العربية والإسلامية جمعاء الى الخروج الآن تنديداً بهذا المجررة بهذه الوحشية بهذه الجرائم، اخرجوا في كل العواصم في كل المدن ارفعوا الصوت عالياً ليتوقف هذا العدو ولتقف هذه الأمة صفاً واحداً في خندق واحد على اختلاف جغرافيتها وانتماءاتها ومذاهبها وأعرافها، لأننا أمام كتابة التاريخ وأمام صفحة المجد التليد لشعبنا ولامتنا. سادسا: أدعو كل أحرار العالم والأمم المتحدة ومجلس الأمن والجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة والمؤسسات الحقوقية والقانونية أدعو الجامعة العربية منظمة التعاون الاسلامي الى إدانة صريحة واضحة لهذه المجررة البشعة لهذا القتل الجماعي لهذه الاستباحة لدماننا لأطفالنا لنساننا لشيوعنا، لا يجوز إطلاقا ان يستمر هذا الصمت. نعم، الى اخواننا الذين سيجتمعون غداً في المملكة العربية الشقيقة السعودية منظمة التعاون الإسلامي ليكن الصوت عالياً البيان قوياً، الموقف واضحاً، لا لأرباع الحلول ولا لأنصاف الحلول مع الدم في غزه لا لأرباع كلمات وأنصاف الكلمات ثقنتنا بالمملكة العربية السعودية وبكل الدول العربية والإسلامية المستضافة غداً في جدة ثقنتنا عالية بأن هذا الدم لن يضيع هدراً ولن تمر عليه هذه الأمة وهذه الاجتماعات مرور الكرام. اننا أيها الإخوه أيتها الأخوات يا أهل غزة يا من تزفون في كل لحظة الشهداء، **يا من يخرج الشهداء زمراً زمراً الى الرحمن وفداً، لا تبتئسوا ولا تحزنوا، انتم الأعلون، لكم الاستعلاء بإيمانكم بمقاومتكم بقسامكم بجهادكم بعزّتكم بشعبكم بأمّتكم.** وإن شاء الله هذه المجررة سنشكل نقطة تحول إضافي، **طوفان يضاف الى طوفان الأقصى**، ليساء وجه هذا العدو في كل مكان وعلى كل المستويات. سلامٌ عليكم أيها الشهداء الأطهار الأبرار، سلامٌ عليك يا غزة يا شاهدة العصر وعلى العصر يا رافعة الكرامة. سلامٌ عليكم عوائل الشهداء، يا عوائل الصبر والاحتساب. **يا أيها الذين آمنوا استعينوا بالصبر والصلاة إن الله مع الصابرين. ولا تقولوا لمن يقتل في سبيل الله أموات بل أحياء ولكن لا تشعرون.** والله أكبر والله الحمد. **وإنه لجهاد نصرٌ او استشهاد.** والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

Appendix 4: [Haniyah-4]

Haniyah's Forth Speech During Gaza War 2023 (19th October)

https://youtu.be/X_R4pfR9vKw?si=oTDdQTH_KpktAaAd

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، الحمد لله رب العالمين، والصلاة والسلام على سيد المرسلين، سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه أجمعين. أيها الأخوة والأخوات، ما زال العالم بأسره يتابع هذا الصمود الأسطوري، الذي يسجله أبناء شعبنا في غزة الصامدة الأبية وتسجله المقاومة الأبية وهي تدير هذه المعركة باقتدار منذ أن بدأت بضربته الاستراتيجية المدوية وهي ما زالت تتحكم في ايقاع هذه المعركة رغم وحشية المحتل وجرائمه وقتله العشوائي والقصف المتعمد للبيوت. هذه الجرائم التي يتابعها العالم أيضا بأسره. والتي تسجل من جديد طبيعة هذا العدو النازي الوحشي الفاشي القاتل، حيث أن الكثير من أبنائنا الشهداء، المئات بل غالبية هؤلاء الشهداء هم من الأطفال والنساء والشيوخ ويمتد هذا العدوان الى الضفة بمجزرة في مخيم نور شمس ثم هناك الى جنوب لبنان حيث يرتقي الشهداء من أختونا اللبنانيين ومن أبناء شعبنا الفلسطيني بغية كسر إرادة هذا الشعب وهذه المقاومة. أيها الأخوة والأخوات نتابع التحركات السياسية الأمريكية وبعض المسؤولين الأوروبيين وزيارتهم لدولة الكيان الإسرائيلي، بهدف استمرار تقديم الدعم النفسي والمعنوي لهذا الجيش الجبان ولهذا المجتمع المنهار بعد الضربة الاستراتيجية التي سدتها كتائب القسام مع بداية طوفان الأقصى ولكن بات واضحاً لكل المتابعين والمراقبين ولنا ابتداءً أن الإدارة الأمريكية فشلت فشلاً ذريعاً. أولاً: في توفير الدعم الدولي والإقليمي للعدوان على غزة. وثانياً: في تطويع الموقف العربي الرسمي لقبول التهجير. ورغم الضغوطات ورغم الإغراءات الا أن الموقف العربي والإسلامي الذي تم التعبير عنه بكل وضوح في كل الاجتماعات التي جرت خلال الأيام الماضية سواء كان اجتماعات مجلس التعاون الخليجي أو في منظمة التعاون الإسلامي او الجامعة العربية او اللقاءات الثنائية التي تجري بين المسؤولين في المنطقة. كل ذلك أكد بكل وضوح أنه لا أحد يقبل خطة التهجير الاسرائيلية المغطاة أمريكياً. وهذا مستند الى موقفنا كفلسطينيين، الشعب الفلسطيني المتمسك بأرضه وبوطنه. لا للتهجير ولا للوطن البديل. ونحن هنا نشيد بهذا الموقف العربي والإسلامي وخاصة مصر، لأنه الحديث عن انه اهل غزة بدهم يترحلوا الى مصر ولاحقا اهل الضفة بدهم يترحلوا الى الأردن، وادعو الى اسناد هذا الموقف، وادعو الى احتضان هذا الموقف والثبات عليه، ونحن بتنا نرى انكسار هذه الموجة المتعلقة بهذه الخطة الخبيثة. وأيضاً فشلت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية في تحييد ساحات وجبهات. نرى أن هناك تسخيماً وتصعيداً متواصلاً متتالياً على حدود شمال فلسطين. وهذا يؤكد على ان استمرار العدوان واستباحة دماء شعبنا في غزة الصامدة سوف يفجر كل المعادلات والخطط سواء على الصعيد الفلسطيني أو على الصعيد الإقليمي، ونحن حذرنا الجميع من أنه هذه المعركة يمكن أن تتحول الى معركة

إقليمية إذا استمر هذا العدوان وهذه الوحشية وهذا القتل وهذا التدمير واستباحة الدماء الذي نراه ضد أهلنا في غزة. كذلك فشلت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية في الاستمرار في تمرير الروايات الإسرائيلية والكذب والتضليل والخداع ولم تعد كل هذه السردية الإسرائيلية الأمريكية تنطلي على أحد في كل دول العالم وأحرار العالم. لذلك هذا الانتصار العسكري المدوي الذي حسم من الساعات الأولى للمعركة، ومستمر بأداء هذه المقاومة الباسلة العظيمة، يتبعه الآن بداية الانتصار والاستثمار السياسي لشعبنا ولقضيئنا بإذن الله سبحانه وتعالى. أيها الإخوة والاحوات، تلقيت خلال الأيام الماضية العديد من الاتصالات، والتقيت أنا وإخواني في قيادة الحركة عديد المسؤولين عربياً وإسلامياً ودولياً، جرى حديث موسع، وحوارات معمقة حول هذه المعركة وأسبابها ودوافعها ومقدماتها وأيضاً أهدافها وأكدنا للجميع أن الحل يكمن في رحيل الاحتلال، وفي أن يتمتع شعبنا الفلسطيني بحريته في وطنه في دولته المستقلة كاملة السيادة وعاصمتها القدس، وطالبنا الجميع بضرورة رفع الغطاء عن هذا العدوان العاشم وإدانته، بل وتقديم هؤلاء القتلة من قادة المحتل الى المحاكم الدولية ليحاسبوا على هذه الجرائم التي ارتكبوها، على هذا التاريخ الأسود الذي ارتكبوها فيه أفضع المجازر على امتداد عقود هذا الصراع ضد شعبنا في الداخل وفي الخارج. وطالبنا الجميع بضرورة الإسراع في توصيل المساعدات وإيصال المساعدات الى أهلنا في قطاع غزة. لأن غزة اليوم في كارثة انسانية بسبب الوحشية النازية الصهيونية. وطالبنا الجميع عدم الاستماع او الإصغاء الى السردية الاسرائيلية المموجة والأكاذيب والخداع والتضليل الذي يمر عبر الإدارة الأمريكية وبعض وسائل الاعلام. وأكدنا أن حركة حماس والمقاومة الفلسطينية هذا الشعب الفلسطيني فيه من الانسانية ومن الأخلاق ومن القيم ما يتفوق ألف مرة على هذا المحتل البيغض النازي الذي يمارس القتل المتعمد وبهذه الطريقة. وحتى كل من تكلم معنا بشأن المدنيين أو الأجانب أو الجنسيات المتواجدين في غزة، قلنا لهم في الطرف المناسب يثبت لكم الايام أخلاق وقيم وانسانيه هذه الحركة وهذا الشعب الفلسطيني الأبي. من هنا أيها الأخوة والأخوات، ونحن نتابع هذه الفصول التي تجمع بين البطولة وبين حجم الدم الذي يراق على أرض غزة. وإنما أمام ذلك، ندعو جماهير شعبنا وجماهير أمتنا العربية والإسلامية الى النفير العام غداً الجمعة بإذن الله، تحت عنوان ليتوقف العدوان على غزة ولا للتهجير أو الوطن البديل. يا أخواني، أيتها الشعوب، يا أحرار العالم، حينما تكون المقاومة بهذا العمل الأسطوري البطولي الإبداعي، وحينما تكون الجرائم الصهيونية بهذا الحجم من الدموية والقتل، الذي فاق كل الحدود يجب علينا نحن أيضاً في حركتنا الشعبية والجماهيرية أن نتحرك وأن نفكر خارج الصندوق، يجب أن نتحرك بقوة وبجرأة وبشجاعة وأن نفرض المعادلات، لا يجوز أن نترك هذا العدو يستبيح القدس والاقصى، أو أن يستبيح دماء شعبنا واهلنا في غزة كما في الضفة. لا يجوز أن نستمر في الرتابية مع أنني أشيد بهذه الحركة الشعبية الجماهيرية التي خرجت على مدار الأيام والليالي الماضية، وصدحت بأعلى صوتها أمام هذا الطغيان وأمام هذه العنجهية، أن غزة ليست وحيدة والشعب الفلسطيني ليس وحيداً. ازحفوا نحو الحدود، فكروا خارج الصندوق وافرضوا المعادلات، وتجاوزوا قانون المرحلة

لنبي وإياكم عصمة الدم الفلسطيني والعربي والإسلامي، وليقف هذا المحتل الجبان عن جرائمه وعن فظائعه. منتصرون بإذن الله، هذا وعد الله، والله لا يخلف وعده لأوليائه وعباده، وكان حقاً علينا نصر المؤمنين. والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

Appendix 5: [Haniyah-5]

Haniyah's Fifth Speech During Gaza War 2023 (26th October)

<https://youtu.be/ruv9-3BZz5s?si=sluUNoPlswQRdiB5>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على رسول الله وعلى آله وصحبه ومن واله، بداية الحديث الى غزة. غزة، طوفان الأقصى كرامة الأسرى والمسرى. غزة يا جمل المحامل، يا جمل المحامل يا غزة، يا من تكتبين اليوم بالحديد والنار وبالدموع والدم والأشلاء، تاريخاً جديداً لشعبنا وقضيتنا وأمتنا ولكل أحرار العالم، لكل الذين يرفضون هذا الاحتلال المجرم المتوحش البغيض. غزة، يا روحاً تسري من جسد هذه الأمة من أقصاها الى أقصاها. روح تسري في جسد أحرار العالم، في كل قارت الدنيا. نعم، غزة، يا ظهر كل فلسطيني يا سند كل عربي ومسلم، يا ذراع الردع المتقدم، يا حماة الأقصى، يا أمل تحرير الاسرى بإذن الله سبحانه وتعالى. تحية لكم أيها الأهل الأشداء رغم وحشية وحرب الإبادة التي يمارسها العدو. تحية لأرواح الشهداء شهداء غزة وشهداء الضفة وشهداء لبنان من المقاومة الإسلامية في حزب الله وشهداء القسام وشهداء سرايا القدس على امتداد الوطن وهناك في جنوب لبنان، حيث الجبهة التي تتصاعد لتوجه لهذا العدو رسائل بالنار ان استمرار العدوان والقتل والتدمير على غزة وعلى الأهل في غزة سيخرج المنطقة كل المنطقة عن السيطرة، بل أصبحت المنطقة اليوم على صفيحٍ ساخنٍ لا يستطيع أحد أن يتنبأ باتجاهاتها ولا بمآلتها. ولكننا ندرك وعلى ثقة وبقين كامل أن مآلة طوفان الأقصى، هذه النتيجة التي كتبها القسام في اليوم الأول للطوفان هي نتيجة ستصاحب كل مراحلنا على أرض فلسطين وفي صراع الأمة والمقاومة مع المشروع الصهيوني البغيض. 20 يوم وغزة تقف كالتعود الشامخ. 20 يوم والدماء في الشوارع والطرقات. 20 يوم والمقاومة وفي مقدمتها القسام تواصل ضرباتها، تحرس حدودها، بالدم توجه هذه الرسائل، وبالقوة والجبروت لهذا العدو المتغطرس، ولكل من يقف ويعاون ويشارك هذا العدو بعدوانه وبحرب الإبادة التي يشنها على أهلنا في قطاع غزة. في اليوم العشرين لهذه المعركة المجيدة التي تغير وجه التاريخ، وستكتب التاريخ المجيد لشعبنا ولأمتنا، وستمضي بإذن الله حيث تحقيق الأهداف العليا لهذا الشعب الذي عانى من هذا الظلم التاريخي وعانى من هذا الاحتلال ومن اللجوء والنزوح والتهجير والحصار والاعتقالات والحوارج، ومنع الناس من الوصول الى المسجد الأقصى المبارك. في اليوم العشرين، وأكد على ما يلي: أولاً، المقاومة في غزة بخير، وألف ألف خير، ومن هنا فإنني أدعو شعوب الأمة العربية

والإسلامية وأحرار العالم، لا أدعوهم الى الاقتصار على ما يقومون به، بل أدعوهم الى دعم هذه المقاومة وإسناد هذه الثورة بالمال بالسلاح بالتكنولوجيا بكل العلوم التي تثبت هذا النصر، وترسخ هذه البطولات، وتكتب مع المقاومة في غزة وفلسطين ، تكتب الفصول الختامية النهائية لهذا الاحتلال البغيض. إنني أدعو كل المفكرين والخبراء والاستراتيجيين أن يتناولون مرحلة ما بعد الاحتلال، لأنه زائل لا محالة، لن يتمكن هذا المحتل من أن يستعيد عافيته بسبب هذه الضربة الاستراتيجية والهزيمة المدوية التي لحقت به بل ان الدم في غزه الى جانب المقاومة والقسام سينتصر على هذا المحتل سينتصر على هذا العدو وعلى شريعة الغاب التي يريد البعض أن يرسخها في هذا الواقع. ثانياً: أدعو الجميع، كل أحرار العالم، كل الدول الصديقة الشقيقة الحليفة الى ممارسة كل الضغط المطلوب، في كل المحافل، وبكل الاتجاهات لوقف العدوان على غزة، لوقف هذه الحرب ضد أطفالنا ونسائنا وشيوخنا، مساجدنا جامعاتنا بيوتنا، ليتوقف هذا العدوان الغاشم لتتوقف هذه المحرقة الهولوكوست الجديد، الذي يمارسه جيش الاحتلال الصهيوني ضد شعبنا الفلسطيني، ثم ادعو كل الرؤساء والزعماء وقاده الفكر وأصحاب الرأي التأكيد وبشكل واضح وصريح على شرعية المقاومة على أرض فلسطين المباركة، على شرعية حركة المقاومة الإسلامية حماس، وكل حركات المقاومة على أرض فلسطين، بأنها حركات تحرر وطني تسعى الى تحرير أرضها ووطنها وشعبها، أما الإرهاب فهو المحتل، أما الإرهاب فهو الذي يدعم هذا المحتل، أما الإرهاب هو الذي يسكت على هذه المجازر وهذه المذابح. يجب أن ننتصر في معركة الوعي، وأن ننتصر في معركة الإرادات، وأن ننتصر في معركة التوصيف الدقيق لما يجري على الأرض. إننا أيها الأخوة يجب أن لا نقع في هذا الفخ، وألا نقع في حبال الشيطان، وأن يكون الأمر واضحاً جلياً لا تردد فيه، لا لبس فيه ولا غموض، ولذا فإنني أحيي كل الاصوات وكل المواقف الشجاعة والجريئة التي أعلنت بوضوح عن هذه الشرعية وعن هذا الحق في ممارسة المقاومة المشروعة التي كفلتها كل الاعراف والقوانين الدولية فضلاً عن الشرائع الإسلامية والسماوية. ثم إنني أدعو الى ضرورة فتح كل المعابر، في مقدمتها معبر رفح، وإدخال كل ما تحتاجه غزة بغير قيد وبلا شرط. يجب إدخال كل ما يمكن أهلنا في غزة لإعادة دورة الحياة لكافة المرافق في قطاع غزة، وفي مقدمتها المستشفيات والكهرباء والماء والمخابز وكل ذلك. مش مقبول إطلاقاً أن يتحكم العدو فيما سيدخل الى غزة أو لا يدخل الى غزة. مضى الزمن الذي يتحكم فيه هذا المحتل لا بغزة ولا بشعبنا ولا بمنطقتنا. نعم، أننا ندعو الى سرعة ائصال كل ما تحتاج غزة، وكل ما تحتاجه دوره الحياة في غزة وأحيي كل الذين يقفون في هذا المربع ويضغطون بكل السبل من أجل سرعة ائصال ما تحتاجه غزة وأهل الأبطال. ثم غداً الجمعة ، وعشرين يوم من البطولة والفداء والتضحيات الجسام، والمقاومة المتصاعدة القوية الأبية الشجاعة. غداً الجمعة مرة ومرة، لتظل جماهير الأمة في كل مكان، وأحرار العالم في مد تصاعدي شعبي. كما قلت وفي كل مره أكرر، أن دماء الأطفال والنساء والشيوخ، لا أقول تستصخركم! بل نحن الذين نحتاج هذه الدماء لكي نوقف فينا روح الثورة، لكي نوقف فينا العناد، لكي نوقف فينا التحدي، والسير الى الامام

، لا ينبغي ان نظل نتحرك في ذات المكان، على كل الصعد. طوفان يجب ان يتواصل، هذا من اجل شعوب الامه، ومن اجل احرار العالم، من أجل قوى المقاومة والممانعة، من أجل مستقبل دولنا العربية والإسلامية، يجب أن تستمر هذه الحشود، وتعلوا الصوت، أوقفوا حرب الإبادة على غزة، أوقفوا هذه الوحشية. هذا الهولوكوست، الذي ينفذه هؤلاء الصهاينة ضد أهلنا وضد شعبنا وضد غزتنا وضد ضفتنا وضد أسرانا، أسرانا في سجون الاحتلال الذي ينكل بهم العدو الآن، معتقداً أننا انشغلنا بهذه الحرب. هذه ثغور رباط وثغور جهاد والأسرى في موقع اهتمامنا ومتابعتنا ميدانياً وسياسياً. أيها الأخوة أيتها الأخوات ، يا شعبنا الفلسطيني يا غزة كما قلت، يا جمل المحامل، يا حجة على الدنيا، يا غزة، يا أطفال غزة، يا رجال غزة ونساء غزة، يا من علمتم الدنيا الأنفة والحرية والإباء. تحية لكم، وتحية لقادة غزة، لمقاوميهها لمجاهديها لعوائلها ، نساءها، لكل ما يدب فوق أرضها الطاهرة. الى الأمام، امضوا الى الأمام. والله سبحانه وتعالى مولانا ولا مولى لهم، ذلك بأن الله مولى الذين آمنوا وأن الكافرين لا مولى لهم. والسلام عليكم ورحمه الله وبركاته.

Appendix 6: [Haniyah-6]

Haniyah's Sixth Speech During Gaza War 2023 (1st November)

<https://www.youtube.com/live/QbHTcne7aX8?si=FO68pYchPKJnQkRm>

<https://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2023/11/01/1538220.html>

ها هي الحرب الوحشية الإجرامية الإرهابية ضد غزة وأهلها تستمر لليوم الـ 26 ولا زال شعبنا ومجاهدينا يخوضونها بكل جدارة واقتدار. إن شعبنا ومجاهدينا يرسمون خارطة الوطن بدمائهم الزكية ويتحملون ما لا تتحمله الجبال من تضحية وصمود وشهداء وطول نفس وصبر على الجراح والآلام. يا أهل غزة أهل العزة والتضحية والفداء، أيها الأبطال العملاقة، يا من يخوضون هذه المعركة المصيرية بين محورين: محور الشعوب المحبة للحرية والعدالة ومحور العنصرية والفاشية. إنها معركة مصيرية بين من يؤمن بالتسامح والسلام الإنساني والتعايش الحضاري، وبين النازيين الجدد، يدعمهم قوى استعمارية تدوس كل القيم من أجل مصالحهم وعقليتهم الدموية. أننا وفي اليوم السادس والعشرين لهذه الملحمة البطولية لمقاومتنا وشعبنا وأمام هذه المجازر وحرب الإبادة التي يشنها النازيون الجدد نؤكد على ما يلي، أولاً: نقف إجلالاً وإكبار لهذا الصمود الأسطوري لشعبنا رغم الدمار الهائل وسقوط الأعداد الكبيرة من الشهداء والجرحى والتي كان آخرها المجزرة الوحشية في مخيم جبالية والنصيرات والشاطئ والفالوجة، بل أقول المجزرة الممتدة على كل مساحة القطاع. أن شعبنا بهذا الصمود والثبات والتشبث بوطنه أفضل مخططات العدو بنكبة جديدة من التهجير والشتات. ثانياً: نعبر عن اعتزازنا بهذه المقاومة المشرفة التي تلقن العدو كل يوم درس جديداً في العسكرية المبنية على أكتاف رجال مؤمنين ذوي باس شديد، وكتائب القسام وفصائل المقاومة تقاتلهم في كافة المحاور، وتتصدى بكل بطولة وبساله غير آبهة بدباباتهم أو قصفهم المتواصل. فها هو العدو يبدأ حربه البرية في ظل قرار مرتجف وقيادة منقسمة، وإذا بالمجاهدين الأبطال يذيقهم الموتى الزؤام كما وعدوهم ويوقعونهم بين قتيل وجريح. ثالثاً: نؤكد للعدو ومن يقف من ورائه أن محاولاتهم البائسة للتغطية على فشلهم بارتكاب المجازر الوحشية بحق المدنيين العزل بكل خسة ونذالة، لن تنقذكم من الهزيمة المدوية في طوفان الأقصى. لقد هزمت في 7 أكتوبر المجيد. وها أنتم تتعثرون في دخولكم البري الذي مضيتم به في مواجهة أبطالنا الأشاوس وشعبنا الأعزل، تعلنون عن بعض الخسائر وبالتدريج، ولكن ما تعلمه كتائبنا وما سنتشره أكبر بكثير. سيصدمكم ويصدم شعبكم ومن يقفون ورائكم. رابعاً: هذه الحرب أحد أهم أسبابها هو ننتياهو، الذي يقود مجموعة يمينية عنصرية فاشية. ولا يفكر إلا في كيف ينقذ نفسه وأسرته من السجن والمحاسبة، حتى ولو كان على حساب تدمير المنطقة برمتها. لقد حذرنا قبل هذه الحرب كل الأطراف الذين التقيناهم ان استمرار ننتياهو وحكومته الفاشية في سياسات العريضة والبلطجة والاعتداء على المسجد الأقصى والمقدسات الاسلامية والمسيحية وبناء المستوطنات وإطلاق العنان لعنات المستوطنين ليعيثوا في الأرض

خراباً وتدميراً وقتلاً، حذرناهم أنه لن يمر مرور الكرام. وأن الانفجار قادم لا محالة. ويجب العمل على كبح جماح هذا المجرم وعصابته. ولكن للأسف، لم يستمع لندائها أحد، بل استمر حلفاؤه في دعمه وتشجيعه على المضي قدماً في سياسته العنصرية. وها نحن نحذرهم مره أخرى ان نتناهبوا لا مانع لديه من حرق الأخضر واليابس في الإقليم وخارجه لينقذ نفسه والمتطرفين من حوله. لا سيما أننا أبلغنا الوسطاء بضرورة وضع حد لهذه المجزرة والإبادة الجماعية فوراً. وقدمت الحركة تصوراً شاملاً يبدأ بوقف العدوان، وفتح المعابر ومروراً بصفقة لتبادل الأسرى، وانتهاء بفتح المسار السياسي لقيام دولة فلسطينية مستقلة، وعاصمتها القدس، وحق تقرير المصير. وهم أدري بنتائج لجان التحقيق عندهم، والفشل الذريع الذي حصده بعد كل معركة. ولكن الى أن تدرك هذه العصابة المتعطرسة، بل هذه العصابة المتعطرسة، أنهم غرقوا في رمال غزة، سيكون ذلك قد كلفهم كثيراً وعلى كل الأصعدة، بما فيه حياة أسراهم والذين يتعرضون لنفس القتل والدمار الذي يتعرض له شعبنا وآخرهم الذين قتلوا في مجزرة جباليا أمس. خامساً: نذكر الدول التي تدعم هذا الكيان، وتشكل له الغطاء لارتكاب هذه المذبحة بحق شعبنا في غزة، في مقدمتها الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، نذكرهم بضرورة التراجع عن هذه السياسات الاستعمارية البائسة. كما ونطالبهم بالتوقف عن تقديم الدعم العسكري لهذه **الحكومة الفاشية**. ونطالبهم أيضاً بالتوقف عن تعطيل الإرادة الدولية، المطالبة بوقف العدوان فوراً وفتح المعابر. كما ظهر مؤخراً في اجتماع الجمعية العمومية، تحت عنوان: متحدون من أجل السلام. ونقول لهم أنكم تختارون الجانب الخاطئ من التاريخ والحاضر والمستقبل لن ينعم الإقليم أو خارجه بالأمن أو الاستقرار طالما لم يتحقق لشعبنا حقوقه المشروعة بالحريّة والاستقلال والعودة. كفى عنجبية واستعلاء ونفاق والتاريخ لا يرحم أحد. سادساً: اننا اذ نحیی كل الشعوب العربية والإسلامية وأحرار العالم على وقفهم التاريخية في دعم شعبنا الفلسطيني وغزة الصامدة. كما ونحیی كل جبهات المقاومة المساندة، وخاصة في لبنان والعراق وسوريا واليمن على موقفها المتقدم والمعلن. فإننا نجدد التأكيد على مطالبة شعوبنا العربية والإسلامية وأحرار العالم بالاستمرار في حراكهم الهادر في الشوارع حول العالم، والتي أبهرت كل المراقبين وأظهرت مكانة فلسطين وقضيتها العادلة في قلوب الملايين. ويجب الاستمرار في تشكيل الضغط على صناعات القرار، خاصة في الغرب، للتراجع عن مواقفهم المساندة لهذا العدوان. واليوم، اذ أعيد فتح معبر رفح جزئياً، فإننا نؤكد على ضرورة استمرار عمل المعبر دون توقف وفي الاتجاهين باعتباره معبراً مصرياً فلسطينياً خالصاً. أخيراً: نؤكد لشعبنا، نؤكد لغزة، أن مقاومتكم ثابتة صامدة. وأنها تحصد من هذا العدو أثماناً عالية مقابل جرائمه بحقكم. كما نؤكد لكم أن كل شعوب الأمة تغلي وتحفز للمشاركة في هذه **المعركة المجيدة**، والتي لن تكون إلا نصراً عزيزاً مؤزراً بتحرير أرضنا ومقدساتنا وعودتنا المظفرة. **وسيعلم الذين ظلموا أي منقلب ينقلبون**. الرحمة والخلود للشهداء، والشفاء العاجل للجرحى والعمالقة الأبطال، كل التحية والتقدير والاعتزاز وأنتم تقاتلون على كل الجبهات، وتحية اعتزاز لشعبنا المحتسب. والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

Appendix 7: [Haniyah-7]

Haniyah's Seventh Speech During Gaza War 2023 (24th November)

<https://youtu.be/SJttcQVJ-5I?si=gXJIZQ0PDgsbA7Ms>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، مدل المستكبرين، ناصر المؤمنين ومعز المجاهدين، و الصلاة والسلام على قائد الغر المحجلين، وعلى آله وصحبه أجمعين. السلام على شعبنا العظيم الذي سطر هذه الملحمة الأسطورية من الصمود، فتكسرت على صخرته كل المخططات الخبيثة لأحداث نكية جديدة. السلام على مجاهدينا الأبطال الذين أثنوا الجراح في العدو وقدموا نموذجاً غير مسبوق في البطولة والفداء. والسلام على غزة صانعة الأمجاد والتحويلات الهائلة عبر طوفان الأقصى. شعبنا الفلسطيني العظيم، مجاهدينا الأبطال، أبناء أمتنا العربية والإسلامية، يا كل أحرار العالم، بمعيه الله وعونه، ثم بصمود شعبنا وأداء مقاومتنا المبهر بدءاً من السابع من أكتوبر المجيد وحتى المواجهة على أرض غزة من نقطه الصفر مع القوات المجرمة الاحتلالية، وفي إطار تكامل بين جهود الحركة الميدانية والسياسية والعسكرية، وبدعم شعوب أمتنا وكل أحرار العالم، استطعنا وبكل فخر واعتزاز مواجهة هذا الاحتلال وكسر إرادته وإفشال مخططه، رغم الألم الكبير والأعداد المتزايدة من الشهداء والجرحى والمهجرين قسراً من بيوتهم. والذي ألمنا وأخذ منا جميعاً، من عوائلنا وأهلنا، خيرة أبنائنا وأخواننا شهداء. وهو بلا شك، ضريبة الحرية والتحرير والاستقلال، واستعادته الحقوق والمقدسات شعبنا الابي في كل مكان، غزتنا المجاهدة، من هذا الموقع في الصمود والارادة القوية، تم التوصل بفضل الله الى هذا الاتفاق حول الهدنة وتبادل الاسرى المحدود. وأود هنا التأكيد على ما يلي، أولاً: لقد رهن العدو على استعادة المحتجزين والأسرى لدى القسام والمقاومة في غزة عبر فوهة البنادق والقتل والإبادة الجماعية، وكل أشكال الإرهاب التي لم يعرف التاريخ لها مثيلاً، وأعلن بأنه لن يقبل بوقف إطلاق النار. ورفض في هذا السياق تطبيق قرار مجلس الأمن الذي صدر مؤخراً والذي نص على الهدن الإنسانية. لكنه وبعد قرابه 50 يوماً من جرائمه و وحشيته، وأمام صمود شعبنا ومقاومته التي واجهته في كافة محاور القتال بكل ثبات وبساله، نزل العدو عند شروط المقاومة وإرادة شعبنا الأبي، مما أدى الى التوصل لاتفاق الهدنة وتبادل الأسرى الجزئي الذي دخل حيز التنفيذ الساعة السابعة صباح يوم الجمعة 24/11/2023 ، وسيستمر أربعة أيام. ثانياً: لقد خُصنا برعاية الأشقاء في قطر ومصر مفاوضات صعبة وشاقة على مدار الأسابيع الماضية وبالتشاور مع فصائل المقاومة، سعياً منا لحماية أبناء شعبنا وتحقيق احتياجاته في مواجهة سياسة التجويع والحصار والخنق، وأدرنا هذه المفاوضات بمسؤولية عالية وبتوازن دقيق، جمع بين الحرص على التخفيف عن شعبنا ووقف آلة القتل والمجازر الوحشية، وبين ألا نسمح للعدو بفرض أجندته أو الهروب من استحقاقات هذه الهدنة، بل فرض رؤيتنا وأولوياتنا. ثالثاً: تؤكد الحركة التزامها بتنفيذ الاتفاق وإنجاحه طالما التزم العدو بتنفيذه. كما ترحب الحركة باستمرار المساعي الحميدة ومواصلة الجهود لإنهاء العدوان الصهيوني على شعبنا،

مقرونا برفع شامل للحصار عن غزة وتبادل الأسرى ووقف الاعتداء على المسجد الأقصى وتمكين شعبنا من ممارسة كافة حقوقه الوطنية المشروعة في إقامة دولته الفلسطينية المستقلة وعاصمتها القدس وحق تقرير المصير والعودة. رابعاً: لقد بذل الأشقاء في كل من مصر وقطر على مدار الفترة السابقة جهوداً حثيثة ودبلوماسية نشطة الى أن تم التوصل الى هذا الاتفاق، ونحن بدورنا نعبر عن شكرنا الجزيل للدولتين الكريمتين، ونؤكد على الاستعداد لاستمرار العمل معهما لتحقيق الوقف الشامل للعدوان على غزة وإغايتها العاجلة بكل حاجاتها المعيشية والطبية، وحماية شعبنا في القدس والضفة مع التأكيد على أهمية استمرار الجهود العربية والإسلامية والدول الصديقة وفي مقدمتها روسيا والصين لتمكين شعبنا من إنجاز تطلعاته في الحرية والعودة والاستقلال وضمان عدم تهرب الاحتلال من استحقاقات هذه المعركة. وأن الإفراج بموجب اتفاق الهدنة عن الأسيرات والأطفال من سجون العدو هو أول الغيث وأول الغيث قطر ثم ينهمر. خامساً: تؤكد الحركة بأنها لن تغادر مواقعها ولن تتخلى عن مسؤولياتها تجاه أبناء شعبنا قبل المعركة وأثناء المعركة وبعد المعركة. ونؤكد تمسكنا بوحدة الأرض والشعب والمصير. كما ونشيد بالموقف العربي والإسلامي بخصوص رفض أي تدخل بمصير القطاع بعد إنهاء العدوان ورفض التهجير، وخاصة من دولتي مصر والأردن الشقيقتين هذا الموقف الذي كان واضحاً وحاسماً في خطاب السيد الرئيس عبد الفتاح السيسي أمس في مهرجان المصري الحاشد. سادساً: إن شعبنا يخوض معركة التحرر الوطني عبر جبهة مترابطة في غزة والقدس وفي كافة أماكن تواجده. وإننا نشيد بالبطولات التي يسطرها أبناء شعبنا ومقاومته في الضفة الباسلة، في مواجهة ميليشيات المستوطنين وجيش الاحتلال الذي يقوم بإرهاب منظم ضد أهلنا وأسرانا في الضفة والقدس. وأخيراً: فإننا نحیی أهلنا في غزة الذين شكلوا بصمودهم ومقاومتهم العنصر المركزي والمحوري في تحقيق هذا التراجع في موقف العدو وحلفائه. كما نحیی شعبنا في الداخل والخارج، وجماهير أمتنا العربية والإسلامية والأحرار في كل عواصم ومدن العالم. ونشيد ونقدر عالياً مواصلة حراكهم وتضامنهم وفعالياتهم الجماهيرية المشرفة التي تنتصر لغزة ومقاومتها، ومعركة فلسطين نحو الحرية والتحرير. وندعو الى مواصلة هذا الجهد المقدر وتصعيده بكل الوسائل وفي كل الساحات والميادين. كما ونوجه التحية للمقاومة الإسلامية في لبنان الذين يواجهون على طول جبهة الجليل الفلسطيني المحتل وقدموا في سبيل ذلك عشرات الشهداء الى جانب شهداء شعبنا الفلسطيني في لبنان والذين كان آخرهم الشهيد القسامي البطل خليل حامد الخراز. كما ونوجه التحية الخاصة للأخوة في اليمن الشقيق، الذين عبروا بقوة واقتدار عن غضبهم تجاه العدو الاسرائيلي وعن تضامنهم مع أشقائهم في غزة وفلسطين على طريقتهم الخاصة. والشكر للمقاومة العراقية التي تشارك في هذه المعركة برجولة وشهامة. أبناء الشعب الفلسطيني، أبناء أمتنا العربية والإسلامية، وفي البدء والختام، نفق بكل اجلال واكبار امام عوائل الشهداء والجرحى والاسرى الذين سطوروا أروع دروس الصبر والتضحية والفداء وشكلوا مع كل أبناء شعبنا الصخرة التي تتحطم عليها مؤامرات العدو وإفشال مخططاته. وتحية لأبطال القسام وفصائل المقاومة بقيادة الأخ المجاهد محمد الضيف قائد أركان

المقاومة. وتحية لقيادة غزة وفي مقدمتهم الأخ المجاهد يحيى السنوار وهم مع كل أبناء شعبهم الثابتون الراسخون صناع المجد التليد. والعاقبة للمتقين والله العزة ولرسوله وللمؤمنين. والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

Appendix 8: [Haniyah-8]

Haniyah's Eighth Speech During Gaza War 2023 (13th December)

https://youtu.be/DnshQIn5R3k?si=tIzg_05tPFJ1T4Ug

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، الحمد لله رب العالمين، ولي المتقين ولا عدوان إلا على الظالمين، والصلاة والسلام على سيد المرسلين إمام المجاهدين وقائد الغر المحجلين، سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه أجمعين، ومن صار على نهجه واتبع سنته الى يوم الدين، وصدق الله القائل، إنما المؤمنون الذين آمنوا بالله ورسوله ثم لم يرتابوا وجاهدوا بأموالهم وأنفسهم في سبيل الله أولئك هم الصادقون. أهلنا في غزة العزة والصمود، شعبنا المجاهد في كل مكان، أمتنا العربية والإسلامية أحرار العالم، لا يزال شعبنا العظيم المجاهد ومقاومته الباسلة يقدمون صورة مشرقة في الجهاد والنضال والصمود الاسطوري في مسيرته الطويلة لدحر الاحتلال عن أرضنا ومقدساتنا. ولقد سخرت الحركة منذ انطلاقتها في الرابع عشر من كانون أول 1987 والذي يوافق غداً ذكراها الـ36 كل ما لديها من إمكانيات ومقدرات لتحقيق الاهداف الوطنية لشعبنا في الحرية والاستقلال والعودة وتقرير المصير. ولقد وجهت معركة طوفان الأقصى في السابع من أكتوبر ضربة مدوية للاحتلال هزت كيانه وقيادته السياسية والعسكرية والأمنية وبنيتة الاجتماعية ولا تزال تتجلى بطولات وبساله كتائب القسام وفصائل المقاومة في مواجهة العدوان الصهيوني، وتوقع فيه الخسائر الفادحة في شمال القطاع، وفي جنوب القطاع، وكان آخرها المشاهد البطولية في الشجاعة وجباليا وغيرهما، بما في ذلك العمليات البطولية المشتركة بين كتائب القسام وأخوانهم في سرايا القدس. هذا الصمود الأسطوري والمقاومة الباسلة أنشأت تفاعلات لها ما بعده، حتى باتت تحالفات العدو على المحك. وقد توقفتنا خلال الساعات الماضية امام مواقف دوليه وغربيه لاقته سيكون لها تأثيراتها على المدى القريب والبعيد. ان كل روح أزهقت لطفل او طفلة رجلا او امرأة كباراً او صغاراً وكل دمعة نزلت من عين أم أو أب أو طفل، هي دموع غالية، وكل بيت هدم، وكل أمل او حلم دمرته الهجمات الصهيونية الهمجية، وكل معاناة من جوع وعطش ونقص في الأموال والأنفس والثمرات، ستبقى محفورة في ذاكرتنا، لا يمكن نسيانها او التسامح مع مرتكبيها في أي حال وتحت أي ظرف. وسيدفع العدو المجرم ثمن كل ذلك مهما طال الزمن. وأني أقبل رأس كل فرد من افراد شعبنا وخاصة عوائل الشهداء وجرحانا الميامين. وسنبقى الأوفياء الى أهلنا ولجميع أبناء شعبنا من الايتام والنكالي واهالي الشهداء الأبرار. ونحن في قيادة الحركة نبذل مع الجميع بما في ذلك المؤسسات الدولية جهوداً مكثفه من اجل سرعه اغائه شعبنا والتخفيف من معاناته. ولان الاحتلال لم

يقتصر على الحرب ضد شعبنا في غزة بل يكثف من جرائمه وقتله واغتياالاته في الضفة والقدس، ويمارس ابشع انواع العنصرية ضد شعبنا في ال 48، ويستهدف ابنائنا في الشتات، فان ذلك ليؤكد ان الشعب الفلسطيني في كل أماكن تواجدته كان ولازال هدفا مباشرا للاحتلال وارهابه وعدوانه. وانطلاقا من كل ذلك فإننا ندعو شعوب أمتنا العربية والإسلامية لتوسيع مساحة فعلها بما يتناسب مع حجم هذا العدوان وحجم هذه التضحيات، حتى لا يسجل التاريخ ان أمة يزيد عددها على المليار ونصف المليار لم تبذل كل ما في وسعها لتتجد جزءاً عزيزاً من أبنائها نهض مجاهداً من أجل تحرير أرضه ودفاعاً عن مقدسات الأمة وكرامتها مع تقديرنا لكل ما سبق من الجهود والفعاليات. وهنا نتوقف بكل احترام وتقدير أمام الحراك الشعبي الدولي نصره لفلسطين وشعبها في مختلف مدن وعواصم العالم على مستوى الجماهير او النخب السياسية والفكرية والإعلامية، وكذلك لكل الذين يساندون المعركة بطريقتهم الخاصة من خارج فلسطين. كما وأود الإشادة بموقف الدول الاعضاء في لجنة المتابعة السباعية المنبثقة عن القمة العربية الإسلامية الاستثنائية برئاسة المملكة العربية السعودية على جهودهم السياسي والدبلوماسي من أجل وقف العدوان ومساندة شعبنا. كما ونعبر عن تقديرنا لمواقف الأمين العام للأمم المتحدة انطونيو غوتيرش، وخاصة رسالته لمجلس الأمن حول الاوضاع في الأراضي الفلسطينية، باعتبارها تشكل تهديداً للأمن والسلم الدوليين، وذلك تفعيلاً للمادة (99) من النظام الأساسي لميثاق الأمم المتحدة، وقدم بناء عليه مشروع قرار لوقف إطلاق النار غير انه اصطدم مثل سابقه بالفيتو الأمريكي. كما أننا نرحب بالقرار الذي صدر عن الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة أمس، والذي ينص على وقف إطلاق النار بأغلبية ساحقة. نحن على يقين أن العدوان العاشم سوف ينتهي وستبقى المقاومة حارساً أميناً على حقوق شعبنا وتطلعاته المشروعة. وفي الوقت ذاته نؤكد أننا منفتحون على نقاش أية أفكار أو مبادرات يمكن أن تفضي الى وقف العدوان، وتفتح الباب على ترتيب البيت الفلسطيني على مستوى الضفة والقطاع، وكافة مرجعياته الوطنية، وصولاً الى المسار السياسي الذي يؤمن حق الشعب الفلسطيني في دولته المستقلة وعاصمتها القدس. واقول ان أي رهان على ترتيبات في غزة أو في القضية الفلسطينية عامة دون حماس وفصائل المقاومة هي وهمّ وسراب، هي وهمّ وسراب، هي وهمّ وسراب. وأنني من موقع المسؤولية التاريخية أدعو الدول العربية والإسلامية الى التحرك في موقف حازم لإسناد شعبنا في معركته، واستخدام كل الأوراق والخيارات لوقف هذا العدوان الذي يهدف فيما يهدف الى خلخلة الأمن القومي العربي والاستقرار في كل المنطقة. وأخيراً: أؤكد للجميع أننا صامدون ومقاومنا مقتدرة وشعبنا ثابت مجاهد، ونحن على ثقة ان الاحتلال الى زوال بإذن الله وأقول لأهلنا في غزة الذين يعيشون تحت القصف وفي الخيام وأماكن النزوح والذين تزدحم بهم البيوت ويشيعون الشهداء ويضمدون الجرحى ويعيشون بين الأمل والأمل أنه وفي في ظل صمودكم الأسطوري، ومقاومتنا الباسلة والتطورات والمستجدات على المستوى الإقليمي والدولي وفي ظل حراكنا السياسي مع الأشقاء والأصدقاء، فإننا نرى إن هذه المعركة البطولية تقترب من نهايتها المشرفة وصدق الله القائل، ولو

قاتلكم الذين كفروا لولوا الأديار ثم لا يجدون ولياً ولا نصيراً سنة الله التي قد خلت من قبل ولن تجد لسنة الله تبديلاً صدق

الله العظيم والسلام عليكم ورحمه الله وبركاته.

Appendices of Collected Data(9-15): it includes all possible examples of intertextual allusions in Haniya’s selected speeches. and their translation into the English language.

Appendix 9:

Examples of Religious Intertextual Allusions	Haniyah’s Selected Speeches
<p>Example 1: <u><i>Allah is Great. No one is God except Allah. Allah is Great and Praise is due to Allah. Allah is Great. Much praise is due to Allah. Praise Allah at the beginning of the day and the end of the day. No one is God except Allah. He fulfilled His promise and gave Victory to His slave. He strengthened His soldiers and He alone defeated the Ahzab</i></u>(Translation of ‘Takbirat of Id’ by Association of Islamic Charitable Projects in the USA, from: https://www.aicp.org/index.php/islamic-information/text/english/70-takbirat-of-id . . . Today you are on a date with the great victory and clear conquest. On Gaza pride front, ‘Al-Aqsa Flood’ started</p>	[Haniyah-1]
<p>Example2: <i>You were defeated on the battle of ‘<u>Glorious</u> October 7’. (My own translation)</i></p> <p>Repeated in: <i>“Today, we stand before these enormous and terrible repercussions of the strategic defeat that the Zionist enemy suffered at the battle of ‘<u>Glorious</u> October 7’ ” (Haniyeh, October 14, 2023).</i> <i>“On the 20th day of this Glorious battle, that changes the face of history, and will write the glorious history of our people and ummah”(Haniyah, 26th October, 2023).</i></p>	[Haniyah-6]
<p>Example 3:</p>	[Haniyah-1]

<p>Today you are on a date with the great victory and <u>clear conquest</u>. On Gaza pride front, <i>Al-Aqsa flood</i> started</p>	
<p>Example 4: <i>On Gaza pride front, <u>'Al-Aqsa flood'</u> started, at the hands of Al-Qassam Brigades, the resistance factions, and our people.(repeated many times in the selected speeches)</i> Examples of repeated allusions: <i>* I highly appreciate this movement and <u>mass flood</u>. And, I call for its continuation. (Haniyah, October 14, 2023). * We should not keep moving in the same place, at all levels. A <u>'flood'</u> must continue (Haniyeh, October 26, 2023).(My own translation)</i></p>	[Haniyah-1]
<p>Example 5: <i>On Gaza pride front, <u>Al-Aqsa</u> flood started.</i></p>	[Haniyah-1]
<p>Example 6: <i>Who could have imagined . . . This courage and generosity are from(My own translation) believers <u>men, who have been true to Their Covenant with God: Of them some have completed Their vow(to the extreme), And some (still) wait: But they have never changed(Their determination) in the least</u></i></p>	[Haniyah-1]
<p>Example 7: <i>They are Servants of God Almighty, they stormed in and <u>entered the very inmost parts</u> of your homes of our occupied land, in Gaza borders area and further afield... How great you are! O men of faith, O men of Al-Qassam, O men of Gaza.</i></p>	[Haniyah-1]
<p>Example 8: <i>They are Servants of God Almighty, they stormed in and entered the very inmost parts of your homes of our occupied land, in Gaza borders area and</i></p>	[Haniyah-1]

<p><i>further afield(my own translation) . . . <u>Help from God and a speedy victory</u>”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022)</i></p>	
<p>Example 9: <i>But as God Almighty said: “ <u>It is He Who go out The Unbelievers among The People of the Book From their homes At the first gathering (Of the forces). Little did ye think That they would get out: And they thought That their fortresses Would defend them from God! But the (Warth of) God Came to them from quarters From which they little Expected (it), and cast Terror into their hearts, So that they destroyed Their dwellings by their own Hands and the hands Of the Believers. Take warning, then, O ye with eyes(to see)!</u>”</i></p>	[Haniyah-1]
<p>Example 10: <i><u>Morning is their appointed</u>(Yusuf Ali’s translation, 1937). And, we tell them Allah’s saying: “<u>Is not the morning nigh?</u>”(Yusuf Ali’s translation, 2022). This morning was the sun of victory and glory for our people, ummah(nation), and the free people of the world. And, it was the morning of defeat, and humiliation, for our enemy, his settlements, settlers, and soldiers.(Haniyah, 7th October, 2023)(My own translation)</i></p>	[Haniyah-1]
<p>Example 11: <i>Therefore, I appeal to all people of this nation, regardless of their geography and presence, to engage, each in their own way(My own translation), . . .<u>And, not to be among those whom God Almighty said about whom God hates.” “Their resurrection was discouraged, and it was said, ‘Sit with those who remained behind(Yusuf Ali’s translation,2022) ”</u> (Haniyah,7th October, 2023)</i></p>	[Haniyah-1]
<p>Example 12: <i>Without hesitation, <u>this is the word that distinguishes (Good From Evil).</u> Our goal is clear. That is, we want to liberate our land, sanctities, Al-Aqsa, and prisoners”(Haniyah, 7th October, 2023.)(My own translation)</i></p>	[Haniyah-1]

<p>Example 13: <i>And, God willing, we will meet in the land of Palestine, Jerusalem, and the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque. Then, they ask you(my own translation): <u>‘When will that be?’ Say, may be it will be quiet soon!</u></i>(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022).</p>	[Haniyah-1]
<p>Example 14: <i>O Gaza . . . <u>“God hath purchased of the Believers Their persons and their goods; For their (in return) Is the Garden(of Paradise): They fight in His Cause, And slay and are slain: A promise binding on Him In Truth, through the law, The Gospel, and the Qur’an: And who is more faithful To his Covenant than God? Then rejoice in the bargain Which ye have concluded: That is the achievement supreme”</u></i>(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali,2022).</p>	[Haniyah-1]
<p>Example 15: <u>There is no help of hope Except from God: And God is Exalted in Power, Wise</u>(Yusuf Ali’s translation, 2022).<i>Today, we stand before these enormous and terrible repercussions of the strategic defeat that the Zionist enemy suffered at the battle of ‘Glorious October 7’ ”</i> (Haniyeh, October 14, 2023). (My own translation)</p>	[Haniyah-2]
<p>Example 16: <i>This lie and deception will soon be revealed in the face of the values of the ‘mujahideen’(fighters), the nobility of the knights, and the morals of the Palestinian horseman(my own translation), . . . <u>And God Hath full power and control Over His affairs, but most Among mankind know it not</u></i></p>	[Haniyah-2]
<p>Example 17: <u>So lose not heart nor fall into despair: for ye must gain mastery if ye are true in faith.</u> <i>If a wound Hath touched you be sure a similar wound hath touched the others. Such days(of varying fortunes) We give to men and men by turns: that God may know those that believe and that He may take to Himself from</i></p>	

<p><i>your ranks martyr-witnesses (to Truth). And God loveth no those that wrong(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022).</i></p>	
<p>Example 18:</p> <p><i>So lose not heart nor fall into despair: for ye must gain mastery if ye are true in faith. <u>If a wound Hath touched you be sure a similar wound hath touched the others. Such days(of varying fortunes) We give to men and men by turns: that God may know those that believe and that He may take to Himself from your ranks martyr-witnesses (to Truth). And God loveth no those that wrong</u>(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022).</i></p>	[Haniyah-3]
<p>Example 19:</p> <p><i><u>And slacken not in following up the enemy: if Ye are suffering hardships they are suffering similar hardships; but ye have hope from God while they none. And God is full of knowledge and wisdom</u></i>”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali,2022)</p>	[Haniyah-3]
<p>Example 20:</p> <p><i>O people of Gaza, O you who are martyrs at every moment, O you who bring out martyrs <u>in groups</u>(repeated twice) to the Most Merciful(Allah) as a delegation, do not despair or be sad.</i></p>	[Haniyah-3]
<p>Example 21:</p> <p><i>O people of Gaza, O you who are martyrs at every moment, O you who bring out martyrs in groups(repeated twice) to the Most Merciful(Allah) as a <u>delegation</u>, do not despair or be sad.</i></p>	[Haniyah-3]
<p>Example 22:</p> <p><i>And say not of those who are slain in the way of God: “They are dead.” Nay they are living though ye perceive(it) not. O ye who believes! Seek help with</i></p>	[Haniyah-3]

<p><i>perseverance and prayer: for God is with those who patiently persevere”</i> (The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022).</p>	
<p>Example 23: <i>They do not respect values, customs, or laws. Why not! And, they are the ones who <u>killed the prophets! They killed those who commanded justice.</u> They dared to transgress Allah’s limits in the land, holy places, the Palestinian people, and ummah (the nation)</i></p>	[Haniyah-3]
<p>Example 24: <i>We will be victorious, God willing (my own translation). <u>(It is) the promise of God. Never does God depart From His promise to His saints and servants. And it was due from us To aid those who believed</u>”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). Peace and blessings upon you</i></p>	[Haniyah-4]
<p>Example 25: <i>And, the resistance, led by Al-Qassam, continues its strikes, guarding its borders for 20 days, . . . Go ahead. God Almighty is our protector and there is no one to protect them(my own translation). <u>That is because God Is the Protector of those Who believe, but Those who reject God Have no protector</u>”(The Holy Qur’an translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022)</i></p>	[Haniyah-5]
<p>Example 26: <i>We also assure you that all the people of the ummah (the nation) are eager and motivated to participate in this glorious battle(my own translation), . . . <u>And soon will the unjust Assailants know what vicissitudes Their affairs will take!</u>”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022)</i></p>	[Haniyah-6]
<p>Example 27: <i>I salute you, Gaza leadership . . . They, along with all their steadfast people, are the makers of glory(my own translation). <u>And the End is (best) For the righteous</u>”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022)</i></p>	[Haniyah-7]
<p>Example 28: <u>Allah Almighty has spoken the truth: “Only those are Believers Who have believed in God And His Apostle, and have Never since doubted, but Have striven with their Belongings and their persons In the Cause of God: Such are the sincere ones</u>”(The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022). <i>Our</i></p>	[Haniyah-8]

<p>great Mujahid people and their valiant resistance continue to present bright imagery of jihad(fighting the enemy), struggle, and legendary steadfastness .</p> <p>..</p>	
<p>Example 29:</p> <p>Each hope or deam, which was destroyed by the barbaric Zionist attacks, as well as all <u>suffering from something of hunger, thirst, or loss of money, lives, or fruits</u>, will remain etched in our memory . . . The enemy criminals will pay the price for all that, however long it takes(my own translation)</p>	[Haniyah-8]
<p>Example 30:</p> <p>We see that this heroic battle is coming to an honourable end. Allah Almighty has spoken the truth(my own translation): <u>“If the Unbelievers Should fight you, they Certainly turn their backs; Then would they find Neither protector nor helper. (Such has been) the practice (Approved) of God already In the past: no change Wilt thou find in The practice (approved) of God”</u> ” (The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022).</p>	[Haniyah-8]
<p>Example 31:</p> <p>We see that this heroic battle is coming to an honourable end. Allah Almighty has spoken the truth(my own translation): <u>“If the Unbelievers Should fight you, they Certainly turn their backs; Then would they find Neither protector nor helper. (Such has been) the practice (Approved) of God already In the past: no change Wilt thou find in The practice (approved) of God”</u> ” (The Holy Qur’an Translation by Yusuf Ali, 2022).</p>	[Haniyah-8]

Appendix 10:

Examples of Historical Intertextual Allusions	Haniyah's Selected Speeches
<p>Example 1: <i><u>There were four prisoners</u>, and you did not want to respond to intermediaries or calls, . . . <u>Now look at your prisoners, and look at this number that has become at the hands of Al-Qassam and the resistance(my own translation)</u></i></p>	[Haniyah-1]
<p>Example 2 <i>They dared to transgress Allah's limits and boundaries in the land of Palestine, its sanctities, Palestinians, and ummah. They are the same ones who committed the massacre of Al- Al-Mamadani Hospital. They committed <u>'Sabra and Shatila'...</u></i></p>	[Haniyah-3]
<p>Example3: <i>They dared to transgress Allah's limits and boundaries in the land of Palestine, its sanctities, Palestinians, and ummah. They are the same ones who committed the massacre of Al- Al-Mamadani Hospital. They committed 'Sabra and Shatila',as well as <u>'Bahr El-Baqar' School massacres</u></i></p>	[Haniyah-3]
<p>Example 4: <i>land of Palestine, its sanctities, Palestinians, and ummah. They are the same ones who committed the massacre of Al- Al-Mamadani Hospital. They committed 'Sabra and Shatila', as well as 'Bahr El-Baqar' School massacres. They are the ones who <u>killed the Egyptian prisoners of the army.</u></i></p>	[Haniyah-3]
<p>Example 5: <i>I call on everyone... to stop the aggression against Gaza, to stop this war against our children, women, elderly, mosques, universities, and homes. Stop this brutal aggression. Stop this Holocaust, the <u>new Holocaust</u>, which the Zionist occupation army is practicing against our people”(my own translation)</i></p>	[Haniyah-5]
<p>Example 6:</p>	[Haniyah-6]

<i>With steadfastness and clinging to their homeland, our people thwarted the enemy's plans with a new Nakba(catastrophe) of displacement and diaspora(my own translation)</i>	
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Appendix 11:

Examples of Cultural Intertextual Allusions	Haniyah's Selected Speeches
<p>Example 1: <i>My brothers and sisters, we have warned the whole world about this fascist government, which unleashed the settlers to wreak havoc in Al-Aqsa Mosque and Jerusalem. And, we told them not to play with fire, and cross the red line, but they deafened their ears and blinded their eyes(my own translation)</i></p>	[Haniyah-1]
<p>Example 2: <i>That is synchronized with the ongoing aggression against our people there . . . They did not care. Yes, there is resistance in the West Bank. Rather, they hit them back twice as hard and carried out heroic operations This is our people(my own translation)</i></p>	[Haniyah-1]
<p>Example 3: <i>Gaza, O Jamal al-Mahamel(Camel of heavy Burdens). . . Greetings to you, brave people, despite the brutality and war of genocide practiced by the enemy . . . 20 days, and the resistance, led by Al-Qassam, continues its strikes, guarding its borders(my own translation)</i></p>	[Haniyah-5]
<p>Example 4: <i>The movement welcomes the ongoing good offices and efforts to end the Zionist aggression against our people . . . And, the release, under the Armistice Agreement, of female prisoners and children from enemy prisons, is 'Awwal alghyth qtr thuma vanhamero'</i></p>	[Haniyah-7]

Appendix 12:

Examples of Political Intertextual Allusions	Haniyah's Selected Speeches
<p>Example 1: <i>And it is a jihad, a <u>'jihad of victory or martyrdom'</u>, and peace and blessings be upon you</i></p>	[Haniyah-2]
<p>Example 2: <i>Today, this enemy, unfortunately, is doing this with the support of the American administration and some Western countries, based on <u>double standards</u>, hypocrisy, and adopting false narratives and misinformation, which they have withdrawn from, by the way!"(my own translation)</i></p>	[Haniyah-2]
<p>Example 3: <i>These crimes, which are being pursued by the entire world, restate the nature of this brutal, <u>fascist, murderous, and Nazi enemy</u>(my own translation)</i></p>	[Haniyah-4]
<p>Example 4: <i><u>No to displacement or an alternative homeland</u>". In this respect, we praise Arab and Islamic positions, especially Egypt, because the talk is that the people <u>of Gaza will move to Egypt and later the people of the West Bank will move to Jordan</u>. I also call for supporting this position, and I call for embracing this position and remaining firm on it (my own translation)</i></p>	[Haniyah-4]

Appendix 13:

Examples of Legal Intertextual Allusions	Haniyah's Selected Speeches
<p>Example 1:</p> <p><i>They are trying to demonize the image of this giant movement whose culture, resistance, and literature are based on our religion, jurisprudence, law, values, and the morals of our people. Hamas has always emphasised that it does not target civilians, adults, or children, despite what this Zionist enemy is doing . . . It <u>is a national liberation movement</u> that belongs to these values and this culture”(my own translation)</i></p> <p>Examples of repeated allusions:</p> <p><i>* I call on all presidents, leaders, thought leaders and opinion-makers to affirm, clearly and frankly, the legitimacy of the resistance on the blessed land of Palestine as well as the legitimacy of the Islamic resistance movement Hamas, and all resistance movements on the land of Palestine, that they are <u>national liberation movements</u> seeking to liberate their land, homeland, and people(My own translation)(Haniyah,29th October, 2023)</i></p> <p><i>* Our people are fighting the <u>national liberation</u> battle on a solid front in Gaza, Jerusalem, and all their locations”(my own translation)(Haniya,24th November,2023)</i></p>	[Haniyah-2]
<p>Example 2:</p> <p><i>Al-Qassam will defeat this occupier. It will defeat this enemy and the <u>law of the jungle</u>, that some want to entrench in reality . . . Therefore, I salute all the voices, courageous and bold positions that clearly declared this legitimacy and right to practice the legitimate resistance, which is <u>guaranteed by all international norms, laws, as well as Islamic and heavenly laws</u></i></p>	[Haniyah-4]
<p>Example 3:</p>	[Haniyah-8]

<p><i>We also express our appreciation for the position of the Secretary-General of the United Nations; Antonio Guterish, especially his letter to the Security Council regarding the situation in the Palestinian territories, as it poses a threat to international peace and security. This is in the implementation of Article 99 of the Statute of the United Nations Charter. Accordingly, he presented a draft ceasefire resolution. However, it clashed. Like his predecessors, he had the American veto(my own translation)</i></p>	
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Appendix 14:

Examples of Mythological Intertextual Allusions	Haniyah's Selected Speeches
<p>Example: <i>With full pride, today we stand up to this brave resistance on the land of Gaza, extending to all the land of Palestine, which began writing this history with Al-Aqsa flood. . . This resistance, which emerges at every hour and moment, is like Anqa (a phoenix) strike everywhere in the heart of this criminal Zionist entity, which could not and its cowardly army could not confront these brave, heroic men</i></p>	[Haniyah-3]

Appendix 15:

Examples of Literary Intertextual Allusions	Haniyah's Selected Speeches
<p>Example: <i>I salute our people in Gaza . . . clinging to their homes and mosques. I salute those marches that took place yesterday, under bombardment and aircraft, to cheer for all the resistance factions, and to confirm that 'we are in our homeland as long as Thyme and Olives are here(my own translation)</i></p>	[Haniyah-2]