Political Ideologies in the Normalization Discourse of the Washington Post

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Abstract:

Ideologies have great impact on the way discourse makers deliver their speeches. It is through the mean of shared knowledge of ideology we understand each other and perceive the discourse of our leaders and media outlets. The present paper, however, closely investigates the discourse of normalization between Israel and the UAE within the *Washington Post* newspaper in an attempt to uncover the political ideologies embedded in that discourse. It is conducted on the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis. Furthermore, van Dijk's (2000) strategies of conducting ideological analysis were employed to meet that objective. The strategies proved to be helpful devices in exploring the fundamentally embedded ideologies in the course which are **Support of president Trump, Mutual Benefit** (of the normalizing states)**, Support of Republicans and Electoral support.**

Keywords: (Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology and the Political Discourse of normalization).

أيديولوجيات سياسية في خطاب التطبيع في صحيفة الواشنطن بوست

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الملخص:

للأفكار تأثير كبير على الطريقة التي يلقي بها صانعو الخطاب خطاباتهم. من خلال المعرفة المتبادلة والمشتركة للأيديولوجيات، نحن نفهم بعضنا البعض ونستسيغ خطابات السياسيين والقادة ووسائل الإعلام. على أية حال، فأن الدراسة الانية تبحث عن قرب في خطاب التطبيع بين إسرائيل والإمارات في صحيفة الواشنطن بوست في محاولة للكشف عن الأيديولوجيات السياسية الخفية التي يتضمنها هذا الخطاب. الدراسة تم

إجراؤه على نهج تحليل الخطاب النقدي. علاوة على ذلك ، تم توظيف استراتيجيات فان ديك (٢٠٠٠) لإجراء التحليل الأيديولوجي من اجل تحقيق هذا الهدف. أثبتت هذه الاستراتيجيات أنها أدوات لغوية مفيدة في اضهار تلك الأيديولوجيات الضمنية وهي: دعم الرئيس ترامب والمنفعة المتبادلة (للدول المطبعة)، ودعم الجمهوريين، والدعم الانتخابي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: (تحليل الخطاب النقدي، الأيديولوجيا والخطاب السياسي للتطبيع.)

1. Introduction.

It was the French scholar Antoine Destutt de Tracy (1745-1836) who originally coined the term ideoogie in his writing about the French Revolution. His aim was to establish a new branch of studies that is concerned with ideas and beliefs. McLellan (1986, P. 6) defines ideology as "a new science of ideas, an idea-logy, which would be the ground of all other sciences". This new academic direction offers the possibility of investigating a society's beliefs with the aid of tools hold the characteristics of a natural science (Freeden, 2003, P.4). Thus, ideology has been initiated first as 'meta-science'; a science of science (ibid, P.4).

The 1990s of the last century have witnessed the flourishing of CDA researches, studies and theories. Undoubtedly, the theory of ideology is considered as one of the bases of CDA analysis. Fairclough's conceptualization of ideology is the construction of reality which contributes to the production and transformation of relations and domination. Ideologies embedded in discursive practices are most effective and successful when they achieve status of common sense. According to Fairclough, ideology is articulated through language and, at the same time, language shapes ideologies to certain extent (Fairclough, 1992, P.87). He

sees ideologies as representations of the world which help in establishing and maintaining "relations of power, domination and exploitation" (Fairclough, 2003, P.218).

Similarly, Wodak defines ideology as "rather the more hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs, which often appear disguised as conceptual metaphors and analogies… Dominant ideologies appear as 'neutral' holding on to assumptions that stay largely unchallenged" (Wodak and Mayer, 2009, P.8). She examines the nature of ideology through the lens of social structure. For Wodak, ideology is often the perspective or the view of the world which is composed by related attitudes, opinion constructions and mental representation shared by members of a particular social group. She, like all CDA scholars, sees discourse as substantial in establishing and maintaining unequal power of ideologies. Therefore, her DHA (Discourse Historical Approach) seeks to unveil "the hegemony of specific discourses" by decoding of discourse ideologies (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, P.88).

Finally, van Dijk (1988, P. 8) defines ideology as "the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group". Dominant ideologies of a given society seem stable and rampant. Hegemony appears when most people in a society take certain matters for granted and show no signs of discontent or consider alternatives or grow doubtful. In this context, ideologies might be seen as "world views" or representations of the social world (van Dijk, 1993, P. 285).

Although the concept of ideology has been presented differently by critical discourse analysts (Hoshan, 2021), there seems to be consensus about the potential force of ideology for establishing different world views (Lassen, 2006).

2. **Research Questions.**

- What are the ideological themes hidden in the discourse of normalization of the *New York Times?*

- What are the main linguistic strategies employed to establish that themes?

3. **Research Objectives.**

- Uncovering the hidden the ideological themes in the *New York Times* as far as the discourse of normalization is concerned.

- Highlighting essential linguistic strategies employed to establish an ideologically-loaded discourse.

4. **Related Literature.**

The origins of CDA can be attributed to the work of a number of scholars in different disciplines: Althusser's (1971) work on ideology, Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) theory of genre and intertextuality, Foucault's (1971, 1972) studies on orders of discourse, and Habermans's (1985) and Habermans and Shapiro's (1971) works on critical theory. According to Wodak and Meyer (2011, P. 1), "The manifold roots of CDA lie in Rhetoric, Text Linguistics, Anthropology, Philosophy, Socio-Psychology, Cognitive Science, Literary Studies and Sociolinguistics, as well as in Applied

Linguistics and Pragmatics.". Van Dijk (2007) argues that the period of 1970s is considered the first real appearance of CDA. He particularly sees that CDA was introduced in 1979 by Fowler, Kress, Hodge and Trew (1979) in their *Language and Control.* Those scholars based their framework on Haliday's model of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to highlight the relationship between linguistic structure and social structure. In their discussion of *Language and Control,* Baker and Ellece (2011, P. 192) state that "The book's three aims are to show how (1) language is used in order to embody specific views of reality, (2) linguistic variation reflects and expresses structural social differences and (3) language use is part of social process". Furthermore, Kress and Hodge (1979, P. 13) emphasize that "language should be more seen properly as the medium of consciousness for a society, its frames of consciousness externalized. Linguistics, then, is an exceptionally subtle instrument for the analysis of consciousness and its ideological bases". Afterwards, Johnston (2014) states that CDA has witnessed a second wave of development through the work of Fairclough (1985-1992), van Dijk (1993) and Wodak (1996). The works of those scholars focus on investigating discourse as a social practice and it is ideologically-oriented.

Although it is associated with the British and the European schools of social sciences, the roots of CDA could also be traced back in the American linguistics and anthropology (Adams, 1999; Johnston, 2014). In her (1999) *Critical Linguistics*, Adams compares the traditions of the

American school of critical linguistics with the traditions of critical linguistics in Europe. She arguably states that insights of language as social practice are also found in the American traditions of critical linguistics. Some of which even preceded the critical approaches in Europe. In order to research the linguistic features in critical linguistics, Adams compares the work of the American linguist Dwight Bolinger (1973-1980) with the work of Fowler and Kress (1979).

The crucial role that discourses play in a society has also been pointed out by Fairclough (1989). In this regard, he states that CDA investigates discourses for the aim to uncover the hidden ideologies and relations of power. Huckin (1995, P. 95) adds that CDA closely analyzes a discourse's wider network of social actor, institutions and context to better understand what is common among them, and more importantly to understand the relationships among these elements with "the aim of improving society". However, the main objectives of CDA have been laid down by Fairclough and Wodak (1997):

1. CDA tackles social problems.
2. Discourse is a form of social action.
3. Discourse analysis explains and interprets texts.
4. Discourse mediates text and society.
5. Discourse is historical [context is crucial].
6. Discourse is ideologically-oriented.
7. Discourse is a reflection of culture and society.

8. The relations of power are discursive.

According to Gee (2014, P. 9), "Discourse analysis needs to be critical, not because discourse analysts are or need to be political, but because language itself is political". More significantly, Gee argues that the use of language obtains its meaning from practice. Thus, the meaning of discourse, which comes from practice, influences societies. Accordingly, CDA practitioners are tempted to question discourse within society.

Van Dijk's theoretical approach during the 1980s has contributed most to the critical studies in the field of media discourse. His socio-cognitive model, which has been developed during this period, could be summarized in the theoretical triangle: discourse, cognition and society (van Dijk, 2001b, P.98). According to this approach, one's cognition (individual or group) mediates the relationship between textual structure (discourse) and social structure (society) (ibid, P.97).

Van Dijk's (1988a, 1988b, 1991) studies on the issue of racism in the Western press combines both qualitative and quantitative analysis to examine discourses linguistically as well as social practices. Van Dijk (1998a, P. 2) believes that "discourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogic structure. Rather it is a complex communicative event that also embodies a social context, featuring participants and their properties". What is really interesting in van Dijk's CDA approach is his analysis being conducted on microstructure level and macrostructure level (also called micro and macro semantics). He argues that the relationship between

textual structure and the process of news making by journalists within social context cannot be realized unless a discourse is investigated both micro and macro structurally (van Dijk, 1988b, P 26).

People, according to van Dijk (2007b), are bounded to their ideologies. Accordingly, their social practices are under the constant influence of these ideologies. For him, discourse is the most obvious example of social practice that is shaped, influenced and reproduced by one's ideologies. His theoretical framework is set to highlight a discourse's expressed ideologies and/or to trace and uncover implicit ideologies (Faris, 2018). Therefore, van Dijk's triplite approach of socio-cognitive involves the examination of discourse, cognition and society. Firstly, discourse covers the cluster of language in use (talk, text, and verbal and non-verbal communication). Secondly, the notion of cognition implies the ideological system of beliefs, values assumptions opinions and knowledge. Thirdly, the notion of society is clustered around the social, historical, political and cultural aspects of ideologies.

In his discussions on racist and anti-racist ideologies in the speeches of members of the British House of Commons, van Dijk (2000) suggests a number of categories for conducting ideological analyses. These categories, according to van Dijk, are not only limited to the racism-related discourse, but rather they are applicable to various kinds of political discourses. More specifically, in his *Ideology and Discourse: A Multidisciplinary Introduction (2000)* van Dijk suggests 38 categories for uncovering a

discourse's hidden ideologies. These categories are alphabetically-ordered, starting from 1. ACTOR DESCRIPTION and ending with 38. VICTIMAZATION.
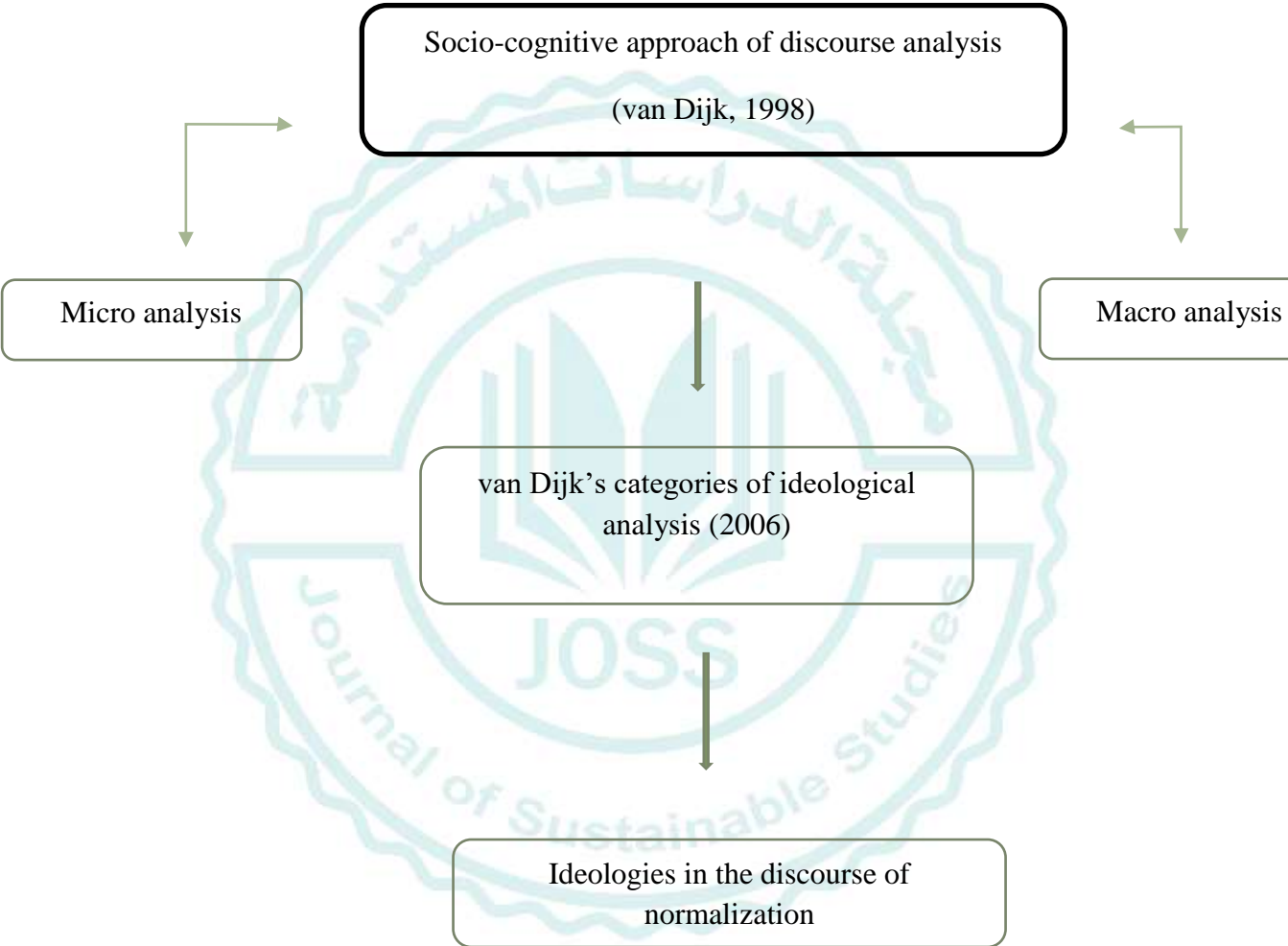

Figure 1. Theoretical Framework of the Study

5. Methodology.

The present study attempts to highlight the interconnection between discourse, ideology and politics. It is qualitative in nature and it reflects on the premises of Critical Discourse Analysis as a method of data analysis. The present paper is also orientated towards a selection of material which can be done manually. The linguistic units of analysis in this study are words, phrases, clauses, sentences, and the total speech situation. Discourse analysis according to Stubbs (1983) is an attempt to examine how language use can be employed in various social contexts to establish ideologies. It is supposed to decode the meaning of words, phrases, and clauses that a sentence is composed of and to go beyond the limits of sentence to tackle the whole text in connection to the outer world.

For the ideological analysis, van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (1998) and van Dijk's (2000) Political Ideological Strategies were conducted. The main criterion of data collection was to gather articles of the *New York Times* during a historical period of time in which Arabs reestablish diplomatic relations with Israel. Accordingly, the sampling of the study is selected from the newspaper's coverage of these normalization agreements.

6. Results and Discussions.

Excerpts from the given discourse of the *Washington Post* are analyzed and discussed in terms of ideological strategies lexicalization, Situation Explanation, Generalization, Implication and Actor Description. Whereas,

micro semantic analysis and macro thematic analysis are conducted following van Dijk's (1998) of socio-cognitive approach.

Excerpt 1: Lexicalization.

Israel and the United Arab Emirates agreed Thursday to end **decades of enmity** in a historic **deal** announced by president Trump that would put Israel annexation of West Bank lands on a hold as a condition of normalizing relations.

In the above excerpt readers can clearly observe that the Washington Post describes this agreement as an end of era of hostility and antagonism between the normalizing states. This three-line sentence reiterates the significance of the move and the essential and vital role played by the U.S president Donald Trump in achieving normalization. In addition, the excerpt refers to the benefit that the UAE would get out of this deal. The all-win agreement will add the UAE on the short list of Israel's friends in the region and promote the gulf nation as a peace maker for its major contribution in halting the land annexation in the West Bank.

To emphasize the theme of two foe nations eventually came to peace, the WP employs words like **decades, enmity and deal** which are all nouns that would render actions into things (nominalization), and these things will hardly change over time. According to Payne (2006, P.94), "The class of nouns in any language includes words that refer to highly bounded or individuated entities…. These are concepts that tend not to change very much over time and which can be referred to repeatedly in discourse as the same thing".

Excerpt 2: Positive-self representation.

Trump **heralded** the deal as a major development for **a region that has been beset by violence for decades** over the issue of Israel's place in the Middle East and **whether it can coexist peacefully with its Arab neighbors.**
The agreement also serves as a major foreign policy victory for Trump just months before Election Day at a time when polls show him trailing presumptive Democratic nominee Joe Biden, who has touted his decades of foreign policy experience in the Senate and as vice president.

In the above excerpt, the Washington Post welcomes this significant breakthrough in the region. Semantically and cognitively speaking, the verb **'herald'** indicates social action totally different from that of 'announce. Payne (2006, P. 116) maintains that verbs could be words that cause change in the physical world, such as "cook, break and die", and could be verbs of manipulation such as "urge, make, prohibit, ask, etc." that motivate, urge or force someone to do something.

Furthermore, the excerpt shows implicitly the uniqueness of the move and the benefit and the fruitful outcomes that this deal may bring about to the two nations and to the whole region. The Washington Post emphasizes this positive atmosphere by reminding its readers of the years of conflicts and turmoil and how the region was just like a war zone before this deal has been realized. The Washington Post reflects on the once an unattainable dream that has come true which is the peaceful living of Israel with its Arab neighbors, **whether it can coexist peacefully with its Arab neighbors**.

Donald. J, Trump (Republican) served as the 45th president for the U.S, and the first one who survived two impeachments. His four years in office (2016-2020) have been marked by tensions and sometimes even war of words between his administration and the international allies of America, particularly the NATO allies. Trump's controversial foreign policy such as dis-functioning of the US-Iran nuclear deal and withdrawing from Paris accord of climate change led many European nations (and North American) to lose trust and faith in this "narcist maniac character" (Biden, 2019 presidential primaries-Ohio). On the national arena, Trump's fiery statements and speeches, and sometimes racist, created more polarizing and divided American society. His pro-white supremacist stance and defending of the NRA (National Rifle Association) only widened the gap between Democrats and Republicans and increased the rift between the two parties.

The Israeli-UAE normalization of ties, however, was signed almost three months to the 2020 U.S presidential election. The Washington Post newspaper seems to be, through this publication, promoting implicitly Trump's campaign over his democratic rival Joe Biden. Because at the end of the day whatever administration's success is the success of the United States of America and its global interest and national security. The Washington Post implies that the previous administrations of the U.S stood short-handed or unable to bring Israel and its Arab enemies in the region to the negotiating table, **a region that has been beset by violence for decades**. But that administration of president Trump succeeded in bringing

factions to talks and signing an agreement, **The agreement also serves as a major foreign policy victory for Trump just months before Election Day**.

This 'major' achievement for the Trump administration will of course boost morals and will also be a decisive factor in gaining more supporters in the election especially among the undecided voters. van Dijk (2000a, P.213) believes that the discourse of election, as a political discourse, is "defined in terms of professional politicians and political institutions". That is to say, this type of discourse is better analyzed at the level of context than at the text level. Accordingly, gains and results out of this agreement on the ground definitely will be in favour of Trump's side. Furthermore, much focus and attention are given to the theme of the U.S election and the support being presented to Trump after this deal of normalization, **when polls show him trailing presumptive Democratic nominee Joe Biden**.

Excerpt 3: Hyperboles.

Trump told reporters that the **atmosphere** between Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and UAE leader Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed during the **secret** negotiations leading up to the announcement **"was like love".**

Fairclough (1989, P.24) sees that political discourse is "the whole process of interaction of which a text is just a part". Given that assumption, political discourse does not necessarily involve politics. Discourses that imply social identity, control or power are all political discourses. People, as previously stated, tend to persuade, convince and manipulate others. Thus, as long as manipulation is one of rhetorical devices that is

ideologically employed, politicians use this device so that their actions are mitigated and their objectives are more obtainable.

In the excerpt above, the writer linguistically manipulates the topic of normalization to depict an extremely positive picture of the deal. He hyperbolically builds his narration of the Israeli-UAE agreement on the phrase of intimacy **was like love** by president Trump. Words like **atmosphere** and **secret** (which could have been instead private or behind closed doors) have cognitive and semantic connotations of an intimate and extremely friendly relationship, which could not be even imaginable to link (this relationship) foes siting on the table negotiating peace agreement. This rhetorical device of hyperbole, then, is mainly employed here to ideologically reshape the understanding of normalization agreement and also to emphasize its significant outcomes. According to van Dijk (2000, P 73), "hyperboles are semantic rhetorical devices for the enhancement of meaning". It has become clear then that in excerpt 3 the deal of normalization is being promoted for in the best possible way using the ideological category of hyperboles.

Excerpt 4: Consensus.

UAE officials said they were **motivated to make the bold stroke** in part because **Israel's move to annex swaths of the West Bank** threatened to upend decades of hope that the **Palestinians would eventually gain sovereignty over their own territory**.

Peoples of Arab and Islamic worlds revere Palestine for its religious significance. In this Arab state stands high Al-Aqsa Mosque. The second holiest religious site for Muslims around the world after Mecca in Saudi

Arabia. Therefore, speaking about this nation immediately bring into minds its holy status. But the occupation of Palestine in the 19th century by the forces of the Zionist movement, backed by Western powers, has become another reason why the issue of Palestine emotionally touches Muslims and Arabs and invokes their feelings. Thus, the Palestinian cause is an extremely dangerous, sensitive and serious issue in Muslim and Arab societies. Within the same context, van Dijk (2000, P.65) sees those issues of "national importance" most the time raises heated debates and politicians seek to mitigate the scale of the public's reaction against their decisions, statements and actions. They also seek to win over consent of their counterparts by winning the consensus of all oppose parties.

In the excerpt above, it is obvious that the Emirati officials are making their effort to clear their stance from the normalizing move with Israel before the Arab and Islamic worlds **motivated to make the bold stroke**. They are also trying to win over political and public opposition back in the UAE, if there is any, in the sense that the normalization agreement will stop Israelis from further land annexation, **Israel's move to annex swaths of the West Bank**. The UAE politicians claim that the agreement of normalization of ties with Israel will benefit the Palestinians more than it will hurt them, **Palestinians would eventually gain sovereignty over their own territory**. van Dijk (2000, P.66) believes that consensus, as a strategy of seeking the approval of the opposing sides, "is a very typical political-ideological move in arguments that try to win over the opposition".

Through this deal, according to the Emirati officials, the two-state solution will remain in effect and Palestinians will eventually restore their usurped lands and maintain sovereignty over their own territories. It is worth mentioning that the Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu when he was asked about stopping the annexation plans in the West Bank as a condition for the talks of normalization to go ahead, he replied "I am committed to sovereignty, I did not give up on the settlements" (Washington Post).

Excerpt 5: Dramatization.

Annexation "would **mean a death blow to the two-state solution**" said UAE foreign minister Anwar Gargash.
"The UAE is using its gravitas, its promise of a leadership **to try to really unscrew a time bomb** that is threatening a two-state solution.

Fairclough (2001, P. 92) maintains that in analysing a text, one's focus is constantly alternating between what is 'there' in text, and the discourse topic(s) which the text is drawing upon". The above excerpt draws upon the significance and the importance of such a deal, and what tragic and grieve repercussions would the region in general and Palestine in particular witness if the deal were not signed. The Washington Post, reporting from the UAE foreign minister, describes the no-agreement situation in the strongest possible terms in an effort to emphasize the peace-leading deal. According to van Dijk (2000, P. 68) "dramatization is a familiar way to exaggerate the facts in one's favour". In clear exaggeration of the deal reached, the UAE foreign minister ridiculously claims that the deal

between his country and Israel will lead Palestinians to regain their lands from the occupying forces of Israel, the Palestinians would eventually gain sovereignty over their own territory (see excerpt 4). On the other hand, the no-agreement situation will not only jeopardize the two-state solution, but rather it will terminate it all together, **a death blow to the two-state solution**. Furthermore, Anwar Gargash states that the Emirati officials are doing whatever in their power in an effort to spread peace into the region and stopping a ticking bomb from blowing up at any time if such a deal was not reached, **to try to really unscrew a time bomb.**

Excerpt 6: Consensus.

Netanyahu, appearing before reporters in Jerusalem, **hailed the agreement at the greatest advance toward peace in the Arab world in decades**.
The deal was **struck**, he said, without Israel having to give up territory that it has **effectively** controlled for more than 50 years of conflict with Palestinians.

Netanyahu's last months in office have witnessed major setbacks, and voices denouncing his policies rose in the wake of corruption charges against him. The Likud party presided by Netanyahu himself lost the parliamentary majority to his rival Naftali Bennett. Amid this diplomatic chaos he was in, Netanyahu tried whatever his hands could reach to clear his name. Meanwhile, president Trump, Netanyahu's best friend, was also battling impeachment attempts back home with the U.S election getting closer. Statistics showing him trailing behind Democratic nominee former foreign secretary Joe Biden. Given this turmoil, striking a tremendous

diplomatic bombshell meant keeping both men politically alive (Encyclopedia Britannica inc).

Unsurprisingly, when the Israeli-UAE normalization of ties was announced many countries welcomed it. Western officials who have been not happy with Trump's policies welcomed the decision and saw it a step in the right direction for achieving peace in the region. Jewish communities in the U.S which form a considerable ratio of the American society hailed the move. Similarly, the Israeli government unanimously approved the announcement of normalization. And overnight, the undesirable corrupt Netanyahu has become a national hero. Because he succeeded in signing an agreement with an Arab Gulf nation. A move that highly likely would lead more nations of the GCC (Gulf Countries Council) to follow the UAE footsteps. Consequently, the "New Middle East" dream of former Israeli prime minister Shimon Perez is looking in the horizon (Encyclopedia Britannica inc).

The Washington Post, reporting from Netanyahu, in the above excerpt not only describing the normalization of ties in the best possible way, **hailed the agreement at the greatest advance toward peace in the Arab world in decades** but rather it is implying that his country is really the big winner in this bargain. To emphasize the idea that Israel got the bigger slice of the cake and to secure support of the opposition, Netanyahu reminds that the deal has been finalized without compromising lands that Israel claimed, **without having to give up territory**. His choice of words indicates

confidence, pride, great achievement, and power. There are resonant words that refer to power and domination, **greatest**, **struck** and **effectively**. Van Dijk, (1996) sees power as relations among social groups and individuals. He particularly draws attention to social power that persuades manipulates and controls others. Furthermore, the use of such strong expressions is to ideologically reshape understanding of the world for people involved in this regarded as a representation of the world for a culture; the world as perceived according to the ideological needs of a culture".

Excerpt 7: Distancing.

Trump said that he **lowered tension** in the Middle East, although his withdrawal from Iran Nuclear deal has led nations to **accuse the United States of raising tensions rather than lowering them.**
"When I was elected, **they said the war will start with somebody within days**, **and I've kept us from war**" Trump said.

In previous excerpts, it has been claimed that the Washington Post in its coverage of the Israeli-UAE normalization of ties supports the president Trump as he stands as the legitimate representative of the U.S international policies and interests. In the first sentence of the above excerpt, the Washington Post reiterates the president's words that his signing of such a deal helped in lowering the tension in the region, **lowered tension**. Interestingly, the sentence also implicitly criticizing or at least proving wrong both the domestically anti-Trump opposition and his global opponents, **to accuse the United States of raising tensions rather than lowering it**. At the domestic level, the Washington Post particularly

mentions Trump's withdrawal from Iran nuclear deal and no other disputed decisions. It is worth mentioning that the deal of the Iranian nuclear program was signed during the Obama administration in which the role of vice president was occupied by Joe Biden; Trump's rival in 2020 election. So, the theme of rivalry between those two Republican and Democratic candidates surfaces once again. Whereas at the global level, the Washington Post makes it clear that nations that thought this withdrawal would escalate the situation even further on the ground and would only add fuel to the fire were mistaken, **I've kept us from war**. The withdrawal has in fact contributed to terrific results. It has led Arab states to side with Israel at the expense of Iran. Which means now that most, if not all, Gulf states share the Israeli view that the current regime in Iran is the biggest potential threat in the region.

In the second sentence, Trump hiddenly attacks his opponent Joe Biden and the party he represents, **they said the war will start with somebody within days**. He presupposes that they are war-wager. The only thing they are (Democrats) obsessed and occupied with is wars. They (Democrats) believe that I will start my own war but **I kept us out of war**. As if he refers to the catastrophic war in Syria that has waged in 2011, and has inflicted colossal damage, chaos and havoc to that nation. A war which has started in the first term of Obama administration, and the U.S funded and supported militarily and financially the armed groups and militias right from the beginning against the regime of Bashar Al-Assad.

Van Dijk (2001) argues that conflicting opinions, thoughts and discourses lead to the polarization of the in-group and out-group and thus ideologies are manifested. In the above excerpt, Trump and the Washington Post employ words that distance the speaker from the other group **they, somebody**. They both (Trump and the Washington Post) avoid naming or referring directly to the other group so that it is criticized, attacked and distanced. In addition, van Dijk (2001) sees that the socio-cognitive device of distancing is very common in discourses involve in-group and out-group. He particularly believes that distancing could be "expressed by the use of demonstrative pronouns instead of naming or describing the others" (ibid, P.67). Trump and the newspaper do not mention any names but rather they use pronouns and demonstrative pronouns, **somebody** and **they**.

Excerpt 8: National self-glorification.

Biden **praised the deal** and sought to portray it as **the work of several administrations**, as opposed to Trump's success alone.
"**I personally spent time with leaders** of both Israel and the UAE during our administration **building the case** for **cooperation** and **broader engagement** and **the benefits it could deliver** to both nations, and **I am gratified** by today's announcement".

In the U.S, officials and policy makers tend to glorify history and traditions and speak high of their country's feats and glory (Herman and Chomsky, 1998). Although it is quite common that politicians mention and magnify heritage and achievements of their countries, but in the U.S. speakers there employ this device of "national rhetoric" in an obvious "unabashed" way, (van Dijk, 2001, P.78). That is to say, issues of national security, foreign

policy, racism, domestic violence, gun control, wages, daily income, human rights, legal and illegal immigration, drugs, human trafficking and etc. are tackled by U.S leaders in reference to the shared values of the United States of America.

In the above excerpt, Biden welcomes this deal of normalization and hails it as a diplomatic effort and work of successive U.S. administrations, **Biden praised the deal**. He implies that his country works for spreading peace all around the world, particularly in the Middle East, **the work of several administrations**. As it has been indulging itself (America) in bringing polarized factions to the negotiating table and then signing this agreement. Biden continues in praising the work been done by reminding of the diplomatic efforts of Obama's administration for reaching a common ground. From the above second sentence, it can be concluded that Biden depicts a very positive picture of this agreement and how it will bring development and prosperity to the normalizing nations, **cooperation, broader engagement, benefits it could deliver to both nations**. Secondly, he mostly attributes (at least in this context) talks and negotiations of cooperation to himself as a representative of the administration of Obama, **I personally spent time with leaders**. Accordingly, as if Biden ignores all together Trump's administration success and brings into surface even once again their saga (Trump and Biden) of aiming to win more votes in the upcoming election.

Fairclough (2000) maintains that politics, as a struggle of dominance, is in fact a struggle among politicians for the dominance of political language and thus maintaining power and gaining support of the public "a struggle to achieve dominance of political position over others […] is partly enacted as a struggle for the dominance of political language (Fairclough, 2000, P.3). This power of language enables politicians to promote themselves positively in order to achieve their objectives and deliver the message they need to (Joseph, 2004). Thus, Joe Biden's above discourse is ideologically driven. He maintains that the U.S. is the bigger planer of this deal which would bring about peace and prosperity, **several administrations**. He glorifies the value of tolerance and negotiations of America, and more importantly selling himself as a key player in this deal to overshadows his rival's success. Against such premises, Fairclough (2000) sees that researches on political discourse are mainly the investigation of a text linguistically and its employed keywords. Interestingly, Biden employs words and phrases that describe the agreement positively; **benefits**, **broader engagement** and **building the case for cooperation**. More importantly, words of self and personal achievements, **I personally**, **our administration** and **I am gratified** so that he himself and his country of birth is self-glorified

Excerpt 9: Negative other-representation.

Hamas spokesman Fawzi Barhoum in the Gaza Strip also **condemned** the plan for rewarding Israel: "The declaration of normalization between Israel and the UAE **is a**

free reward for the occupation for its **crimes** and **violations** against the Palestinian people"

The news of Israeli-UAE normalization of ties have been shockingly and unbelievably received in Palestine. Palestinian leadership, and the public alike, felt that they have been betrayed, abandoned and left to alone face their fate. For instance, Munib al-Masri (former Palestinian official, philanthropist and a millionaire businessman and nicknamed Duke of Nablus) praised the stance of the late Shaikh Zaied from the Palestinian issue. He recalled the moral and physical support Shaikh Zaied presented to the people of Palestine. Al-Masri strongly condemned the agreement and added, I would never have imagined that the UAE "would simply sell the Palestinians out for the sake of normalization. I cannot believe it until now, it is very shameful" Palestinian leaders and factions, including the Islamic Jihad and Hamas, vehemently denounced the UAE's decision and called it "a stab in the back". As for the benefit that Emirate officials claim the Palestinians would get out of this deal (halting the annexation plans in the West Bank), Palestinian leadership commented that Abu-Dahbi only tries to deceive and mislead the public. Ahmed Majdalani (member of PLO) added that we were growing suspicious about the recent rapid cooperation between the two nations. Our suspicions unfortunately have been confirmed, and the claim of stopping annexation lands is a hoax and "merely throwing dust in the eyes". He proceeded, the deal will only help Trump and Netanyahu in the coming elections of the U.S and Israel (Reuters News Agency).

Similarly, Barhoum denounces the late agreement in the strongest possible terms. In addition, the speaker ridicules this wanton move by employing ironic phrase and also to attack it, **is a free reward for the occupation**. Van argues that sometimes irony is more effective when it is employed to attack, belittle or accuse the out-group. He maintains that "Accusations may come across as more effective when they are not made point blank (which may violate face constraints), but in apparently lighter forms of irony" (van Dijk, 2000, P.76). It can also be noticed that the negative representation of the normalization agreement is described with nouns that have disastrous impact on the hearer, **condemned**, **occupation**, **crimes** and **violation**s. Fowler (1991, P.80) sees that nominalization as a linguistic tool "has extensive structural consequences, and offers substantial ideological opportunities".

7. Conclusion

This study in CDA was an attempt to examine the discourse of normalization of ties between Israel and the UAE in the Washington Post. It aimed at investigating its language use. Theoretically speaking, multiple and major approaches to CDA were investigated for choosing the most suitable model to conduct the research. Methodologically, van Dijk's ideological categories were believed by the researcher to be appropriate and applicable to reach a better understanding of the normalization discourse and to unravel its hidden ideologies. Based on the theoretical model, these categories each served as an essential linguistic tool to meet the study's

objectives. The theoretical framework of CDA proved to be an effective tool for the analysis, and the ideological strategies revealed embedded ideologies in the discourses of the newspaper.

Highlighting news bias and discourse ideologies were not an easy undertaking. Especially if we know that the structure of media discourse is similar, and representations of point of views mistakenly lead to balanced conclusions unless you delve deeper. The newspaper of Washington Post tackled the discourse of normalization in a rather ideologically-oriented way. Examination of language use in the text of this media outlet revealed that discourse of normalization was ideologically-charged, and accordingly different representation of events and experiences. However, major ideological themes were summarized below.

- Support of president Trump.
- Mutual benefit.
- Support of Republicans.
- Electoral Support.

Table 2.1: Summary of the ideological themes in the discourse of the Israeli-UAE normalization of ties/ Washington Post

Ideological themes and ideologies	The ideological strategy employed	Number of excerpt
Support of Trump	Lexicalization, distancing.	1, 7.
Mutual benefit	Consensus, consensus.	4, 6.
Support of Republicans	Distancing, national self-glorification.	7, 8.
Electoral support	Positive self-representation, distancing.	2, 7.

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