

**The Deanship of Graduate Studies
Al-Quds University**



Ideology in Translation: Mediating versus Advocating

Manar Fayyad Mohammad Jibrin

M. Sc. Thesis

Jerusalem-Palestine

2015/1436

Ideology in Translation: Mediating versus Advocating

Prepared By

Manar Fayyad Mohammad Jibrin

**B.A. in English Language and Literature- Bethlehem
University, Palestine**

Supervisor:

Dr. Mohammad Ahmad Thawabteh

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of requirement
for a Master's degree in translation and interpreting
from the Faculty of Arts in Al-Quds University,
Palestine.**

2015/1436



Thesis approval

Ideology in Translation: Mediating versus Advocating

Prepared by: Manar Fayyad Mohammad Jibrin

Registration number: 20714225

Supervisor: Dr. Mohammad Ahmad Thawabteh

Master thesis submitted and accepted, Date: 16 /5 / 2015, the names and signature of the examining committee members are as follows:

1- Head of Committee : Dr. Mohammad Thawabteh

Signature:

2- Internal Examiner : Dr. Omar Najjar

Signature:

3- External Examiner : Dr. Nabil Alawi

Signature:

Jerusalem – Palestine

2015/1436

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis my family and friends who were of great support all through my school years, my dear mother Kawkab, may her soul rest in peace, who passed away earlier two years ago, who is eagerly missing in this significant moment of my life, and to my brother Khalil who passed away in 2006 at a young age.

Declaration:

I certify that this thesis submitted for the Master's degree is the result of my own research, except where otherwise acknowledged, and that this study has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Signed:

Manar Fayyad Mohammad Jibrin

Date: 16/5/2015

Acknowledgements

I owe my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Mohammad Thawabteh, the coordinator of the Translation Programme at Al-Quds University, whose invaluable guidance, profound comments and sustainable support throughout the preparation of the study enabled me to do the best towards the completion of my research. I would like to express special thanks and appreciation to Dr. Omar An-Najjar, for his unforgettable and thoughtful recommendations throughout the courses and especially for his crucial and critical comments on the study. I highly appreciate the commentary and recommendations of the external examiner, Prof. Nabil Alawi who added much thought and spirit to the study. My thanks go as well to Dr. Hazim An-Njjar from Bethlehem University whose courses still echo in my mind. Besides, I express my thanks to Al-Quds University for the heavy work devoted to establish the MA. Programme in translation.

Abstract

This study aims at exploring the translation of ideologically-motivated texts with reference to the terms used during the war on Gaza in 2009. The data of the study are collected from *Haartez*, *the Jerusalem Post*, *Maan News Agency* and Palestine Info website. In terms of analysis taxonomy is made to facilitate studying ideologically-loaded terms. The findings show that translating ideology is challenging, hence comes the role of the translator as a mediator or advocator and the levels of mediation. The significance of the study stems from the importance of the statements made by Israeli and Palestinian officials during the war on Gaza. The study shows the ideology pursued by the two sides all through the three weeklong offense. For the Israelis to justify their military campaign on Gaza and for the Palestinians in Gaza to seek support from the Palestinians in Gaza and to justify the resistance acts they are carrying on in defending them. The analysis of this study deals with the examples that are extracted from Israeli and Palestinian media outlets. These examples include statements made by Palestinian and Israeli officials. The study adopts House' model of covert and overt translation. It examines ideology and the ideologically-loaded expressions and terms. The study depends on reviews and thoughts of some of the scholars who tackle ideology from different angles; namely vanDjik, Schaffner Farghal and others. The study finally concludes that the translator should be aware of ideology while working on translation. In addition the translator should take into consideration culturally-bound issues.

الايديولوجيا في الترجمة ودور المترجم كوسيط ومترجم

إعداد: منار فياض جبرين

إشراف : د. محمد ثوابته

المُلخَص:

تهدف هذه الدراسة الى البحث في دور المترجم كوسيط ومناصر اثناء ترجمة النصوص المعروضة عليه وقد اعتمد البحث على تقارير اخبارية وتصريحات لمسؤولين اسرائيليين وفلسطينيين اثناء العدوان الاسرائيلي على قطاع غزة والذي استمر ثلاثة اسابيع في الفترة الواقعة ما بين السابع والعشرين من شهر ديسمبر/كانون اول 2008 وحتى الثالث عشر من شهر يناير/كانون ثاني للعام 2009.

يعرض الباحث امثلة من وكالات الانباء والمواقع الاخبارية الفلسطينية وهي موقع كتائب القسام الجناح العسكري لحركة المقاومة الإسلامية حماس ووكالة معا وموقع فلسطين للمعلومات وهو موقع تابع لحركة حماس الاسلامية ومقره لندن ومن المواقع الالكترونية للصحف الإسرائيلية باللغة الانجليزية وهي هآرتس وجروزاليم بوست.

خلال هذا البحث بيّنت الباحثة كيف وظف الفلسطينيون والاسرائيليون الأيديولوجيا الدينية وغيرها من الايديولوجيات خلال العدوان الاسرائيلي على قطاع غزة وذلك بتحليل الامثلة الواردة . كما بيّنت الباحثة استخدام اسلوب التلطيف والتشوية لكلا الطرفين خلال نفس الفترة. واستعانت الباحثة بدراسات اجريت في هذا المجال. وقد تطرقت الباحثة الى ايضاح دور المترجم كوسيط وذلك باستخدام اسلوبي التغريب والتوطين في الترجمة وكذلك اعتماد الترجمة المبطنة والواضحة كأسلوب وذلك وفق منهج جوليان هاوس في أساليب الترجمة.

ولتحقيق الأهداف من الدراسة قام الباحث بتحليل (47) عينة خير او تصريح لمسؤولين فلسطينيين واسرائيليين باللغة الانجليزية ومقارنتها بترجمتها باللغة العربية.

وقد استنتجت الباحثة ان المترجم يخضع للعديد من الايديولوجيات التي تتماشى مع ثقافة اللغة التي يترجم لها وخاصة الايديولوجيا الدينية التي تختلف من ثقافة النص الاصلي والنص المترجم له، وان المترجم ما هو الا وسيط ما بين النص الاصلي والنص المترجم له ولا يجب ان يعمل لصالح ايديولوجيا لأي من اطراف النزاع، ولا يجب على المترجم ان يناصر اي طرف في حال اي نزاع لأن ذلك قد يؤثر على عمله كمترجم بل يجب عليه ان يكون على مسافة من النص الأصلي والنص المترجم.

Table of Contents

	Content	Page no.
Chapter I		
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Significance of the Study	2
1.3	Statement of the Problem	2
1.4	The translator as a mediator and advocator	2
1.5	Definition of Ideology	3
1.6	Ideology and Media	5
1.7	Data of the Study	5
1.8	History of Ideology and Translation	5
1.9	Organization of the Study	7
1.10	Ideology and the media	7
Chapter II Review of Related Literature		
2.1	Overview	10
2.2	Review of Related Studies	10
2.2.1	Arab Studies	10
2.2.2	Other studies	16
Chapter III Methodology		
3.1	Overview	23
3.2	Objectives of the study	23
3.3	Design of the Study	23
3.4	Data	23
3.5	Significance of the Study	24
3.6	Statement of the Problem	24
3.7	Working Hypothesis	25
3.8	Limitations of the Study	25
3.9	Questions of the Study	25
Chapter IV Data Analysis and Discussion		
4.1	Overview	26
4.2	Categories and samples on Ideology	26
4.2.1	Racist Ideology	26
4.2.2	Political Ideology	29
4.2.3	Religious Ideology	30
4.2.4	Ideology and Culture	31
4.2.5	Cohesion	40
4.2.6	The Use of Collocation	40
4.2.7	Modality	41
4.2.8	Use of will and would	41
4.2.9	Metaphor	42
Chapter V Conclusions and Recommendations		
5.1	Overview	44
5.2	Conclusions	44
5.3	Recommendations	45
	Works Cited	46

Chapter I

1. Introduction

This study deals with ideology and the way it affects media rhetoric in Western, Israeli and Palestinian media while covering the three-week Israeli war on Gaza named Operation Cast Lead. This war lasted from 27 December to 13 January 2009, claiming the lives of hundreds of Palestinians, most of whom were children, women and elderly people. During this war, The Israeli army used different kinds of heavy weapons against the most densely populated area in the world. Working on translating the events from its original texts, which in this case were news reports or statements said by Israeli and Palestinian senior officials using a rhetoric, which would serve each part's ideology.

The translator is supposed to play the role of a mediator and/or as an advocator in such a case. This introduction will provide a brief historical and political background to events that have shaped the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, to place media rhetoric within its context. Israeli and Palestinian senior officials have employed an ideology that would serve the aim of each party. While reporting from the field and quoting texts, which in this case was news reports or statements said by the two parties.

Both the Israelis and the Palestinians have employed ideology mainly religious one; the Palestinians labelled the battle against the Israelis as الفرقان while the Israelis labelled their assault as Operation Cast Lead in reference to a biblical story.

In terms of mediation typology, we can speak of three kinds: first, minimal mediation in which the characteristics of the ST are made entirely visible and few concessions are made to the reader. Second, maximal mediation which is a radical departure from the ST in terms of register membership, intentionality, socio-cultural and socio textual practices. Third, partial mediation which is less extreme and more neutral than the other two kinds of mediation. Hatim and Mason (1997:148-159) argue:

The translators mediate between cultures (including ideologies, moral systems and socio-political structures) seeking to overcome those incompatibilities which stand in the way transfer of meaning. What has value as a sign in one cultural community may be devoid of significance in another and it is the translator who is uniquely placed to identify the disparity and seek to resolve it.

Hatim and Mason see the translators as mediators in a way “[t]hey are privilege readers of the Source Language (SL) text. The translator read in order to produce, decodes in order to re-encode” (ibid.). Hatim and Mason (1997) believe that the translator operates on the verbal record of an act of communication between SL speaker/writer and hearers/readers and seeks to relay perceived meaning values to a group of Target Language (TL) receivers as a separate act of communication.

1.2 Significance of the Study:

The significance of this study stems from the role of the translator as a mediator versus an advocator. This role of mediating was clearly displayed through the news reports coming from the field. Mediating has degrees, i.e. minimal and maximal that will be discussed in Chapter IV in details in addition to discussing categories of ideology.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

This study covers ideology employed in the statements and news articles during the war on Gaza. Israeli and Palestinian officials have employed different terms that are related to ideology to describe either the war or the weapons used or the people who were involved in that war. The main problem that faces the researcher is that some of the Israeli reports were not directly published directly due to censorship that released the reports with the note ‘clear for publication’; this procedure is rather taken by the Israeli authorities for security reasons, as they claimed.

1.4 The translator as a mediator/advocator:

The translator position would be mediating between the SL and the TL, culture has a major part while translating Hatim and Mason (1990:223) believe that the translator should not only have the bilingual ability but s/he also should have a bi-cultural vision: “Translators mediate between cultures including ideologies, moral systems and socio-political structures seeking to overcome those incompatibilities which stand in the way to transfer meaning.”

Hatim and Mason argued that a distinction should be made between the ideology of translating and the translation of ideology, relating these two issues to mediating which is to them an ideological issue. They state that “[a] fundamental distinction

needs to be made, from the outset divided as the ideology of translating and the translation of ideology which are related to the mediation of the translator which is an ideological issue” (1997: 143). Some of the previous studies are presented in Chapter II that are related to ideology and the translator as a mediator and the degrees of mediating that he/she may paly while working on translation.

1.5 Definition of Ideology:

Scholars have discussed ideology through their studies and researches. To begin with, Calzada defines ideology as a “[s]et of factual and evaluative beliefs that is the knowledge and the opinions of a group. In other words, a bit like the axioms of a formal system, ideologies consist of those general and abstract social beliefs and opinions (attitudes) of a group” (cited in Van Dijk 1984: 48-9). Van Dijk defines ideology as “basic systems of shared social representations that may control more specific group beliefs” (1996: 7). Hatim and Mason further state that “[t]here are degrees of translator mediation that is the extent to which the translators intervene in the transfer process feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into their processing of a text” (1997: 147-148). Meanwhile, Munday (2001:147) demonstrates that Venuti discusses the invisibility hand in hand with two types of translating strategies: domestication and foreignization. The term ‘invisibility’ Munday (147:2001) is used by Venuti “to describe the translator’s situation and activity in contemporary Anglo – American culture.” Venuti cited in Munday (146:2001) speaks of the translation of a text whether prose or poetry, fiction or non- fiction when it reflects the foreign, the writer’s personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text but that the translation is not in fact a translation but the original.

A translated text, whether prose or poetry, fiction or non- fiction is, is judged acceptable by most publishers, reviewers and readers when it reads fluently, when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it seem transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer’s personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text –the appearance, in other words, that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the original.

New World Encyclopaedia defines ideology as is a set of ideas, beliefs, or stance that determines a perspective with which to interpret social and political realities. The

term is used either in a pejorative or neutral sense, but it contains political connotations. The word *ideology* was coined by Count Antoine Destutt de Tracy, a French materialist in the late eighteenth century, to define a "science of ideas." The current usage of the term was, however, originated from Karl Marx. Marx defined "ideology" as a "false consciousness" of a ruling class in a society who falsely presents their ideas as if they were universal truth. Their ideas were neither universal nor objective, Marx argued, but they emerged out of and serve their class interests. Today, the term ideology is used in a much broader sense than Marx's original formulation. In a pejorative sense, it means a set of ideas used as a political tool to achieve hidden goals and interests by distorting social, political realities. Hidden interests meant class interests for Marx, but those interests can be any other kinds of interests. This sense is closer to but broader than Marx's original formulation. In a neutral sense, it means a set of ideas accompanied with political goals, intents, interests, and commitments. While a world-view does not necessarily connote political undertones, an ideology always contains political implications. The main purpose behind an ideology is to affect change in society through a normative thought process. The application of ideologies in public matters makes them central to politics. Implicitly, every political tendency entails an ideology whether or not it is propounded as an explicit system of thought¹.

Another definition of ideology is "the body of doctrine, myth, belief that guides an individual, social movement, institution, class, or large group, such a body of doctrine, myth with reference to some political and social plan as that of fascism along with the devices for putting it into operation."²

From a philosophical point of view, ideology is the study of the nature and origin of ideas or a system that derives ideas exclusively from sensation; theorizing of a visionary or impractical nature. Etymologically, the concept of ideology "was founded in 1790-1800. It was coined by French philosopher Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836) from *idée*-"of ideas", from Greek +*log* meaning systematic set of ideas, doctrines, first recorded in 1909. Ideologue first recorded in 1815 in reference to the French Revolutions".

¹ Available online at (<http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Ideology>) (accessed January 22, 2016).

² Available online at (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/ideology's>), (accessed January 22, 2016).

1.6 Ideology and media

Unlike other Israeli assaults on Gaza, the 2008-2009 was extensively covered by international media. In spite of Israel's ban on publishing reports from the field, media sources provided 24-hour coverage of the Operation Cast Lead, as the Israelis called it, local journalism has succeeded in reporting during that period of time.

1.7 The Data of the Study

The data for this study was collected from various Palestinian and Israeli media sources that reported the war, employing ideology in translation, in addition to collecting (47) samples of statements by Israeli and Palestinian officials where both parties used ideological rhetoric to gain support from their local community whether in Gaza, Israel and the western world. This study will discuss thoroughly the topic of ideology as well as discussing the role of the translator as a mediator and or advocate.

1.8 History of ideology and translation:

Fawcett (1998: 106-110) gives a brief history of ideology and translation. He begins with Nietzsche (1964) championed the notion that all knowledge is perspectival. He denounced the practice of perspectivism in translation when he berated Imperial Rome and classical France for the complete assimilation of earlier literature. Roman approaches that involved assimilation of the Source Text (ST) to the target culture and these approaches were criticised by Nietzsche. Similar attitudes towards the ST as something that needs to be adapted to the receiving culture existed in the middle ages.

Amos (1920:5) gives the example of the translation of *Aelfric* to the effect of his translation of the Lives of the Saints where he abbreviated the words but not the sense in order to prevent boredom. In doing so, he made a double ideological move: he was not only adapting his translation to his readership rather than respecting the ST, but he was also practising a craft that the educated and clerical class frowned upon since translation was then seen as something of a revolutionary act, an attempt to replace the dominant Latin by emergent national languages struggling to assert themselves and to wrest the dissemination of knowledge from class control.

In this sense, *Aelfric* was empowering his readers in two ways through translation: he was putting information into their hands for unmediated consumption and he was allowing their reading habits to control his choice of translation technique.

Moreover, Kelly (1979:70-74) sees a comparable ideological move behind the dispute in the middle ages and the Renaissance over free versus literal translation. The choice, he suggests was less influenced by respect for the mystery of the original sacred text than by the question of whether the target audience spoke a restricted code and had ingrained verbal habits that should not be upset nor had access to an elaborated code that could tolerate abstraction and complicity.

By contrast, Norton (1948:14) describes how Renaissance translators, motivated by space logic and Renaissance, constructivist ideology, set of in search of comparable (law of interpretation) but failed. Thus Norton himself seems to backdate a deconstructionist ideology to the Renaissance when he says of Jacques Peletier du Mans' declaration: "[i]t would be nice if word-for-word translation was possible but sadly it isn't that Peletier makes us relive the agony of motion in place of embarkation towards an object constant in its self- denial."

Balcerzan (1978:124), who in relation to the development of Russian and Polish literature, defines all pre-romantic translations as belonging to an age of syncretism in which the concept of authorship was problematic and in which two principles were at work: apocrypha (reverse of plagiarism) and annexation (plagiarism).

The religious ideology continuing with its influence can be seen in Norton's description of how translation was used in the battle lines of theology. The theologians in France opposed literal translation of Old Testament because such translation lent comfort to the Jewish of non-allegorical readings which went counter of the Christian tradition.

In the eighteenth century, one of the most famous examples on the incursion of ideology in translation was Voltaire's (1734) translation of Hamlet's soliloquy not as a mediation of death but as a diatribe against religion 'thus conscience doth make cowards of us all' is translated as (literally) turns a worrier hero into a timid Christian.'

Fedorov's book (1985:91) on translation theory contained an entire chapter that was devoted to Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Moreover, it includes Lenin's remarks on translation and language in addition to the experience on translation and back-translation of entire novels. This pressure is one of several ideological pressures found

in Marxist-oriented translation theory. Fedorov says that Communism had to reach as many people as possible therefore had to adopt appropriate translation strategies. Fedorov says on Lenin's own translation method that 'he achieves full accessibility of content for widest circle of readers.

Communist ideology was not the only source of optimism in translation theory. In the scientific and technological atmosphere of the early and mid-twentieth century when the linguistic theory have provided a 'scientific' basis for grounding translation in a way that should make ideological manipulation thing of the past. One of the most proponents of this trend was Eugene Nida who believed that he had found a neutral point of observation which was the base of his concept of dynamic equivalence.

In support of his semantic theory of translation, Robinson (1991: 49) proposed a counterblast to the intellectual Augustinian ideology asserts that 'the majority of translators in the west appear to be women. In support of his Foucauldian analysis of appropriation in translation, however, Paul St-Pierre (1993 68) claims that "women seldom do control the discourses produced either as authors or as translators."

Penrod (1993: 39) believes that "[w]e are always required when translating to take a position relative to other cultures and languages. We must be vigilant as to the nature of the position assumed." This point of view leads to the philosophical distinction between domesticating and foreignizing translation then tendency to distinguish between Free and literal translation that is ideologically motivated.

Definition of Mediation: is the extent to which translators intervene in the transfer process feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into processing the text. (Hatim and Mason 1997:147)

1.9 Organization of the study

This study falls into four chapters. Chapter I attempts to give a summary of the topic of the study. Chapter II gives a review of the previous related studies. Chapter III addresses the methodology of the study. Chapter IV deals with an analysis of the data and discussion. Chapter V states the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

1.10 Ideology and the media

The assault on Gaza, unlike any war before it, was extensively covered by international media outlets, in spite of Israel's ban on allowing in journalists. Nonetheless, media provided a nearly 24-hour view of Operation Cast Lead, with citizen journalism largely propelling coverage of the war.

The data for this study was collected from various Palestinian, Western and Israeli outlets that reported the war, applying the use of ideology in translation, in addition to collecting samples of statements by Israeli and Palestinian officials where both parties used ideological rhetoric to gain support from their local community whether in Gaza, Israel and the Western World.

Ideology is a term dating back to 1917 after the appearance of Marxism. It takes on a political connotation more than any other connotations since. As a field in translation and in relation to culture and the role of the translator as a mediator, with several translation theorists recently discuss the role of ideology. Baker (2000:107) states, "[t]he subject of ideology in particular in the regard of power relations became an important area in many fields including the field of translation." Baker gives as an example a handful of case studies presented in Lefevre (1992).

New Webster's Dictionary and Thesaurus of the English Language defines ideology as a body of ideas used in support of an economic, political theory [the way of thinking of a class, a culture or an individual" (New Webster's Dictionary and Thesaurus of the English Language 1996: 481).

Similarly, ideology is given various definitions that cover different aspects. To begin with, ideology is defined as "the body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, group, class, or culture or a set of doctrines or beliefs that form the basis of political, economic, or other systems." Etymologically, the concept of ideology "was founded in 1790-1800. Another definition of ideology is (the body of doctrine, myth, belief that guides an individual, social movement, institution, class, or large group, such a body of doctrine, a myth with reference to some political and social plan as that of fascism along with the devices for putting it into operation) (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/ideology's>) Moreover, ideology caters as "a system of beliefs or theories, usually political, held by an individual or a group. Capitalism, Communism, and socialism are usually called ideologies. It is an orientation that characterizes the thinking of a group's or a nation's political

orientation.”

Van Dijk defines ideology as “basic systems of shared social representations that may control more specific group beliefs” (Van Dijk, 1996: 7) Hatim and Mason (ibid: 147-148) further state that ‘there are degrees of translator mediation that is the extent to which the translators intervene in the transfer process feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into their processing of a text.

In terms of mediation typology, we can speak of three kinds; first minimal mediation; in which the characteristics of the ST are made entirely visible and few concessions are made to the reader. Secondly is the maximal; which is a radical departure from the ST in terms of register membership, intentionality, socio-cultural and socio textual practices. Thirdly is partial mediation; this kind of mediation is less extreme and more neutral than the other two kinds of mediation(Hatim & Mason 1997: 148-159).

Chapter II

Review of Related Literature

2.1. Overview:

The aim of this chapter is to provide a review of previous studies on the topic of this paper on ideology and translation by providing previous researches and studies related to this research. This study correlates with various studies on ideology and translation. In this chapter, we aim to contribute to the database the previous studies have started on ideology in regard to the use of ideology with some of its categories like; racist, cultural, and political aspects that the previous studies have dealt with. It is expected that Chapter IV will go in harmony with the findings of previous studies. Below are some of the previous studies that are listed chronologically and a paper that is prepared by Palestinian researchers.

This study tackles ideology that is applied while reporting the news of the Israeli war that was carried out in 27th of December 2008 to 18th of January 2009 on Gaza. The war had claimed the lives of hundreds of Palestinians. Similarly this research will deal with the role of the translator as a mediator versus an advocator.

2.2. Review of related studies

The following are some of the Arab studies that dealt with ideology with its various aspects through analyzing some of the texts that are originally in Arabic and were translated into Arabic taking culture into consideration.

2.2.1. Arab Studies

Al-Mohannadi (2008) investigates and analyzes to what extent ideology can influence the translator's style and choice of words that will consequently shape the receiver's world views. Al-Mohannadi (2008: 529.) provides a detailed, comparative analysis of a translation of the first formal speech delivered by Bin Laden on 7 October 2001 concerning the events of September 11th 2001 and his conflict with the United States.

The analysis assesses the probability of a translator's ideological intervention in the text and other technical, linguistic problems. Al-Mohannadi (2008: 530) claims that ideology is a world view that people acquire from surrounding circumstances. It helps people to determine what is good or bad, to categorize others, to realize men and women's role in life; it controls people's beliefs about the world (as in religious ideologies) and determines priorities in life. The concept of ideology cannot be studied without discussing its relation to discourse and culture. Al-Mohannadi (2008: 534) displays an example as an illustration of the translator's ideological intervention; a preliminary comparative study of the translation of Al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Ladin's speech in a taped statement aired on Al-Jazeera, the Arabic satellite channel. It was the first statement by Al-Qaeda leader to appear after the attacks on September 11 2001. The statement, originally Arabic, is taken from Al-Jazeera website, the translation of the statement is from two internet sources: BBC and CNN. She explains that BBC version adheres to the original reproducing almost the entire ST, while CNN's version skips several expressions and paragraphs. She says that this difference between ways of translating the statement by the two media outlets is that CNN's is ideologically- motivated. Al-Mohannadi (2008:536) analyzes BBC version by giving examples of the translation; i.e using old English when using religious expressions, such as "wilt" and thou. She explains that CNN translates the prelude of Bin Ladin's statement that begins with typical Arabic and Islamic convention. It begins with praising God and declaring the first pillar of Islam which is the Shahada or Testimonies of Faith *الشهادتين شهادة ان لا إله إلا الله وأن محمداً عبده ورسوله*. The American translation chooses the phrase.

"Thanks to God" whereas the British one uses the phrase "Praise be to God" She explains that the latter implies a more religiously connotative reference, while the former deprives the expression of its religious aspect. She explains that "Thanks" can be used when thanking God or thanking people but "praise" is often used as a reverent way of thanking God.

Al-Muhanadi (2008: 540) concludes that stress should be laid on whether the translation should be regarded as an integral part of the sophisticated political, ideological and socio-cultural framework, but as a primacy of the linguistic element which must include idiom usage, style and rhetorical conventions, should never be

lost sight of. Otherwise the translation scholar will find himself or herself in an ideological conflict with text he or she is assessing perhaps (being human) often substituting his/her ideology for that of the translator and the author, thereby proving the validity of the epigram that defines orthodoxy as my doxy and heterodoxy as other people's –doxies.

In her study Baklouti (2007:1) says that the difference in the levels of structure at which ideology can be “read off” implies that ideology cannot be equally easily deciphered from texts. She gives an example an ideology conveyed in a text by the lexical structure through the frequent use of lexemes with strong connotations can be more easily uncovered than ideology that is conveyed implicitly through recurrent syntactic structure where the analyst has to look for a recurrent pattern conveyed covering an underlying ideology.

She claims that the same text may be multi-ideological i.e it may display more than one ideology with different degrees of implicitness at the level of linguistic expression. Baklouti explains that a writer may explicitly defend one ideology while implicitly assuming or even passing on another ideology. Baklouti (2007: Page 2) argues that speakers/writers may resort to implicitness while passing on an ideological message. Baklouti (2007: 2) demonstrates Fairclough (1992) argues that “all types of discourse are open to ideological investment but different types are not ideologically invested to the same degree.” Baklouti (2007: 2) concludes that implicitness and explicitness are not binary poles: they rather constitute two edges on a gradable scale which they gives rise to; she cited Wood (2004:40) “a continuum of interpretation: from ideological content that is conveyed most immediately within a given language (for example by a simple choice or a highly explicit relation) to the other extreme: where complex inferences are required in order. Moreover, citing (van Dijk 2005:2), in her paper Baklouti (2007: 2) discusses racist ideology which she defines as “a system of ethnic or racial dominance that is of systematic power abuse of a dominant group. She explains that racism is a form of dominance which is backed by the belief of superiority of in-group members and the inferiority of the out-group ones. Moreover, she goes on explaining that racism is inextricably linked to discourse, because on the one hand, discourse is one of the social practices of racism and on the other hand, it is the medium through which people develop racist beliefs.

Baklouti (2007: 2) highlights anti-Muslims as a form of racism that has widely spread after September 11 attack on USA and led a war against terrorism in which a blur is made more or less purposefully between Islam and terrorism.

Baklouti (2007: 3) investigates a corpus of opinion articles published in the scope of the debate over the (re) publication of the prophet Mohammad cartoons. In the first part of her study, she has argued that ideology may be expressed in discourse with different degrees of implicitness and dealt with anti-Muslim as a form of racism. She sees that the publication of the cartoon of Prophet Mohammad by the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* and their re-publication by some other European newspapers have triggered a long debate over the issue of freedom of speech and its limits. These articles may be divided into two major trends, a first trend arguing against the publication of the prophet cartoons seeing them as provocative and the second trend defending the re-publication of the prophet cartoons considering them as an exercise of the freedom of speech.

After analyzing the corpus, Baklouti (2007: 4) finds out that the ideology of freedom of expression is explicitly defended in the corpus through its lexical structure where the derivations of the lexeme “free” and associated values are very frequent. She has seen that the writers themselves get involved as in-group members defending their own ideology and this is linguistically clear in the use of pronoun “We” and its variants. Baklouti (2007: 4) adopts ideological square in her study suggested by van Dijk (1995:22) that is “The structure of ideologies also suggest that such representations are often articulated along an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ dimension in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms and other groups in negative terms.” Baklouti (2007: 4) concludes that words like ‘we’ and variants such as ‘us’ West, Western, Westerners, Europeans and ‘our’ were mentioned 120 times in the corpus she has collected while ‘them’ with its variants, ‘they’, ‘them’ /’themselves’, ‘their’, Muslims, Muslim immigrants, psychotics, ‘these people’ were mentioned 122 times in the same corpus. Baklouti (2007:4) claims that the occurrences of the in-group ‘us’ can be seen as a description that can be syntactically realized through two main forms; an attributive structure where the entity in question occurs in a pre-post –modified noun phrase in addition to providing positive attributive qualifiers of ‘us’ e.g. in ‘the Free West’, ‘the free

world', or 'democratic societies'. On the lexical structure associated to "them", Baklouti (2007:5) says that most of the lexemes are hyponyms of the lexeme 'violence' repeated 23 times, noting that the lexical items that are collocating with the 'them' can be classified under two interrelated sets; the first one of which relates to "their system of beliefs" and contains words such as :discrimination, dogmatic, fanatical, frenzy, hatred, hostile, hostility, intolerant, prohibition, totalitarian, and tyrant while the second set concerns with "their" actions that result from their ideology: ie burning, censorship, force , murder, oppression , rage, rioting, terror, violence, vandalized. It is noted that the opposition between the positive image of 'us' and the negative image of 'them' that is explicit. Baklouti (2007: 6) concludes that the polar structure has been built through explicit and less explicit linguistic mechanisms. She explains that explicitness can be seen in the lexical structure through the use of semantic fields and antonymy. At the level of syntax, the use of modification, coordination of modifiers and superlatives has helped convey this opposed image of 'us' versus 'them'. A less explicit linguistic feature conveying the polar structure is the statistically proved correlation between 'us' as a people of thought and "them" as irrational and restoring to immediate and violent physical action. Baklouti (2007: 6) says that the message conveyed by the writers is not only that these people are different from 'us' but also that "they are inferior to us which is typical to racist ideology.

Daraghmeh, Herzallah and Abdel Karim (2010) investigate translation strategies that are adopted by Palestinian translators in turning an Israeli news report from English into Arabic. The researchers claim that the choice of the translation strategy is affected by contextual factors like the translation commission, the stylistic norms and policy of the newspaper, the readership and the translator's own ideology . They have also examined and compared the emotive sensitive lexes that describe the Palestinians and the Israelis, to occurrences in *Al-Quds*, an Arabic daily newspaper, published in East Jerusalem. The study also explores the transference of staged expository narrative discourse from English into Arabic in the Palestinian context. The researchers selected a news report from *The Jerusalem post* that is about the Israeli incursion into Gaza in 2006. The news report was given as an assignment to fifteen Palestinian students enrolled in the MA program of applied linguistics and translation at An-Najah University with the assumption that the translated report will appear in

Al-Quds newspaper. The results of the study show that the majority of translators restored to dynamic renderings of ST due to high political sensitivity of the context that marks the news text. The researchers believe that faithfulness become irrelevant and the reality and truth of the ST were questioned and often subverted in the translation.

Khalaf (2014) believes the translator's role involves in the reception and production of the message which poses the problem and how cultural meaning should be presented from and into different cultures to ensure mutual understanding for two different 'worlds'. He explains that cultural differences between languages may happen because of the differences in time, religions, moralities, etc..

He claims that the role of the translator for being not only reforming what is mentioned in language A into language B, but works as an agent who acts as intermediary between two worlds 'cultures' and tries to reconcile the communication barriers between them.

Yet, he quoted Nida (1964) 'it is always inevitable that translators be affected by their own personal set of values'. This is to emphasize that the translator has to stay in between at the same distance from the source and target cultures and not being biased in their ideologies to choose their terms.

He believes that for the translator he/she uses languages each two different languages present two different cultural realities. The translation uses languages for moving from culture to another or from ancient to modern times.

Khalaf quoted Newmark (1988) who defines culture as "the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression", so each language has its own cultural features. Translator should be familiar with the source and target culture in order to achieve closer and more accurate translation through choosing proper vocabularies which comply with the text.

He believes the translator ought to be aware of choosing the correct cultural meaning. He quoted Katan (2002, p. 188) who states that 'mediating is the point of refraction' that the translator ought to be aware through his decision to choose the correct cultural meaning from the consequences of both domestication and foreignization

strategies that the translator adopts and aims to achieve the maximum level of equivalence within minimum efforts. For example, the word 'Red' which is used in English to specific colour while Hungarian have two words for this colour which is 'Vrs' dark red and 'Pivos' light red, the specific meaning connected with the shade of that colour.

He concluded that the translator was the author of the translated version of that text, as many translation's authors emphasize over the time, in his\her decision for choosing terms and expressions to apply certain cultural meaning in the target text.

2.2.2 Other studies

Similarly Schaffner (2003: 23) describes the relationship between ideology and translation is multifarious. She believes that any translation is ideological since the choice of a ST and the use to which the subsequent target text is put is determined by the interests, aims and objectives of social agents.

Schaffner (2003: 23) argues that ideological aspects can also be determined within a text itself, both at the lexical level (reflected, for example, in the deliberate choice or avoidance of a particular word) and the grammatical level (for example, the use of passive structures to avoid an expression of agency (cf. Hodge and Kress 1993). Ideological aspects can be more or less obvious in texts, depending on the topic, its genre and communicative purpose. In political texts, ideological aspects are of course particularly prominent.' Scahffner (2003: 23-24) explains that 'research into political discourse has been conducted within several disciplines, with scholars pursuing different aims, focusing on different themes and applying different methods. Political scientists are interested for example in the content of texts. Linguist, sociolinguist and discourse analysts have increasingly become interested in the textual or discursive manifestations of power structures and ideologies and in their specific linguistic realizations at lexical and grammatical levels' (cf., for example, Fairclough's and Wodak's critical discourse and discourse historical approaches, eg. Fairclough and Wodak 1997: Wodak 1999). These approaches mediate between linguistic structures as evident in a text and the social, political and historical context of text production and reception. In the process of text production and reception, translation and

interpreting often plays a decisive role. In other words, translation is more and more an aspect of international communication and of intercultural relationships including ideological relationships.”

Calzada (2003: 3) defines ideology as “a belief or a set of ideas, especially the political beliefs on which people, parties or countries base their actions”, while Schaffner (2003:31) explains that “the term ideology is defined differently in the literature (cf. Van Dijk 1998), it first appeared in the English language in 1796 as a direct translation of the French ‘ideologie’ to denote the philosophy of mind, the science of ideas (cf. Williams 1976:126)”.

Moreover, Schaffner (2003:31) defines ideology and quotes van Dijk 1996 and Lu (1999) “as socially shared belief systems of (members of) groups, as patterns of ideas, assumptions, beliefs, values or interpretations of the world by which a group operates then the belief system represented by the notion. A Third Way can be seen as an ideology. Ideology that shapes both discourse and is itself expressed in, or formed or changed by discourse” to explain the political parties that appear after the Cold War and was known as the “Third Way”. Furthermore, Calzada (2003: 3) explains that the common political implication of the term often merges with negative undertones. It is sometimes taken as a system of wrong, false, distorted or otherwise misguided beliefs] van Dijk (1998:2).

Nord (2003:90) says that “according to the social criticism of French enlightenment and Marx, ideology is an evaluative concept that is mostly used to characterize or even discredit the other— it may be difficult to find people claiming an ideology to characterize themselves”. Nord (2003: 90) defines ideology as “a set of ideas supported by a group, a school, a society or even an individual author (who may not yet have followers sharing his or her ideas), it is obvious that ideology is at work on both sides. In the case of translation studies, it is claimed that any text is meant to serve some kind of a purpose.” Therefore, Tymoczko (2003:182) believes that:

[A translation ideology is determined only partially by the content of the [ST]- the subject and the representation of the subject – even though this content may itself be overtly political and enormously complicated as a speech act, with locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary aspects of the [ST] all contributing to the effect in the source context].

She explains that the ideological value of the ST is in turn complemented by the fact that translation is a metastatement, a statement that is about the ST that constitutes an interpretation of the ST.

Tymoczko (2003: 183) further argues that: ideological effects will differ in every case of translation – even in translations of the same text- because of the translator’s particular choices on all of these various levels-on the levels of the translator’s particular choices on all of these various levels- on the levels of representation of the subject matter, as well as representation of the relevant locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts in his or her own name as translator. That is, the ideology of a translation resides not simply in the text translated, but in the voicing and stance of the translator, and in its relevance to the receiving audience. These latter features are affected by the place of the enunciation of the translator: indeed they are part of what we mean by the ‘place’ of enunciation, for that ‘place’ is an ideological positioning as well as a geographical or temporal one. These aspects of a translation are motivated and determined by the translator’s cultural and ideological affiliation as much as or even more than by the temporal and spatial location of the translator speaks from.

Calzada (2003:4) sees ideology as the legacy of a Marxist and neo-Marxist traditions which saw ideology as tantamount to political domination, in the form of covert manipulation and is always related to the concepts of power and hegemony.”

Calzada (2003:4) believes that ‘ideology is imposed surreptitiously. It gradually becomes every day common thinking. The more naturalized it is the more successful it becomes amongst its subjugated citizens. This is precisely why according to Van Dijk (1998:2) people in the West refrain from using ‘ideology’ to refer to themselves. So that people in the West will avoid being racist to the people around they would prefer to use conventions instead to indicate to themselves.

‘Few of ‘us’ (in the West or elsewhere) describe our own belief systems or conventions as ‘ideologies’. On the contrary, Ours is the truth, Thiers is the ideology’

Calzada (2003:4) comments on van Dijk’s definition, and says that “ideology is a pernicious, destructive force that should be opposed, fought and conquered” arguing that “the political definition of ideology does not need to be tied to these negative ‘destructive’ echoes.

Citing Kellner Douglas's in "Illuminations: The Critical Theory Website", Maria Calzada (2003:4) explains that 'within the Marxist tradition itself, more 'positive' (constructive) approaches, have also developed. These are particularly associated with Lenin, who described Socialist ideology as the force that encourages revolutionary consciousness and fosters progress. Merging the negative/destructive and positive/constructive connotations Kellner (online: 3)' describes the term as: 'Janus-faced', two-sided: it contains errors, mystifications and techniques of manipulation and domination, but it also contains a utopian residue that can be used for social critique and to advance progressive politics.

Yet, Calzada (2003:4) argues that "the political definition of ideology has indeed had a direct influence on today's academia. Some theorists remain "faithful" to ideology's most political undertones because as Fairclough (1995:16) explains:

"My view is that the abuses and contradictions of a capitalist society which gave a rise to critical theory have not been diminished, nor have the characteristics of discursive practices within capitalist society which gave rise to critical discourse analysis."

Though, Maria Calzada (2003:4) claims that sometimes these scholars underline the negative connotations of the term, in which case they link ideologies to the dominant social power and support the following definition (reproduced by Eagleton(1991:30):

[Ideas and beliefs which help to legitimate the interest of a ruling group or class by distortion or dissimulation.]

Calzada (2003:5) says that in other occasions, however, they [the scholars] put an emphasis on ideology's most positive side. Ideology is now viewed as a vehicle to promote or legitimate interests of a particular social group (rather than a means to destroy contender.

Calzada (2003:5) claims that some of the scholars realize the importance of the concept of a set of ideas which organize our lives and help us understand the relationship to our environment. They contend that certain ideologies become naturalized or common, whereas others are pushed aside to the edges of our societies. For them some ideologies are dominant, they are more useful to succeed in public

spheres while others remain chained to more domestic settings. However they refuse to constrain the term to its purely political meaning. So they open it up to a wider definition. For Verschueren, (1999: preface) ideology is interpreted as any constellation of beliefs or ideas, bearing on an aspect of social reality, which are experienced as fundamental or commonsensical and which can be observed to play a normative role.

Van Dijk (1998:48-9) agrees with Verschueren's definition of ideology:

[...] an ideology is the set of factual and evaluative beliefs- that is the knowledge and the opinions – of a group [...] In other words, a bit like the axiom of a formal system, ideologies consist of those general and abstract social beliefs and opinions (attitudes) of a group Calzada 2003:5).

Moreover, van Dijk (1997:25) views ideology as “another notion that establishes a link between discourse and society. There is a vast literature in most of the humanities and social sciences, whether Marxist, neo- Marxist or other; the traditional approaches are mostly philosophical, either with little interest in detailed studies of text and talk and other ideological practices, or ignoring the important cognitive dimensions of ideology.”

Furthermore van Dijk (1997:25) explains that “to understand what ideologies are and how they relate to discourse, we may start answering the basic question of their social functions or accomplishments. Why indeed do people need ideologies in the first place? What people do with ideologies?” Van Dijk (1997:25) answers the questions by saying “the classical answer to that question is that ideologies are developed by dominant groups in order to reproduce and legitimate their domination. One of the strategies to accomplish such legitimation is for instance to present domination as God-given, natural, benign, inevitable or to otherwise persuade the dominated group to simply take such a social relation for granted . Implied in such an analysis is that dominated groups do not know what is good for them: as a result of propaganda and manipulation, they have a representation of their own position that is inconsistent with their own best interests, a state of mind traditionally referred to as ‘false consciousnesses. Discourse in this approach essentially serves as the medium by

which ideologies are persuasively communicated in society, and thereby helps power reproduce power and domination of specific groups or classes.’

Van Dijk (1997:26) argues that “people develop ideologies to solve specific problem: ideologies thus serve to manage the problem of the coordination of the acts and practices of individual social members of a group. Once shared, ideologies will make sure that members will generally act in similar ways in similar situations, are able to cooperate in joint tasks, and will thus contribute to group cohesion solidarity and the successful reproduction of the group. This is relevant in situations of threat and competition, when lack of coordination and solidarity may lead to loss of power disintegration or defeat. For the classical concept of ideology as a means of reproducing domination, this would mean that ideology serves to coordinate the social practices of dominant group members so as to perpetuate their dominant position as a group.”

Van Dijk (1997:26) believes that “ideologies have several important implications. First ideologies are inherently social and not merely personal or individual; they need to be shared by the members of groups, organizations, or other social collectivities of people. In that respect they resemble natural languages, which also are inherently social, and also shared and used by social members of a community to solve a social problem of coordination, namely that of successful communicative interaction.”

Van Dijk (1997:26) compares between language and ideology that is groups develop and use languages only for internal purposes, that is for communications among their own members, whereas ideologies serve not only coordinate social practices within the group, but also (if not primarily) to coordinate social interaction with members of other groups.”

Van Dijk (26:1997) explains that “ideologies serve to define groups and their position within complex societal structures and in relation to other groups. It is this prevalent overall self-definition or social identity that is acquired and shared by group members in order to protect the interests of the group as a whole.”

Van Dijk (26:1997) believes that ideology is characterized as “a shared self-definition of groups that allow group members to coordinate their social practices in relation to other groups.”

Van Dijk (26:1997) explains that “ideologies show a number of basic dimensions. They feature representations of criteria of membership and group access (who we are? Who belongs to us?) typical actions and aims (what do we do? And why?) norms and values (what is good and bad for us? relative social position to other groups (where are we?) as well as the special social resources of the group (What do we have?).

Van Dijk (27:1997) argues that “ideologies must be fundamental as well as very general and abstract”, but ,“do not immediately tell each social member how to act in each situation but rather serve groups to develop shared , general and mutually coherent representations for large domains or major problems of social and cultural life, such as life and death, illness and health, threat and survival , nature and culture , work and leisure , housing and clothing , settlement and migration, birth and abortion, dominance and subordination, crime and punishment, transgression and compliance and so on.”

Van Dijk (1997:27) concludes that “socially, ideologies function primarily to serve as an interface between collective group interests and individual social practices.’

Van Dijk (1997:27:28) talks about social cognition that characterizes ideologies that are both social systems while shared by groups as well as mental representations. Instead of comparing them with natural languages to be rather compared to “the abstract grammars or systems of discourse rules of a language which are also shared by a group while at the same time allowing group members to engage in text and talk. Metaphorically speaking then, ideologies are group –specific grammars of social practices.’

Furthermore, Van Dijk (1997:28) discusses another aspect of ideology that is “ideologies resemble the knowledge of a group, which is also socioculturally shared while at the same time known and usable by group members in their everyday practices.” Thus “knowledge and ideologies are types of social belief”, so “ideologies need to function in order to optimally serve the best interest of the group as whole”, therefore “ideologies do of course control what groups themselves usually hold to be true beliefs.”

Similarly, Van Dijk (1997) claims that ‘ideologies control not only knowledge but especially also the evaluative belief systems (attitudes) groups share about certain social issues’, moreover ‘ideologies are the mental representations that form the basis of social cognition, that is of the shared knowledge and attitudes of a group. That is, besides a social function of coordination, they also have cognitive functions of belief organization: at a very general level of thought, they tell people what their position is and what social issues to think about.’

Van Dijk (1997:29) suggests that “if ideologies need to represent the interests of self-definition of each group, they should exhibit a group schema, featuring the mental counterparts of the social categories, for instance, Van Dijk says:

[journalists thus acquire and use an ideology that consists of a self- schema that servingly defines them as people with special abilities, who professionally produce news and background articles in order to inform the public, by value standards such as objectivity, reliability and fairness, while being positioned independently between the public and the elites, and having special access to the resource of information.]

To conclude, this study will examine ideology and discourse analysis of examples that are extracted from Israeli and Palestinian outlets and will examine the role of the translator, as a mediator and advocator.

In this chapter, I tried to give a summery on previous studies on ideology that were conducted in this field covering theoretical and analyzing aspects of each study. Chapter II sums up the studies that tackle ideology while translating terms and expressions between the SL and TL. In this chapter, we tried to gives a brief of previous studies on ideology. These studies have analyzed texts based on discourse analysis.

Chapter III

Methodology

3.1. Overview

This chapter aims to provide a general overview of the methodology the researcher adopts in collecting, analyzing and discussing the data of the study with a view to drawing conclusions, findings and recommendations in an attempt to demonstrate the relationship between ideology and translation.

3.2 Objectives of the Study

This study aims at achieving the following objectives:

1. Finding information about the ideological terms that are used in the extracted texts.
2. Illustrating ideological-motivated terms and acronyms that are demonstrated in the articles.
3. Analyzing the difference between ideological terms that are used in the news articles.
4. Examining the role of the translator as a mediator rather than an advocator.

3.3 Design of the Study

The researcher adopts House's assessment of translation 2001 to analyze the samples of the study and to evaluate the data. The researcher has analyzed the samples in accordance with the ideology categories in the news articles; religious, political, use of euphemism and dysphemism. The researcher has applied discourse analysis while working on the extracted texts.

3.4 Data

The data of the research has been collected from Israeli and Palestinian outlets that have covered the war on Gaza on the 27th of December 2008 and that lasted three weeks. These outlets include, Palestinian independent News Agency *Maan* based in the West Bank city of Bethlehem, Hamas affiliated website "*Palestine Information Center*" based in London and the website of *Izz Din Al-Qassam* Brigades, the armed

wing of Hamas, while Israeli examples are extracted from online daily newspapers of *Haaretz* and *The Jerusalem Post*.

Palestinian News Agency *Maan*, is chosen since it is independent. It has covered the war on Gaza by reporting the events without being biased or taking the side of any party. Choosing Israeli websites of *Haaretz* and *The Jerusalem Post*, for both outlets have covered war from Israeli view, taking into consideration that *The Jerusalem Post* is a right-wing newspaper.

3.5 Significance of the study

The significance of this study stems from the importance of the statements that are made by senior Palestinian and Israeli officials during the war on Gaza. The study will show the ideology pursued by the two parties all through the three week-long war. For the Israelis to justify their military campaign on Gaza and for the Palestinians to get support from the Palestinians in Gaza in having the right of resistance acts they are carrying out in defending themselves and their land against the Israeli offense. The statements are extracted from the news outlets, Palestinian and Israeli ones. These examples are chosen to show the ideology that is illustrated in these examples whether implicitly or explicitly. Furthermore, this study is the first to be carried out to cover the war on Gaza despite of the fact that Israel has repeatedly attacked Gaza, this study covers 2008 Israeli war on Gaza.

3.6 Statement of the Problem

This study covers ideology that is employed in the statements and news articles during the war on Gaza. Israeli and Palestinian officials have used different terms that are related to ideology to describe either the war or the weapons that were used in that war or the people who have been involved in that war. The main problem that faces the researcher is that some of the Israeli reports were not directly published; they were published after a while with the note “clear for publication”, this procedure is rather taken by the Israeli authorities for security reasons, as they claimed. Following are some examples on related terms that are used in the statements that are said by Israeli and Palestinian officials:

Terms used by Palestinian media outlets

The following are some of the terms that have been used in the news articles:

Palestinian Terms	Israeli Terms
Home –made projectiles, Home- made shells	Rockets, Grads,
Separation Wall, Segregation Wall	Security Fence, Security barrier
Resistance fighters, freedom fighters	Terrorists, murderers
Al-Furqan	Operation Cast Lead
Israeli Occupation Forces	Israel Defense Forces
Offense, battle, invasion	Invasion, military operation, Campaign Military Offensive

3.7 Working Hypotheses

- 1-The translator better plays a role of a mediator than an advocator.
- 2-There is a loss in the translation of ideology to media rhetoric on the Israeli war on Gaza.

3.8 Limitations of the study

This study will offer an analysis to the statements of the Israeli and Palestinian sides that are published on the news websites in English regarding ideology in translation. While working on this issue, we face some difficulties like; lack of statements on Gaza war particularly during the first days making it difficult for me to expand my research delimiting it to the few statements that would support my study concerning ideology.

3.9 Questions of the Study:

This paper will answer the following questions:

1. To what extent is the translator involved while translating ideologically motivated texts?
2. Is the translator a mediator or/and an advocator?
3. How would ideology affect the rhetoric of discourse?

Chapter IV

Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Overview

Chapter IV includes forty six news articles extracted from the data of the study. The samples are statements by Israeli and Palestinian officials; other statements were issued by *Al-Qassam* Brigades, the armed wing of the Hamas Movement and some news articles that demonstrate the Israeli Rabbinate's role in the Gaza war. Analysis will be according to ideology and discourse in terms of managing translation, using linguistic devices (e.g., euphemism and dysphemism, etc.) while reporting news on the War on Gaza by Israeli and Palestinian media outlets and the translator's role as a mediator versus an advocator.

This analysis will deal with ideology in respect to its categories such as, racist ideology and religion-based ideological terms that are used by the two parties. In some examples it was either explicitly or implicitly expressed and political ideology is traced in some other samples.

4.2 Categories and Samples of Ideology

4.2.1 Racist Ideology:

Racist ideology may be defined as “a system of ethnic or racial dominance that is of systematic power abuse of a dominant group” (Van Dijk cited in Baklouti 2: 2007).

Racism, as a form of dominance, is backed by the belief of the superiority of in-group members and the inferiority of the out-group. As any other ideology, racism is inextricably linked to discourse because on the one hand, discourse is one of the social practices of racism and on the other hand, it is the medium through which people develop racist beliefs (Baklouti 2:2007).

As a matter of fact, “the same text may be multi-ideological i.e. it may display more than one ideology with different degrees of implicitness at the level of linguistic expression. In fact, a writer may explicitly defend one ideology while implicitly assuming or even passing on another ideology” (Baklouti Page 2:2007). Example (1)

below of a news article published in *The Jerusalem Post* on January 9th 2009 under the headline “Olmert: Operation Cast Lead will continue”. This headline is followed by the news article that contains different levels of ideology like employing linguistic devices, e.g. euphemism, dysphemism, cohesion as a textual device. The ideology is explicitly employed where both Israeli and Palestinian officials commented on the UN Security Council Resolution on ceasefire between the Palestinians and the Israelis. At the beginning of the statement the speaker, the Israeli Prime Minister, said:

Example (1)

“Israel has never agreed to external forces determining its rights to defend its citizens [...] the IDF will continue to work to defend Israeli citizens and will carry out all the objectives it was given in the operation”

In Example (1) above, Prime Minister Ehud Olmert speaks ideologically and explicitly as a dominant person. He stresses his ideology. The euphemized acronyms ‘the IDF’ that stands for Israeli Defense Force is ideologically-motivated by the text producer. To Palestinians, the dysphemised item is employed, جيش الإحتلال الإسرائيلي, the Israeli Occupation Forces (IOF). Lexical repetitions of ‘citizens’ aims to reinforce ideology, that Israelis are citizens, not immigrants. However, Example (2) below, extracted from the same article, highlights the lexical items that are ideologically-loaded, and in response to the UN SC Resolution, Hamas official, Sami Abu Zuhri said that:

Example (2)

“This resolution does not mean that the war is over [...] Palestinian fighters to mobilize to be ready to face this offensive, and we urge the Arab masses to carry on in their angry protests”.

In Example (1) above ‘operation’ is used whereas in Example (2) ‘war’ is used. The discrepancy of lexical item use is ideologically obvious. The item ‘operation’ is coherent with other items in the text in Example (1) above, e.g., ‘IDF’, ‘Israeli citizens’, etc. On the other hand, the item ‘war’ goes in harmony with ‘to face this offensive’, ‘urge the Arab masses’. The two parties employed the term war to show that that each of them have the right to defend itself.

Example (3)

“Olmert: Gaza war won’t end until rockets and smuggling stop”.

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert has explicitly expressed racism in the news article under the above headline that was published in *Haaretz* on January 12th, 2009. In this example, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert said that Israel had not declared war on Gaza residents “but that the fight is against the murderers of Gaza.” In Example (3) above the speaker has described a group of Palestinians in a negative way and has employed racist ideology implicitly using a dysphemistic term i.e (murderers) that is an ideologically-based term that mirrors the speaker’s justification to carry out a war on others.

Example (4)

The news article that was published in *Haaretz* on January 18th, 2009 under the headline “Barak: Israel ‘very close’ to achieving its goals in Gaza.’ Under this headline Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak said that (Israel is very close to meeting the objectives of its 22-day old offensive in Gaza). Again the speaker uses a racist term ‘offensive’ as an excuse to wage a war on Gaza. In another news article Barak uses dysphemistic terms to describe Hamas like; ‘militants’ while describing the war on Gaza as; ‘Israel’s campaign’.

In Example (5) below showing racist ideology is extracted from a news article that was published in *Haaretz* in January 16th, 2009 when Chief Rabbi of Safad says:

Example (5)

“[T]his is a [Hamas] war against Judaism.”

The producer uses racist ideology implicitly when describing the war as Hamas’, an Islamic movement, against Judaism as a religion.

Example (6)

Racist ideology has been employed in the news article that is extracted from *Haaretz* and was published on January 12th 2009 under the headline ‘Peres: the IDF has never been better trained, as sophisticated.’

Peres said under this headline addressing the soldiers: ‘unfortunately, the Arabs succeeded in describing every defeat as a victory and our talk turns every victory into defeat.’

In the Example (6) above the speaker uses ideologically-loaded terms explicitly by using the term “Arabs” referring to the other party as different from the Israelis.

In the example above Israeli President Shimon Peres addressed the Israeli soldiers saying that ‘[...] Israel’s deterrence power has returned, and I have come here on behalf of the nation to express deep gratitude for your accomplishments so far and to wish you luck during fighting.’ In Example (6) above the producer has spoken as an individual representing the society to express ideologically- based opinions. In doing so, the speaker employs van Dijk’s cognitive dimension with the discourse, macro-level (the society) and the micro-level which is the individual and discourse.

4.2.2 Political ideology

Political ideology is the setting of values, concepts, beliefs, and doctrines by the dominant class of a society to all its members, in order to make the interests of the ruling class the interests of all. (Xiao-jiang: 63:2007)

Hatim and Mason (1997: 218) cited by Al-Mohanadi (2008: 530) have defined ideology as “a body of assumptions which reflects that beliefs and interests of an individual, a group of individuals.” Xiao-Jiang (2007: 63) says ideology “always makes full use of the special role of translation. Translation can introduce new concepts, new devices and it helps the dominant institutions to legitimize the current order through values, conceptions and symbol systems.” For Van Dijk (1998) proposes that ideology has cognitive dimension from a social perspective; ideology is social representations shared by the members of a group. Van Dijk believes (2004:3.) that ideology has a schemata like “a number of conventional categories that allow social actors to rapidly understand or to build, reject or modify an ideology.” Part of political ideology is the relationship of dominance between the powerful and the powerless, and addressing the other party as inferior and subordinate. The powerless has the ideology of resistance, rallies demonstrations to oppose the powerful.

This goes along with Van Dijk’s categorization of ideology which consists of (a) the cognitive micro- level (the individual), (b) the macro –level (the society) and (c) the discourse.

Example (7)

In a news article that was published on December 29th 2009, in www.palestine-info.co.uk, an online website that is affiliated with Hamas, the headline of the news

article was “ Hamas: IOF chose date of starting hostilities”, under this headline Hamas spokesperson Fawzi Barhum said that “IOF adventure was meant to liquidate “the resistance program and Hamas.”

Example (8)

In a news article that was published in *Haaretz* on January 11th, 2009 under the headline: ‘Olmert: Nobody will determine Israel’s right to defend itself.’ Speaking at the Israeli cabinet meeting Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert said that “We have never agreed that someone should decide for us, if we are allowed to strike at those who bomb kindergartens and schools and we will never agree to this in the future.”

In the example above Olmert has explicitly employed political ideology to show the dominance of the individual on the group to try achieving the interests of the society. In the second paragraph the speaker again employs political ideology when saying that “for three weeks now, the State of Israel has been making an impressive military effort in the Gaza Strip in order to change the security situation in the south of the country.” In this example the speaker used geography as part of the political ideology i.e. Gaza Strip, the south of the country

4.2.3 Religious ideology:

Both Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, namely the Hamas movement, and Israel have used religion to defend their viewpoint going into a conflict. To begin with, the examples that are extracted from Israeli online daily newspapers *Haaretz* and *The Jerusalem Post* published news articles theologizing the Israeli offense on Gaza by quoting lines from Psalms, and stories from the Torah, or relying on stories quoted from the latest events.

Example (9) below is extracted from *Haaretz* and has been published on January 16th, 2009 under the headline ‘Gaza campaign against Amalek, says Chief Rabbi of Safad’

In this example the speaker who is the Rabbi has compared “war on Hamas as a war of the people of Israel against the Amalek.’ In example (9) above, the speaker uses a biblical connotation by employing the term “Amalek”. That stands for its Arabic equivalent العمالقة (the giants) which is ideologically motivated. The speaker quoted a story from the Torah which is about the (Amaleks). [Who had attacked the Israelites

in the first Exodus 17:8-16. When the Amaleks came and fought with the Israelites at the city of Rephidim, Moses then told Joshua to choose men to do battle with Amaleks. In the meantime, Moses, Aaron and Hur ascended a hill; and it happened that when Moses raised his hand, the Israelites were victorious but when he lowered it the Amaleks prevailed.] (see Feldman:9:2004)

In Example (9) above, the producer has employed intertextuality which de Beaugrande and Dressler (1987) considered as part of “mediation that becomes smaller when the speaker uses quotes from or refers to well-known texts, e.g. famous speeches or works of literature.” While on the other hand, according to Ibn Kathir interpretation of the Holy Quran for the verses (21-24) of Surat Al-Maa’ida:

قَالَ تَعَالَى: ﴿يَقَوْمُ أَدْخُلُوا الْأَرْضَ الْمَقَدَّسَةَ الَّتِي كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ وَلَا تَرْتَدُّوا عَلَىٰ أَدْبَارِكُمْ فَتَنْقَلِبُوا خَاسِرِينَ ﴿٢١﴾ قَالُوا يَمْوَسَىٰ إِنَّ فِيهَا قَوْمًا جَبَّارِينَ وَإِنَّا لَنَنْدَحِلُّهَا حَتَّىٰ يَخْرُجُوا مِنْهَا فَإِن يَخْرُجُوا مِنْهَا فَإِنَّا دَاخِلُونَ ﴿٢٢﴾ قَالَ رَجُلَانِ مِنَ الَّذِينَ يَخَافُونَ أُنْعِمَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمَا ادْخُلُوا عَلَيْهِمُ الْبَابَ فَإِذَا دَخَلْتُمُوهُ فَانكِرْ غَلِبُونَ وَعَلَىٰ اللَّهِ فَتَوَكَّلُوا إِن كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ ﴿٢٣﴾ قَالُوا يَمْوَسَىٰ إِنَّا لَنَنْدَحِلُّهَا أَبَدًا مَا دَامُوا فِيهَا فَادْهَبْ أَنْتَ وَرَبُّكَ فَقَتِلَا إِنَّا هَاهُنَا قَاعِدُونَ ﴿٢٤﴾ المائدة: ٢١ - ٢٤

(21. "O my people! Enter the Holy Land which Allah has assigned to you and turn not back; for then you will be returned as losers.") (22. They said: "O Musa! In it are a people of great strength, and we shall never enter it, till they leave it; when they leave, then we will enter.") (23. Two men of those who feared (Allah and) on whom Allah had bestowed His grace said: "Assault them through the gate; for when you are in, victory will be yours. And put your trust in Allah if you are believers indeed.") (24. They said: "O Musa! We shall never enter it as long as they are there. So go, you and your Lord, and fight you two, we are sitting right here.") (see Tafsir Ibn Kathir).

The biblical story is ideologically different from the verse that is extracted from the Holy Quran. The biblical story says that the Israelites had fought the Amaleks, while in the Quranic verse, the Jews did not obey Moses and refused to go and fight the Amaleks; instead they told Moses to go fight with God. Similarly, statements that are released by *Al-Qassam* Brigades, the armed wing of Hamas concluded by a verse from the Holy Quran: “to God we belong and to Him we shall return”

﴿ إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ ﴾

4.2.4 Ideology and culture:

Culture is an integrated part of ideology and discourse. The translator can't avoid culture which plays an important role while translating. There are cultural-bound issues; like religion, values, and traditions of one society that are different from another. In such a case the translator, should take into consideration these issues while translating from the ST to TT. Gavriely-Nouri (2011: 1) suggests that culture is “a database that opens selectively to the members of a specific community, enabling them to navigate and find links to specific issues. The content of these links are cultural codes – compact packages of shared values, norms ethos and social beliefs.”

The following examples that are extracted from the data demonstrate cultural bound issues. The issue of martyrdom is part of the Islamic culture and beliefs الاستشهاد. This issue of martyrdom is an honor for a Muslim to die while defending his/her land, home and family and that s/he would be rewarded by paradise that is granted by Allah. According to the Islamic beliefs, the person who is willing to sacrifice him/herself in a battle is called ‘Mujahid’.

Farghal (1993) explains that culture is part managing of translation arguing that there is a difference between monitoring or managing a text regardless whether the text is argumentative or expository. He says that when the text is an expository then it will be implicitly argumentative when managed. He distinguishes between two types of managing that have to do with cultural equivalence; intrinsic and extrinsic; (Farghal 1993, Casagrande 1954). Focusing on the cultural equivalence as part of the intrinsic managing here is an example:

A statement that was released by *Al-Qassam* Brigades, the armed wing of Hamas issued Dec 27th, 2008, speaking about one of its fighters, it says:

Example (10):

SL: “he was martyred by Zionist warplanes”

TL: استشهد عندما قصفته الطائرات الحربية الصهيونية

Example (7) is from a statement that was issued by *Al-Qassam* Brigades, the armed wing of Hamas movement mourning the death of one of its fighters who was killed by the Israeli army on December 27th, 2008. All of the statements employed the terms like Mujahid, Mujahedeen.

All of the statements that are released by *Al-Qassam* Brigades are followed by a paragraph that showed determination to fight back the Israeli army in the battle which they labeled as “Al-Furqan” الفرقان: يفرق بين الحق والباطل that differentiates between the good and evil. It is the name of a Surah in the Holy Quran (سورة الفرقان) in addition to other meanings i.e.

الْفُرْقَانُ: كُلُّ مَا فُرِّقَ بِهِ بَيْنَ الْحَقِّ وَالْبَاطِلِ، ﴿هُدًى لِلنَّاسِ وَبَيِّنَاتٍ مِنَ الْهُدَى وَالْفُرْقَانِ﴾
الْفُرْقَانُ: سُورَةٌ مِنْ سُورِ الْقُرْآنِ

الْفُرْقَانُ: الْقُرْآنُ، وَفِي التَّنْزِيلِ الْعَزِيزِ: الْفُرْقَانُ آيَةٌ (1) ﴿تَبَارَكَ الَّذِي نَزَّلَ الْفُرْقَانَ عَلَى عَبْدِهِ لِيَكُونَ لِلْعَالَمِينَ نَذِيرًا﴾
(معجم المعاني الجامع والمعجم الوسيط)

On the other hand, the term Operation Cast Lead الرصاص المصوب the name Israel has labeled its war on Gaza with, has a biblical connotation that refers to a dreidel which the Israeli children used to play with during the Hanukah holiday. In the past, this dreidel was made of cast lead; now it is made of plastic or wood to be of less weight. Israeli offense on Gaza began on Saturday the sixth day of Hanukkah عيد الانوار. Four Hebrew letters appear on each side of the dreidel. These letters stand for the Hebrew sentence “a great miracle happened there” referring to a biblical story when the Maccabees defeated Antiochus IV, a Greek emperor who ordered the erection of an alter to worship Zues the Greek God, in the Jewish temples. Macabees were Jewish guerrillas that fought against the Greeks. For the Jews, Chanukah is a celebration of liberation. After rededicating the temple, according to the story mentioned in the Torah, a small amount of oil was left to light the menorah “the candelabrum”, in the Temple, which was supposed to burn throughout the night every night. There was only enough oil to burn for one day, yet miraculously, it burned for eight days, the time needed to prepare a fresh supply of oil for the menorah. An eight-day festival was declared to commemorate this miracle. (Retrieved from <http://www.jewfaq.org/holiday7.htm> on---)

On the other hand, Israeli Minister of Foreign affairs at the time, Tzipi Livni, in the same news article, has said explicitly in a statement stressing “Israel’s independence in defending its goals.” The speaker employs ideology by saying that “Israel’s past, present and future actions are based solely on its considerations, the security of Israel’s residents and its right to self-defense.”

Another Israeli official, Minister of Trade and Industry and Labor Eli Yeshai, said in an interview with radio Israel that the resolution of the UNSC “supported Hamas terror”. The minister added in the same interview that “we must act with all our force to achieve our goals, to bring quiet to the south.” In the last two paragraphs the speakers have employed explicit ideology when.

Bringing “quiet to the south” can only mean that Israel as a powerful and well-established country cannot be troubled by some little disquietude in its south. The ‘south’ is the south of Israel and in this context it negates the existence of Palestine. In news article that was published in *Jerusalem Post* on January 6th 2009 under the headline ‘IDF ready to deploy in all of the Gaza Strip’, the reporter employs racist ideology when he said in the first paragraph that Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak “will decide in the coming days whether Israel should expand the ground operation against the “ Hamas terrorist infrastructure.” In the same news article the reporter quoted Israeli defense Minister Ehud Barak as saying that Israel had paid a painful price for a bitter unavoidable battle adding that “no peace-loving country can allow a terrorist organization to ruin daily life and embitter the lives of civilians.” An Israeli senior officer, in the same news article said that “we had a suicide bomber who tried to break into a compound and blow up”, he went on saying that “there is a sniper fire from hundreds of meters away”, “there is a lot of mortar fire”, the officer added. In this example the speaker employs explicit ideology by using terms that show that the Israelis are exposed to danger. In the same news article another Israeli senior officer said that “ Hamas was having a difficulty in launching long –range Katyusha rockets.” Another example from this news article is a statement from a senior officer who said that “ Hamas is determined and this operation is not a walk in the park.” Also in the same article, the reporter says that “58 Palestinians were killed including 30 who were reportedly killed in an IDF mortar attack on Jabalya School. In the next paragraph the reporter uses ideology when describing a Hamas leader as ‘the terror Chief’ when reporting the shelling of his house in an airstrike that was carried out by Israeli Air Force “IAF”. Towards the end of the news article the reporter mentions a clash of spotting “a suicide bomber with explosive belt and opened fire on him. The shooting triggered his explosive belt which killed him when it detonated.”

Example (11)

A news article that is extracted from *The Jerusalem Post* and was published on 16th January 2009 under the headline ‘Olmert calls a halt to assault on Hamas’, the reporter quoted the then Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert as saying in a speech addressing that nation that “today we face you again and can say that the conditions have been created so that our targets as defined when we launched the operation, have been fully achieved, and more so.” “Hamas was hit hard, both its military capabilities and its governing infrastructure”, ‘its leaders are in hiding’, “many of its members have been killed”, “the factories in which its missiles were manufactured have been destroyed”, “smuggling routes tunnels, through dozens of tunnels, have been bombed”, “the Hamas’s capabilities for conveying weapons within the Gaza have been damaged”, Hamas’s capabilities have been struck a heavy blow , which will harm its ability to rule and its military capabilities for some time.”

Toward the end of the news article Olmert concludes his speech and Barak stressed that the war was waged not against the Palestinians but “rather against Hamas”. In this example the speaker employs a racist ideology explicitly where he differentiates between the Palestinians and Hamas that is part of the Palestinians.

The reporter concluded his news article with a statement by Fawzi Barhum, Hamas spokesperson, commenting on the cease-fire agreement by saying that “the occupier must halt his fire immediately and withdraw from our land and lift his blockade and open all crossings and we will not accept any one Zionist soldier on our land, regardless of the price it exacts.”

The speaker employs a racist ideology when using terms like “Zionist”, differentiating between the Israelis as an ordinary people describing them as Zionists.

Example (12)

In the news article that was published on December 12th, 2009 *Haaretz* under the headline “Barak: Gaza invasion won’t be short, and it won’t be easy”

The reporter quoted Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak as “addressing the nation in a televised press conference following the ground invasion of Gaza that “Israel’s campaign against Islamic Hamas militant in Gaza will not be short, nor will it be easy.”

Barak says that “Israel was not eager to wage war, but could not abandon its citizens, residents of the south who have been victimized by Hamas rockets;” “the campaign won’t be easy and it won’t be short” emphasizing that “I know well the dangers that come with the offensive , and what the heavy price will be.” Barak says that “I don’t want to fool anyone. The residents of southern Israel will also undergo some tough times.”

Example (13)

In this news article that was published on 12\1\2009 in *Haaretz* under the headline “Peres: the IDF has never been better trained”. Israeli President Shimon Peres meets with paratroopers and reservists saying to them that “I don’t think we have ever had an army better trained, organized and sophisticated than you.”

“There is a feeling that we [are?] someone to depend on and that Israel’s deterrence power has returned, and I have come here on behalf of the nation to express deep gratitude for your accomplishments so far and to wish you luck during fighting.”

“This time, the IDF is achieving real and amazing results in terms of the caution taken and the activity in Gaza.”

“We must ensure that this is the true impression that remains.”

Example (14)

In the news article that was published in February 12th, 2009 under the headline “Olmert: Gaza war won’t end until rockets and smuggling stop”. The reporter quoted Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert telling students at a French school in Mikveh in Israel that Israel had not declared war on Gaza but that the fight was against” the murderers of Gaza.”

In the example above Olmert has employed explicitly racist ideology by describing Palestinian fighters as murderers.

Example (15)

In another news article that was published on January 18th, 2009 under the headline “Barak: Israel is very close to achieving goals in Gaza”. The reporter quoted Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak as saying that “our fight is not with the people of Gaza.” The speaker has opted for implicit ideology. In another paragraph Olmert had warned that ‘if Hamas entirely ends its rocket fire on Israel, Israel will consider an

IDF withdrawal from the Gaza ...if that does not occur, the IDF will continue to operate in order to protect our civilians.”

“After three weeks of Operation Cast lead, we are very close to reaching the goals and securing them through diplomatic agreements.”

Example (16)

The following Statements, extracted from the website of Ezz edenAl-Qassam Brigades, the armed of the Islamic movement of Hamas, are about the Palestinians who were killed in the Israeli war on Gaza.

In the first statement that was issued by the brigades in which it mourned one of its fighters who was killed by the Israeli army on 27\12\2008, the statement has employed euphemism which is a linguistic device to describe the death of this fighter as using the terms “Martyrdom way Assassination. This description has been mentioned in all six samples. Another linguistic device is Dysphemism that is employed in the statement using the term “Zionist forces” to describe the Israeli forces, Zionist incursions, Zionist entity, Zionist warplanes, Zionist occupation, Zionist Nazi, belligerent occupation forces, brutal destructive war, disproportion of power and Zionist occupier. All of these are dysphemism terms that are used to describe the Israeli army in a negative way.

Meanwhile the statement has employed euphemism to describe the Palestinian fighters, like Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas, the Mujahed, martyred, sacrifice, the Mujahedeen, resistance, Martyrs, heroes, “Al-Furqan battle”, the resistance with its few arms made exploits that will not be forgotten, the Islamic resistance movement”. In the above example the speaker employs terms that carries religious connotations to describe the fighters who were killed in the Israeli attacks.

Example (17)

In its statement that was released in January 13th, 2009, *Al-Qassam* Brigades has explicitly employed ideology using terms describing the Israeli attacks on Gaza. Al-Qassam mourns the death of the Mujahed”, “reaffirms determination to continue the resistance against the belligerent occupation forces.”

“May Allah (swt) accept him and bless his efforts for the path of Jihad”, “may Allah grant his family patience and solace for his loss.”

The statement has employed religious ideology by quoting a verse from the Holy Quran that is added at the end of the first paragraph of the statement. After mourning its fighter, *Al-Qassam* Brigades, concludes its statement with a paragraph under the headline “*Al-Qassam*brigades mourns the Martyrs of Al-Furqan Battle”

In the first paragraph the brigades have described its fighters as “a string of martyrs suffusing our Palestinian Land with their pure blood, “heroes”, fulfilling their promise to sacrifice themselves to defend their homeland against the Zionist occupier.”

In the second paragraph, the brigades employed ideology to describe the Israeli war on Gaza calling it “Al-Furqan Battle” while Israel had described it as Operation Cast Lead.

The brigades concluded the statement by praying to God glorifying the fighters who were killed in the war “May Allah please them all, and light our way to liberate our homeland from the Zionist occupation.’

The brigades said in its statement that its fighter “was targeted by the Zionist drones fired several missiles at him.”

Example (18)

In this statement that was issued by *Al-Qassam* Brigades on January 12th, 2009 on the death of one fighters, at the beginning of the statement, the brigades described the way he was killed by Israel by using the terms “Zionist War, Zionist drone”.

The terms that are employed in the above example on ideology that is used explicitly.

Example (19)

Another statement that was issued by *Al-Qassam* Brigades on 27/12/2008 employed dysphemism using terms like bloodiest Zionist attack, Zionist forces, and cowards. On the other hand euphemism is employed in terms like “martyred, Qassam men were prepared to defend their land and Palestinian civilians with their humble weapons they got.”

The statement talks about the fighter who “was martyred after a long bright path of jihad, hard work, struggle and sacrifice.”

The statement concludes by saying “may Allah (swt) accept him and his blessed efforts for the path of jihad.”

Example (20)

In the statement which *Al-Qasam* Brigades issued on December 27th, 2008 on the death of one of its fighters in a shelling said it was by “ the Zionist warplanes that targeted the Palestinian institution all over the Gaza Strip and targeted the Palestinian civilian houses.”

Example (21)

In the last sample that has been extracted from *Al-Qassam*’s statement issued on January 13th, 2009 on the death of one of its fighters, the brigades mourn the death of one of its fighters who was killed in a “Zionist heavy shelling”. The statement employs dysphemism to give a negative image while describing the acts of the Israeli army.

In the second paragraph the statement includes some dysphemism terms like “Zionist special Forces, Zionist forces.”

Example (22)

The following examples are extracted from Palestine Information Center, a news website that is affiliated with Hamas movement. They are as follows:

In the news article that is published on 2\1\2009 under the headline “Barhoum: Hamas is steadfast and is leading the resistance and social services”, Hamas spokesman, Fawzi Barhoum denied in a statement that “Hamas leaders and its government officials are hiding under ground and leaving the Gaza people to meet their fate as claimed by some media outlets in an attempt to tarnish the image of Hamas.”

In the example above, the speaker employs ideology explicitly to defy the reports that are published in Israeli media. In the second paragraph of the news article, the speaker employs euphemism as a cohesive tool when he describes the death of Hamas leader Nizar Al-Rayyan as ‘martyrdom’ and the use of the term “resistance,” in the same text. (See Abed Al-Karim Daraghmeh et al page 23:2010). In this example , the translator opted for the use of the term ‘martyrdom’ as it is a culturally sensitive term for the targeted readership who are Muslims around the world.

In the last paragraph the speaker employs dysphemism and euphemism in the same paragraph with phrases like; Hamas is strong and steadfast in the face of the Israeli occupation onslaught. In the same paragraph the speaker employed repetition as a lexical and cohesive device when saying “there are no cases of looting or other crimes that take place during wars, instead everyone is cooperating in facing the occupation onslaught.”

Example (23)

In this example which is a news article that has been published on January 10th, 2009 under the headline “Hamas : The IOF targets civilians, avoids confrontation with resistance” the speaker employs dysphemism in using terms like “IOF” and euphemism in terms of “resistance.”

In the first paragraph the speaker uses the terms of dysphemism: “Israeli occupation air force”. The news article is about a statement that has been issued by Hamas leader Mushir Al-Masri; it employs dysphemism and repetition in terms like “Zionist enemy” and “enemy” while using euphemism in terms like “resistance”.

4.2.5 Cohesion

Cohesion is the network of lexical, grammatical, and other relations which provide links between various parts of a text. These relations or ties organize and, to some extent create a text, for instance, by requiring the reader to interpret words and expressions by reference to other words and expressions in the surrounding sentences and paragraphs. Cohesion is a surface relation. It connects together the actual words and expressions that we can see or hear (see Mona Baker 193:1992).

4.2.6 The use of collocations

Collocation is the habitual juxtaposition of a particular word with another word or words with a frequency greater than chance. This linguistic feature is frequently used in texts to show power.

([http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/collocation.](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/collocation))

Yousefi: Kanani: Shojaei and *Ibid* (1345:2013) define collocation as “a careful examination of co-occurring words in a large body of texts (a corpus) and observing the way they are applied and can prove fruitful to reveal the sort of meaning and message people associate with a particular word.” Baker (1992) suggests thinking of

collocation in terms of tendency of certain words to co-occur regularly in a given language.

Hamas affiliated websites have employed collocation in their news articles like, “belligerent war”, “mad war”, “mass execution” to describe the Israeli war on Gaza. In the two examples above the speaker wants to show the aggressiveness of Israel. The translator has opted to use these collocations to show the heaviness of Israeli strikes on Gaza to attract the attention of the world towards the events in Gaza. While describing the Palestinians in Gaza as “legendary steadfastness” in Arabic صمودهم الاسطوري the speaker wants to encourage the people to show strength while being under the Israeli attacks.

While in the news articles that are extracted from *Maan News Agency*, the terms that are used such as ongoing Israeli assault ،إطباق هجوم، the ongoing onslaught هجوم ضارٍ. In these two collocations the translator and the editor have manipulated TL to fit the policy of the publishing house, of not being biased or taking the side of Hamas. Another collocation that shows a discrepancy in using it in terms of the ideology that has steered its use is in *Haaretz.*, The Israeli Defense Minister, Ehud Barak has opted to use “Islamic Hamas militants” while Hamas affiliated websites have opted to use the collocation of “resistance fighters.” This discrepancy in terms, serves the ideology of each side. In the first one, the speaker wants to show that Israel has the right to fight the Palestinians who mainly attack it while, vice versa, Hamas uses “resistance fighters” an ideologically motivated term to show that the Palestinians have the right to resistance of an enemy that attacks them.

4.2.7 Modality:

Is a linguistic term that refers to the modals that are used in a language. (Yousifi: Kanani,Shojaei) (2013) explain that modality refers to judgments, comment and attitude in text and talk.

Moreover, modality is a category of linguistic meaning having to do with the expression of possibility and necessity.

4.2.8 Use of will and would:

In a news article that was published on December 28, 2009 on <http://www.palestineinfo.co.uk>. Hamas Prime Minister in Gaza Ismail Haniyeh said in a televised speech

that “the Israeli occupation massacres will not weaken the Palestinian people ان مجازر الاحتلال الاسرائيلي لن تضعف الشعب الفلسطيني. In this example the negated modality “will not” functions as a modal of necessity. The speaker uses this to motivate and to encourage the Gaza people who are under the Israeli attacks. Another article on the same website, Hamas official, Fawzi Barhum said that “Gaza would not surrender. The translator has opted for the use of “would not” to show that Gaza people are strong enough and they refuse to surrender to the Israeli army attacks.

4.2.9 Metaphor:

The use of metaphors plays an important role in politics. In their statements Politicians employ metaphors to describe an act or a procedure. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) *Ibid* view metaphor as “a systematic and frequently visible tips of lots of icebergs of massive underlying conceptual structures of metaphor in thought.”

Newmark (1989) divided metaphors into categories like; cliché metaphors, dead metaphors, stock metaphors, recent metaphors, original metaphors and adapted metaphors.

Cliché Metaphor: it stands between dead and standard metaphors; it appears in two structures: a figurative adjective and literal nouns (e.g filthy lucre) and figurative verb iteral noun (e.g. explore all avenues; leave no stone unturned, stick out a mile).

Applying this category on the data a quotation from Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert said in a news article that was published on 30th December, 2008, that “Israel will act *with an iron fist* against Hamas, but with *silk gloves* against its civilian population.” This quotation shows that the speaker employs the metaphor to express harsh force in dealing with Hamas movement while he uses another metaphor that shows kindness and smoothness in dealing with the Palestinians who live in Gaza. In Arabic the expression "الضرب بيد من حديد" is used to show force and harshness in dealing with the other party another metaphor in Arabic to explain this issue is "اتباع سياسة العصا والجزرة", which is stick and carrot policy in English.

Standard or stock metaphors are very close to cliché metaphors. They are different from the cliché metaphor in using informal texts as a way of expressing mental or

physical situations. They may have cultural distance, for example referring to Chapter II talking about religious ideology

Politically speaking, officials employ metaphors to express an act, i.e. in the news article that was published in *Haaretz* on 12th January, 2009. Israeli Foreign Minister, Tzipi Livni, said in a statement that “ Hamas dare raise its head and strikes Israel again.” In this quotation the Israeli official employs animal abuse as a strategy of degrading and contaminating to put down the other party and show its ugliness and evil, these characteristics are of a snake which the Israeli official uses to describe Hamas.

Similarly, in news article that are extracted from a statement issued by *Al-Qassam* Brigades, the armed wing of Hamas. In this article the Palestinian fighters are described as “mujahideen” the singular of which is مجاهد. This Arabic term is increasingly used in the statements as part of a metaphor to describe their death as martyrdom and their fight as Jihad. These two terms are basics of Islam.

Al-Harrasi (2001) discusses the role of metaphor in the political discourse. He adopted the conceptual theory that deals with metaphors as a cognitive process. He speaks about the Arabic term of Jihad and puts it as a conceptual metaphor giving examples from the holy Quran.

Almost all extracted statements that are issued by *Al-Qassam* Brigades, the armed wing of Hamas, are loaded with these terms. These metaphors are employed to glorify the fighters. These statements are concluded with the sentence “may Allah (swt) accept him and his blessed efforts for the path of *Jihad* and may Allah grant his family patience and solace for his loss.” The term *Jihad* is ideologically employed to motivate the Palestinians to fight back the Israeli army who invades Gaza during the past few years; Israel has launched many attacks on the Gaza Strip.

Chapter V

Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Overview:

This chapter introduces the main conclusions the study has reached. These conclusions cover the ideologically-motivated terms that have been used in the study depending on the news articles that represent the data of this paper in addition to the discussion and analysis that are covered in **Chapter IV**. These conclusions represent the strategies and choices the translators have resorted to during covering the war on Gaza by reporting from the battle field. The researcher will list recommendations that she claims as suggestions for further research in the field of ideology.

Recommendations take into consideration the ideologies the translators mainly Palestinians have to resort to while working on news articles covering Israeli attacks and invasions on Gaza that did not stop until recently.

The conclusions represent ideologies the news articles have resorted to while reporting the 2008 war on Gaza. Depending on analyzing the data of the study, in which some of the ideologies were displayed explicitly while others are vice-versa, meaning that they are implicitly displayed. Some of the news articles and statements were loaded with ideologically –motivated terms.

The researcher has tracked some of these ideologies and terms in the data to show the discrepancies between the ideologies and strategies that are employed by the Palestinian and Israeli media outlets.

5.2 Conclusions

Having analyzed the samples that are extracted for the purpose of the present study, the researcher claims that conclusions may be drawn as follows:

1. The data of the study is extracted from news articles of both Palestinian and Israeli media. Editors of these outlets employ ideologies whether implicitly or explicitly to achieve the goals of each of them.
2. Each of the news articles has covered the war on Gaza from its point of view and ideology to achieve its goals whether politically, religiously or any other perspective.

In the samples that were extracted, the translators as well as editors have opted for managing the text or the translations depending on the readership they are addressing whether locally or internationally.

3. The role of military censorship in publishing reports on war. It is known that during wars news articles, especially the Israeli ones, are reviewed before being published for the public.
4. Focusing on the news articles that cover statements of the Israeli rabbis on war relating it to stories in the Old Testament, news articles extracted from *The Jerusalem Post* and *Haaretz*. These statements have biblical connotations. 6. Translators should take culture into consideration while working on a text. Some of the statements are cultural bound issues i.e. Islamic beliefs and basics like martyrdom, Jihad, الشهادة والجهاد.
5. Use of euphemism and dysphemism: the translator/reporter opted for the use of euphemism when speaking about Israel or Gaza.

5.3 Recommendations:

1. The translator should be aware of the use of ideology in all of its aspects when translating texts whether news articles or statements. Ideologically motivated texts could be a challenge for the translator where in some cases some of the texts might be against the translator's beliefs and culture.
2. The translator should distance himself/herself from being a part of the conflict depending on the readership or audience he/she is addressing.
3. The translator is advised to adopt translation strategies; of domestication and foreignization to employ while working on any text.
4. Translators who work for foreign agencies and media outlets especially those who work on conflict zones should be acquainted with the details of this conflict to be totally aware of the terms to be used while working.

Works Cited

The Holy Quran

Al-Harrasi, A.2001.Metaphor in (Arabic into English) translation with specific reference to metaphorical concepts and expressions discourse .Unpublished PhD. Aston University

Al-Mohannadi, S. 2008. Translation and Ideology. *Social Semiotics* 18 (4): 520-542.

Baker Mona, 1998. *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies*, Routledge. Baker M, 1992. *In other words*, Routledge.

Baklouti, A. 2007. Degrees of implicitness in the expression of Ideology: Freedom of expression vs. racism in the Prophet Cartoon Controversy. *Studies in Islam & the Middle East* 4(2). Retrieved 27/10/2011 from <http://majalla.org/papers>.

Daraghmah,A.K., Herzallah R, Abdel Karim. 2010. To translate or to subvert? Translating politically sensitive texts in the Palestinian Context. *Bethlehem University Journal* .Vol 29: 12-39.

Destruction in the Bible According to Philo, Pseudo-Philo, and Josephus (No. 31)
Hebrew Union College Press.

Farghal,M. 1993. Managing in translation: A theoretical Model. *Meta: journal tradcteurs/Meta: Translator's Journal* 38(2): 257-267.

Feldman, L. H. 2004.*Remember Amalek: Vengeance, Zealotry, and Group*

Gambier Yves, Doorslear Lucvan 2010 .*Handbook of Translation Studies*, volume 1, John Benjamins Publishing company.

Hatim B and Mason I, 1997. *The translator as communicator*, Routledge. House J, 2001, *Translation Quality Assessment: Linguistic Description versus Social Evaluation*, *Meta: journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal* 46 p.243-257.

Khalaf.K.B, 2014.Why and how the translator constantly makes decisions about cultural Meaning, *American Journal of Linguistics*, 3(1): 1-8.

Munday J, 2001. *Introducing translation studies theories and applications*, Routledge.

New Webster's Dictionary and Thesaurus, 1996 Lexicon publications

Newmark P, 1993. *Paragraphs on translation*, Library Cataloguing in Publishing Data.

Perez Calzada M, 2003. *A propos of Ideology*, St. Jerome Publishing

Shindler, C. 2013. *History of modern Israel*. Second Edition. Cambridge University Press.

Van Dijk Tuen A., *Discourse as social interaction*, 1997 published in Great Britain by Sage Publications

VanDijk Teun A. *Ideologies, Racism, Discourse: Debates on Immigration and Ethnic Issues*. www.discourses.org/OldArticles. retrieved February 18, February 2016

Venuti Lawrence, 1995. *The translator's invisibility, a history of translation*, Routledge.

Xiao-jaing Yan. 2007. On the role of the ideology in translation practice, vol 5 www.linguist.org. retrieved May 2012

Youssefi, K., Kanani, A., and Shojaei, A. 2013. Ideological or International Move? A Critical Discourse Analysis toward the Representation of Iran Sanctions in Western Printed Media. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 4(6):1343-1350

Websites resources

- <http://judaism.about.com/od/holidays/a/dreidel.htm>
- <http://www.haaretz.com/>
- <http://www.jpost.com/>
- <http://www.maannews.net/eng/Default.aspx>
- <http://www.palestine-info.co.uk/en/>
- <http://www.qassam.ps/>

www.beugrande.com/introduction_to_text_linguistics.htm

<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/ideology>

Tafsir Ibn Khathir

<http://www.recitequran.com/tafsir/en.ibn-kathir/5:25>

Appendix 1

Gaza Campaign Is War against Amalek, Says Chief Rabbi of Safed

Rabbi Shmuel Elyahu, during visit to Ashdod yeshiva, says Hamas is waging war against Judaism.

Nadav Shragai Jan 16, 2009 5:34 AM

The Chief Rabbi of Safed, Rabbi Shmuel Elyahu, visited a Bnei Akiva yeshiva in Ashdod Thursday where he declared the war against Hamas as "a war of the people of Israel against Amalek."

The yeshiva had originally been in the settlement of Neveh Dekalim and was evacuated in 2005 along with similar communities in the Gaza Strip.

"This is not a private war of Shmuel and Moshe against Muhammad, but a war of the nation of Israel against those wishing to destroy Jews. This is a [Hamas] war against Judaism and that is how it should be seen," Rabbi Elyahu said.

<http://www.haaretz.com/news/gaza-campaign-is-war-against-amalek-says-chief-rabbi-of-safed-1.268296>

Appendix 2

IDF Rabbinate Publication During Gaza War: We Will Show No Mercy on the Cruel

'[There's] biblical ban on surrendering single millimeter of [Land of Israel] to gentiles,' publication said.

26.01.2009

During the fighting in the Gaza Strip, the religious media - and on two occasions, the Israel Defense Forces weekly journal Bamahane - were full of praise for the army rabbinate. The substantial role of religious officers and soldiers in the front-line units of the IDF was, for the first time, supported also by the significant presence of rabbis there.

The chief army rabbi, Brigadier General Avichai Rontzki, joined the troops in the field on a number of occasions, as did rabbis under his command.

Officers and soldiers reported that they felt "spiritually elevated" and "morally empowered" by conversations with rabbis who gave them encouragement before the confrontation with the Palestinians.

But what exactly was the content of these conversations and of the plethora of written material disseminated by the IDF rabbinate during the war? A reservist battalion rabbi told the religious newspaper B'Sheva last week that Rontzki explained to his staff that their role was not "to distribute wine and challah for Shabbat to the troops," but "to fill them with yiddishkeit and a fighting spirit."

An overview of some of the army rabbinate's publications made available during the fighting reflects the tone of nationalist propaganda that steps blatantly into politics, sounds racist and can be interpreted as a call to challenge international law when it comes to dealing with enemy civilians.

Haaretz has received some of the publications through Breaking the Silence, a group of former soldiers who collect evidence of unacceptable behavior in the army vis-a-

vis Palestinians. Other material was provided by officers and men who received it during Operation Cast Lead. Following are quotations from this material:

"[There is] a biblical ban on surrendering a single millimeter of it [the Land of Israel] to gentiles, though all sorts of impure distortions and foolishness of autonomy, enclaves and other national weaknesses. We will not abandon it to the hands of another nation, not a finger, not a nail of it." This is an excerpt from a publication entitled "Daily Torah studies for the soldier and the commander in Operation Cast Lead," issued by the IDF rabbinate. The text is from "Books of Rabbi Shlomo Aviner," who heads the Ateret Cohanim yeshiva in the Muslim quarter of the Old City in Jerusalem.

The following questions are posed in one publication: "Is it possible to compare today's Palestinians to the Philistines of the past? And if so, is it possible to apply lessons today from the military tactics of Samson and David?" Rabbi Aviner is again quoted as saying: "A comparison is possible because the Philistines of the past were not natives and had invaded from a foreign land ... They invaded the Land of Israel, a land that did not belong to them and claimed political ownership over our country ... Today the problem is the same. The Palestinians claim they deserve a state here, when in reality there was never a Palestinian or Arab state within the borders of our country. Moreover, most of them are new and came here close to the time of the War of Independence."

The IDF rabbinate, also quoting Rabbi Aviner, describes the appropriate code of conduct in the field: "When you show mercy to a cruel enemy, you are being cruel to pure and honest soldiers. This is terribly immoral. These are not games at the amusement park where sportsmanship teaches one to make concessions. This is a war on murderers. 'A la guerre comme a la guerre.'"

This view is also echoed in publications signed by Rabbis Chen Halamish and Yuval Freund on Jewish consciousness. Freund argues that "our enemies took advantage of the broad and merciful Israeli heart" and warns that "we will show no mercy on the cruel."

In addition to the official publications, extreme right-wing groups managed to bring pamphlets with racist messages into IDF bases. One such flyer is attributed to "the pupils of Rabbi Yitzhak Ginsburg" - the former rabbi at Joseph's Tomb and author of the article "Baruch the Man," which praises Baruch Goldstein, who massacred unarmed Palestinians in Hebron. It calls on "soldiers of Israel to spare your lives and the lives of your friends and not to show concern for a population that surrounds us and harms us. We call on you ... to function according to the law 'kill the one who comes to kill you.' As for the population, it is not innocent ... We call on you to ignore any strange doctrines and orders that confuse the logical way of fighting the enemy."

The Israeli human rights organization Yesh Din has called on Defense Minister Ehud Barak to immediately remove Rabbi Rontzki from his post as chief rabbi.

In response, an IDF spokesman said that: "Overall, letters that are sent to the chief of staff [such as the request for Rontzki's dismissal] are reviewed and an answer is sent to those who make the request, not to the media."

<http://www.haaretz.com/idf-rabbinate-publication-during-gaza-war-we-will-show-no-mercy-on-the-cruel-1.268849>

Appendix 3

IDF Rabbinate uses scriptures to boost soldiers' morale

01/08/2009

Rabbinate dispatches 10,000 MP3 players with prayers to boost the morale of soldiers fighting in Gaza.

IDF Rabbinate uses scriptures to boost soldiers' morale

In what some called the theologizing of warfare and others called a boost to Jewish battle morale, 10,000 MP3s with recorded sermons of encouragement by the chief rabbis of Israel were prepared this week for distribution to combat soldiers - religious and secular, Jewish and gentile - presently serving in Gaza. Chief Ashkenazi Rabbi Yona Metzger, citing Maimonides (1135-1204), the Jewish philosopher and legalist, urged soldiers to "trust in God and know that war is being waged for the sanctification of His name... and not to fear. [The soldier] should not think at this time of his wife or of his children or of his mother and father." Meanwhile, Chief Sephardi Rabbi Shlomo Amar called the military campaign in Gaza "a holy mission that is being waged in the name of the entire Jewish people." "Even when we walk in the valley of darkness God is with us," said Amar, paraphrasing Psalms. "Like a little boy in the dark who hugs his father so too should you soldiers cleave to God." Another spiritual leader, Chief Rabbi of Safed Shmuel Eliyahu, son of former chief rabbi Mordechai Eliyahu, was also recorded on the MP3s to be distributed to soldiers. "Our intention is to uplift soldiers' spirits," said Eliyahu, who likened Hamas to Haman in the biblical story of Ester and to the Nazis. The recording of the rabbis and plans for the distribution of the MP3 were organized by the IDF's Jewish Consciousness Field (JCF) [Tchum Toda'ah Yehudit], a division of the IDF's Rabbinate. An anonymous donor or group of donors provided the IDF with the MP3s free of charge. In addition to the MP3s, the JCF also distributed to IDF rabbis in the field in Gaza a pamphlet entitled "Jewish Consciousness Emphases for Cast Lead." In the pamphlet, the IDF rabbis are addressed as "Anointed Priests of War." In the introduction, Shmuel Yurman, an officer in the JCF, defines the purpose of the pamphlet. "This is the hour to strengthen our fighters in this heavenly commanded war [milchemet mitzva] that they have the merit to wage. Each of you [rabbis] has the knowledge and skills needed to contribute to the IDF battle spirit. "Nevertheless, in order to enlighten and focus the spiritual message, JCF learned and prepared itself for this war before the operation began and as it was being fought. In meetings with soldiers and officers on the southern front we listened to the spiritual needs. We wrote down the emphases of Jewish Consciousness that are needed during warfare." In the body of the pamphlet, Rabbi Tzadok Ben-Artzi, head of the JCF, argues for the justification of the war. "We, the people who contributed to the world the book of books, who want to build a society based on creativity and peace, love of mankind and faith in good, find ourselves chased by blind hatred that is motivated by 'religious' terminology and

aspires to bloodshed and cruelty." In a list of main points, Ben-Artzi recommends that IDF rabbis emphasize that the war Israel is fighting is justified because its aim is "to save the Jewish people from its enemies," a halachic definition mentioned by Maimonides. Another point made by Ben-Artzi is that the war in Gaza is part of a much larger mission designated for the Jewish people to eradicate evil in the world. This idea is based on the teachings of Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Hacohen Kook, the first Chief Rabbi of Israel and the founding father of modern religious Zionism, and his son Rabbi Tzvi Yehuda Kook, who founded Gush Emunim. According to the elder Kook, in his book *Orot*, "When there is a great war in the world the power of Messiah is aroused—the wicked perish from the world and the world is invigorated and the voice of the turtledove is heard." Contemporary religious Zionist rabbis such as Rabbi Yehuda Zoldan, formerly of Gush Katif who teaches at Machon Lev, see the war with radical Islam as battle to wipe evil off the face of the earth. Military sociologist Dr. Yagil Levy, of The Open University, called the use of rabbinic literature to support soldiers' morale a "theologizing of the army." Levy said that since the appointment of OC Chaplaincy Brig.-Gen. Avichai Ronzki in March, 2006 the IDF's rabbinate has been taking over functions normally carried out by the IDF's Education Division. "Ronzki wants IDF missions to receive theological, and not just rational, justification," said Levy. "He has pushed for getting IDF rabbis to serve alongside soldiers and officers and he has expanded their roles to include outreach to secular soldiers." Levy said that it was unclear whether or not the IDF was taking steps to curtail the influence of the JCF and the rabbinate. "Today the IDF is so dependent on religious soldiers in combat units that it is unclear whether it is possible to take steps against Ronzki," he said. Levy added that from a utilitarian perspective the theologizing of military missions advances the IDF's interests. "When we are fighting in Gaza it is very beneficial to utilize religion," Levy said. "Soldiers are very ambitious and motivated. Religious people also seem to deal with loss better judging from the rhetoric of religious families at funerals. "They accept their loss and don't question the justification of the military operation that resulted in the death of their loved ones. But when it comes to evacuating Hebron things are not so simple. In the past, Ronzki has rejected criticism to his attempts to expand the influence of Jewish Consciousness. In a letter that he wrote to IDF rabbis at the beginning of November in response to a series of investigative articles that appeared in Haaretz about the JCF, Ronzki defends the IDF rabbinate's right to "imbue soldiers with Jewish spirit and consciousness." In the letter, portions of which were published in Haaretz, Ronzki admitted that "recently there has been dispute between the Education Division and us [the rabbinate] but it is clear that we, as military rabbis, are supposed to deal with helping soldiers to internalize Jewish values, spirit and consciousness as presented in Jewish sources. This is our main function as rabbis." Ronzki said that in meetings with dozens of combat officers in the months before becoming chief IDF rabbi, he was told that the main purpose of the IDF rabbinate is to "teach us, men who did not grow up in a religious household, what Judaism is." In the past, IDF rabbis focused primarily on providing services to religious soldiers. They were responsible for kashrut supervision, prayers, religious burials and an occasional sermon on Shabbat and holidays. However, the IDF's Rabbinate under Ronzki has tapped into biblical and rabbinic literature that deals with the theological and philosophical aspects of warfare in an attempt to create a genuinely Jewish culture of war.

<http://www.jpost.com/Israel/IDF-Rabbinate-uses-scriptures-to-boost-soldiers-morale>

Appendix 4

'Shas broke law with prayer for soldiers'

01/06/2009

Flyers given by party included pictures of deceased Sephardi sages and a blessing intended for the soldiers, alongside the Shas logo.

Shas violated election laws that forbid distributing amulets when it gave out thousands of flyers with a prayer for IDF soldiers, officials in secularist parties said Tuesday. The flyers included pictures of deceased Sephardi sages like the Baba Sali and Rabbi Yitzhak Kadourie and a blessing intended for the soldiers, alongside the Shas logo. "Our soldiers give their souls and without them we would not be able to learn Torah," the flyers read. "Therefore, everyone must pray for them." Shas has gotten in trouble in the past for distributing prayers and candles with images of rabbis during election campaigns. The Central Elections Committee (CEC) ordered Shas to refrain from distributing such items after complaints from Meretz before the 1996 election. Meretz is expected to file a complaint with the Central Elections Committee over the flyers. Meretz MK Zehava Gal-On said the flyers were illegal and would not help the soldiers. "What will save our soldiers is not dead rabbis, it's the government deciding to leave Gaza," Gal-On said. Yaron Yadan, a former kollel head who now leads the secularist Or Party that is running in the February 10 election, accused Shas of "trying to cheat the public and make it look like they identify with the IDF even though they raise their children to evade the army." A Shas spokesman responded that there was nothing wrong with the flyers. An official with the Bayit Hayehudi Party said it might follow Shas's lead and distribute its own flyers bearing the official prayer for the IDF.

<http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Shas-broke-law-with-prayer-for-soldiers>

Appendix 5

IDF ready to deploy in all of Gaza Strip

01/06/2009

Army says soldiers killed close to 150 Hamas gunmen since ground op was launched on Saturday.

As Operation Cast Lead concluded its harshest 24 hours on Tuesday after the IDF lost five soldiers, senior defense officials revealed that the army was prepared to deploy in the entire Gaza Strip, if necessary. Defense Minister Ehud Barak will decide in the coming days whether Israel should expand the ground operation against the Hamas terrorist infrastructure, they said. Since the ground operation was launched on Saturday, IDF troops from several infantry and armored brigades have, according to Palestinian reports, taken up positions throughout northern Gaza - near Beit Lahiya, Beit Hanun, Jabalya, Saja'iya and al-Atatra. Despite increasing international pressure

on Israel to withdraw its troops, a senior official confirmed that plans had been drawn up to move troops into the south as well. Four soldiers were killed in friendly-fire incidents that took place during fighting on Monday night. Three soldiers were killed when a tank mistakenly opened fire on a home in Saja'iyah occupied by officers and soldiers from the Golani Brigade. Another tank accidentally fired on a home in al-Atatra, killing an officer in the 202nd Battalion of the Paratroop Brigade. The soldiers were Cpl. Yousef Moadi, 19, who lived recently in Haifa, but was originally from the Druse village of Yirka; Maj. Dagan Wertman, 32, from Ma'aleh Michmash in the Binyamin region; St.-Sgt. Nitai Stern, 21, from Jerusalem; and Capt. Yonatan Netanel, 27, from Kedumim. On Tuesday morning, St.-Sgt. Alexander Mashevitzky, 21, was killed and four other soldiers from a joint Golani-Engineering Corps force were lightly wounded in a gun battle with Hamas operatives in northern Gaza City. Mashevitzky, a member of an elite Engineering Corps unit, led the joint force, which was ambushed by Hamas gunmen while conducting ground sweeps. The Hamas operatives were reportedly hit by IDF fire. Barak said Tuesday that Israel had paid a painful price for a bitter, unavoidable battle. "It is a bitter battle, but an unavoidable one," he continued. "No peace-loving country can allow a terrorist organization to ruin daily life and embitter the lives of civilians." A senior IDF officer said on Tuesday that Hamas had stepped up its attacks against troops based in the periphery of towns and villages in northern Gaza. Over 150 Palestinians have been arrested in Gaza. There have also been a number of kidnapping attempts by Hamas operatives who pop out of tunnels and try to grab soldiers. If the IDF decides to expand its operations, it may send some of the reservists who have been training in the South into the Gaza Strip. "Hamas is trying to draw us inside the built-up areas," said a senior IDF officer, speaking by a secure phone line from the field. "Hamas is trying to avoid a classic battle with us. Last night, we had a suicide bomber who tried to break into a compound and blow up, and the force responded quickly. There is also sniper fire from hundreds of meters away, and when we get into buildings there is a lot of mortar fire." In spite of the fierce fighting, diplomatic activity has begun to gain steam, and defense officials predicted that Operation Cast Lead could be over in the coming week if a diplomatic resolution is achieved. The IDF is conditioning its acceptance of a new cease-fire with Hamas on the establishment of a supervision mechanism in the Gaza Strip and the creation of a force based along the Egyptian side of the Philadelphi Corridor to prevent the smuggling of weaponry and explosives from Egypt into Gaza. Amid international criticism over civilian deaths and increasing calls for a cease-fire, IDF soldiers edged closer to two major Gaza towns on Tuesday. A total of 58 Palestinians were killed Tuesday, including 30 who were reportedly killed in an IDF mortar attack on a Jabalya school from which Hamas was launching mortars into IDF positions. The IDF said that several Hamas gunmen were among those killed in the school. Senior officers said the IDF would likely deepen its operations in Gaza in the coming days. Since it took up positions in northern Gaza, the IDF said Hamas was having difficulty in launching long-range Katyusha rockets against Ashdod and Beersheba. "Unless Hamas comes to its senses, we will find ourselves in other parts of the Gaza Strip," a senior officer said. "Hamas is determined, and this operation is not a walk in the park." The IAF also struck the home of one of the founders of Hamas's rocket division on Tuesday. The IDF said that the terror chief, Iman Siam, was in his house at the time of the air strike in Jabalya. The army said that in addition to being a founder of Hamas's rocket-launching program, Siam was the head of the group's artillery program throughout the Gaza Strip. At least 10 Hamas and Islamic Jihad gunmen were killed in other Gaza

battles early Tuesday, the IDF said, claiming that soldiers had killed close to 150 Hamas gunmen since the ground operation was launched on Saturday. Paratroopers operating near the town of al-Atatra discovered a booby-trapped doll at the entrance to a smuggling tunnel. The doll-bomb was safely dismantled. A Givati force entered a school on Monday night, and in the morning discovered that it was rigged with explosives that were connected to a piano in a nearby home. In an overnight clash, paratroopers operating near al-Atatra spotted a suicide bomber and opened fire on him. The shooting triggered his explosive belt, which killed him when it detonated. One soldier was lightly wounded in the incident. Elsewhere, a booby-trapped house was bombed. The IDF believed that under the house were a number of smuggling tunnels. The IDF announced that it had conducted over 30 sorties during overnight operations late Monday and early Tuesday. During the raids, IAF planes bombed the Jabalya home of Basal Abu Wadi, a prominent Hamas military officer who was at the level of a company commander in Izzadin Kassam. The Jabalya home of another Hamas officer, Ashraf Guda, was destroyed in a different air strike. His house was said to function as a Hamas command and control center. The house of a third company commander in the military wing, Iman Jalala, was also targeted overnight. Around 40 rockets were fired at southern Israel on Tuesday, causing damage to structures. Six people suffered from shock, but there were no other casualties. Magen David Adom paramedics attended 37 rocket impact scenes throughout the day. Yaakov Lappin contributed to this report.

<http://www.jpost.com/Israel/IDF-ready-to-deploy-in-all-of-Gaza-Strip>

Appendix 6

Olmert: Operation Cast Lead will continue

01/09/2009

PM says UNSC resolution not practical; Livni: Israel's actions are based on its right for self-defense.

Despite the UN Security Council resolution calling for a Gaza cease-fire, Prime Minister Ehud Olmert said Friday afternoon that the IDF operation in the Strip will continue. "Israel has never agreed to external forces determining its right to defend its citizens," Olmert said in a statement issued by the Prime Minister's Office following the Security Cabinet discussion on the UNSC resolution. "The IDF will continue to work to defend Israeli citizens and will carry out all the objectives it was given in the operation," he continued. Olmert said that the rocket fire from Gaza Friday morning "only proves that the UN resolution is not practical and will not be honored by the murderous Palestinian organizations." Gaza terrorists fired over 30 rockets into Israel on Friday. Osama Hamdan, a Hamas envoy to Lebanon, also rejected the UNSC call for a cease-fire, telling al-Arabiya satellite channel that the group "is not interested in it because it does not meet the demands of the movement." Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri said the UN failed to consider the interests of the Palestinian people. "This resolution doesn't mean that the war is over," he told al-Jazeera satellite television network. "We call on the Palestinian fighters to mobilize and be ready to face the

offensive, and we urge the Arab masses to carry on with their angry protests." Earlier on Friday, Olmert, Defense Minister Ehud Barak and Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni convened for a preliminary consultation on the UNSC Gaza truce resolution ahead of the Security Cabinet meeting. Livni also released a statement on Friday morning regarding the resolution in which she stressed Israel's independence in defining its goals. "Israel's past, present and future actions are based solely on its considerations, the security of Israel's residents and its right to self-defense," she said. Meanwhile, speaking on Army Radio, Trade, Industry and Labor Minister Eli Yishai didn't rule out the possibility that the US abstention from Thursday night's UNSC vote was a result of pressure from "certain senior Israeli officials." He also blasted the UNSC resolution which, according to Yishai, supported Hamas terror. "The world is acting as a Hamas lobbyist [but] will understand, despite the UNSC resolution, that we must act with all our force to achieve our goals, to bring quiet to the South," said Yishai. Israel Radio also quoted a senior official as saying that a decision regarding the resolution needn't be reached on Friday, and that Israel could wait to see whether its demands regarding a cease-fire will be met.

<http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Olmert-Operation-Cast-Lead-will-continue>

Appendix 7

Olmert calls a halt to assault on Hamas

01/16/2009

Prime Minister Ehud Olmert declared Operation Cast Lead a victory Saturday night and threw the ball into Hamas's court, declaring a unilateral cease-fire that suspends the three-week operation, whose future depends on whether Hamas continues to fire on Israel. Olmert's announcement followed a three-hour emergency meeting of the 12-member security cabinet Saturday night that approved the cease-fire by a vote of 7-2, with one abstention. Finance Minister Ronnie Bar-On and Industry, Trade and Labor Minister Eli Yishai voted against, while Pensioners Affairs Minister Rafi Eitan abstained. According to what was decided Saturday night, Israel will stop its offensive, but will keep the IDF forces in place, see how Hamas responds and whether an effective mechanism will be set up on the border to stop smuggling. If so, then discussions will begin on withdrawing the troops. If not, the operation will continue. "Today, we face you again and can say that the conditions have been created so that our targets, as defined when we launched the operation, have been fully achieved, and more so," Olmert said, in a special address to the nation on Saturday night. Those goals were defined as stopping the rocket fire on Israel and an end to the arms smuggling into Gaza. "Hamas was hit hard, both its military capabilities and its governing infrastructure," Olmert said. "Its leaders are in hiding," Olmert said of Hamas. "Many of its members have been killed. The factories in which its missiles were manufactured have been destroyed. The smuggling routes, through dozens of tunnels, have been bombed. The Hamas's capabilities for conveying weapons within the Gaza Strip have been damaged." Olmert said that according to the assessments of all the security services, "Hamas's capabilities have been struck a heavy blow, which will harm its ability to rule and its military capabilities for some

time." Olmert said the cease-fire would go into effect at 2 a.m. Sunday morning. Immediately following Olmert's announcement, Hamas fired eight missiles at Israel. The return of kidnapped soldier Gilad Schalit was not a condition of the cease-fire, though both Olmert and Barak pledged to continue working unceasingly for his release. Olmert said that Hamas was completely surprised by Israel's determination and strength throughout the operation, and that if it continued with its attacks after the cease-fire goes into effect, it will be surprised again by Israel's response. "I don't suggest they test us," he said. "Hamas did not foresee Israel's determination and its seriousness in bringing about a change of the reality in the region," he said. "Hamas's leaders did not believe that Israel would launch an operation of this scope on the eve of the elections. Hamas did not foresee the strength of the military attack, and more than anything else, it did not foresee the results," he said. Olmert stressed that the security cabinet met after he received a phone call from Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak describing the Egyptian cease-fire proposal. "Hamas is not a part of the arrangement we reached," Olmert said. "Terrorist organizations like Hamas have no part in agreements." Olmert, in what sounded almost like a line-by-line recital of lessons learned from the Second Lebanon War, said that the reserves were well prepared and equipped, the home front well taken care of, and the decisions at the government level were made in an orderly fashion. He was profuse in his praise of Defense Minister Ehud Barak and Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni, who was not at the security cabinet meeting because she was en route home from the US. Both Olmert and Barak, who spoke after Olmert, stressed that the war was waged not against the Palestinians but rather against Hamas, with Olmert reiterating his commitment to a two-state solution. Barak said there were likely to be continued rocket attacks on Israel and IDF forces in the immediate aftermath of the cease-fire, and that the army was prepared to deal with that eventuality. Hamas, meanwhile, said it was not obligated by the unilateral declaration. "The occupier must halt his fire immediately and withdraw from our land and lift his blockade and open all crossings and we will not accept any one Zionist soldier on our land, regardless of the price it exacts," Hamas spokesman Fawzi Barhoum said. Hamas fired rockets that landed near Ashdod and in the Eshkol and Sha'ar Hanegev areas just before the end of the security cabinet meeting. Olmert, who last week supported the continuation of the operation, while both Livni and Barak were in favor a cease-fire, now believes that Israel has achieved the two goals it set for itself: an end to the terrorism from Gaza, and preventing arms smuggling from Iran and other terrorist organizations into Gaza. The security cabinet was briefed by Amos Gilad, the head of the Defense Ministry's diplomatic-military bureau, and the prime minister's foreign policy adviser Shalom Turgeman on their talks Thursday and Friday with Egypt, and the various understandings being worked out with Egypt on how to stop the smuggling. The understandings with Egypt are just one layer of a multilayered approach being put together to create an international mechanism to prevent the arms smuggling. Another key component was signed Friday in the US, when Livni and US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice signed a memorandum of understanding in Washington, "regarding prevention of the supply of arms and related materiel to terrorist groups." That agreement underscores the US commitment to help Israel fight terrorism, and pledges both increased intelligence security and intelligence cooperation, an enhancement of the existing international sanctions, and enforcement mechanisms against providing support to Hamas and other terrorist organizations. Diplomatic officials said that the effort to stop the smuggling has three parts: an international effort to choke off the smuggling routes before the arms find their way to the tunnels under the Philadelphi Corridor; more

effective Egyptian efforts in fighting the smuggling at the border; the building of some type of physical barrier - a moat, trench or some kind of underground "wall" - that could be built by US or European engineers and technicians. Europe also committed itself over the weekend to fighting the smuggling, with French President Nicolas Sarkozy, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi and Spanish Prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, scheduled to arrive in Israel Sunday to give their support to the agreement. They will be coming to Israel from Sharm e-Sheikh, where Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Sarkozy are cochairing a summit to discuss the crisis. Among other participants invited to attend are UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan - who on Friday called for Israel to be barred from the UN - and Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas. Brown announced Saturday that Britain was prepared to provide naval resources to help monitor and stop arms being smuggled into the Gaza Strip. Brown said Germany, France and Britain sent a letter to Israel and Egypt saying that they were prepared to do everything they could to prevent arms trafficking. Italy also signed on the letter. In addition, Brown said Britain was also prepared to do everything it can to help with the border crossings, including European support for monitors at the crossings. "We are prepared to provide British naval support to stop arms trafficking. Other countries are agreeing also that they will provide the support that is necessary to stop arms getting into Gaza," Brown said. "At the same time, we're prepared to provide European support for monitoring at the crossings." Just prior to the convening of the security cabinet, Noam and Aviva Schalit, the parents of Gilad Schalit, held a press conference demanding that the release of their son be incorporated in any agreement to stop the fighting.

<http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Olmert-calls-a-halt-to-assault-on-Hamas>

Appendix 8

Peres: The IDF Has Never Been Better Trained, as Sophisticated

The president tells army reservists about to enter Gaza that Israel's deterrence power has returned.

12.01.2009

President Shimon Peres on Monday toured the army base at Zeelim and met with Israel Defense Forces reservists from the Paratrooper Brigade who are preparing to join the ground invasion in Gaza.

Peres spoke with the soldiers after surveying a new training compound that simulates battle in residential neighborhoods such as those in Gaza.

"I don't think we have ever had an army better trained, organized and sophisticated than you," said Peres. "In 16 days, the IDF has done what no other state has done in 16 years?. There is a feeling that we have someone to depend on and that Israel's deterrence power has returned, and I have come here on behalf of the nation to

express deep gratitude for your accomplishments so far and to wish you luck during fighting."

Peres then held a frank discussion with the soldiers, who asked him questions about decision-making in the political ranks, the Iran nuclear issue, the Second Lebanon War and the fighting in Gaza.

Peres stressed that the results of the war are determined by the impression they leave.

"Unfortunately, the Arabs succeed in describing every defeat as a victory, and our talk turns every victory into defeat," he said. "This time, the IDF is achieving real and amazing results in terms of the caution taken and the activity in Gaza. We must ensure that this is the true impression that remains."

<http://www.haaretz.com/news/peres-the-idf-has-never-been-better-trained-as-sophisticated-1.267985>

Appendix 9

Olmert: Gaza War Won't End Until Rockets and Smuggling Stop

12.01.2009

Prime Minister Ehud Olmert said Monday that he hoped to see a quick end to Israel's offensive on the Gaza Strip, but emphasized that the war would go on until Hamas ceased its rocket fire and its smuggling tunnels were decimated,

Olmert told students at the French school in Mikveh Israel that Israel had "not declared war on Gaza residents," but that the fight against "the murderers of Gaza" often results in innocent civilians being caught in the crossfire.

"Every child and adult not involved with terror who has been caught as a casualty of our military efforts is a victim for which we apologize, which we want to prevent."

The prime minister expressed his gratitude toward Egypt for working toward destroying the smuggling tunnels from Gaza and said he hoped dialogue with Cairo would yield positively.

Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni said earlier Monday that there was no reason to negotiate with Hamas over restoring calm to the Gaza Strip as the group's words were "meaningless."

"I am not going to negotiate with Hamas and don't need them to sign anything for me. What they said is meaningless. This is what is called deterrence: they know that the next time they attack us, they will be harmed," the foreign minister told Israeli radio stations.

Livni said that additional military operations in the Gaza Strip could also be in the cards should " Hamas dare raise its head and strike Israel again. The war on terror will be long and difficult and we will use military force because that is how one fights terror ? with military force and no alternatives. When they fire [rockets], I've said before, we must return the fire."

Livni said that the current operation in Gaza has proven to Hamas that Israel will always respond to provocation. "Israel is a country that reacts vigorously when its citizens are fired up, which is a good thing," she said. "That is something that Hamas now understands and that is how we are going to react in the future."

Meanwhile, sources close to Olmert confirmed Sunday that he continues to disagree with Livni and Defense Minister Ehud Barak regarding the question of continuing the warfare in Gaza.

The so-called troika met Sunday evening to discuss the subject, and both Barak and Livni reportedly argued for ending Operation Cast Lead as soon as possible. This is apparently the reason Olmert wants to present the issue to the security cabinet, where the majority supports his view.

Livni contends that continuing the offensive could harm the deterrence it has achieved so far and damage Israel diplomatically. Barak objects mainly to inserting ground troops deep into densely populated areas of Gaza. For his part, Olmert told the full cabinet Sunday that stopping Operation Cast Lead now would be a missed opportunity.

Sources close to Olmert said Sunday, after the meeting of the three, that most of the security cabinet supports Olmert's stand or even believe the operation should be expanded. Olmert is likely to convene the security cabinet today to seek approval for an expansion of the operation.

Olmert's associates also said no one in the security cabinet supported Livni's position and that a few Labor ministers support Barak's position that an agreement should be reached with Hamas.

Olmert told the full cabinet Sunday: "The pressure we are exerting [on Hamas] must not be reduced. Anyone who broadcasts weakness will earn the good will of the global community for 12 seconds, but will not change anything essential."

Sources in the Prime Minister's bureau said Egypt has begun to relax its stance on bringing in American and European engineering experts to deal with the tunnels in the Rafah area.

<http://www.haaretz.com/news/olmert-gaza-war-won-t-end-until-rockets-and-smuggling-stop-1.267974>

Appendix 10

Barak: Israel 'Very Close' to Achieving Goals in Gaza

Jan 16, 2009

Prime Minister Ehud Olmert on Saturday night announced that Israel's security cabinet has voted in favor of a unilateral cease-fire in the Gaza Strip, which will come into effect at 2 A.M.

The announcement comes after three weeks of fighting in the coastal strip, as Israel launched a massive military offensive aimed at halting years of daily rocket fire on its southern communities. Palestinian sources say that more than 1,100 Gazans have been killed since the offensive began on December 27. Three Israeli civilians and 10 Israel Defense Forces have been killed during that period.

The decision to launch the cease-fire was approved during a lengthy security cabinet meeting which began after sundown in Tel Aviv. Two ministers were against the move, and another abstained.

"Our fight is not with the people of Gaza," Olmert said at the Tel Aviv press conference following the cabinet meeting. "We left Gaza in 2005 with the intention of never returning," he said, referring to Israel's unilateral withdrawal of troops and settlers from the territory under former prime minister Ariel Sharon.

Olmert warned that Iran, through its proxies Hezbollah and Hamas, was trying to establish its own hegemony in the region. He said that Hamas had underestimated Israel's decisiveness, had been "surprised" by the launch of the offensive, and was still not fully aware of how badly it had been damaged.

Olmert said that "if Hamas entirely ends its rocket fire on Israel, Israel will consider an IDF withdrawal from the Gaza Strip." If that did not occur, he said, "The IDF will continue to operate in order to protect our citizens."

Most rocket launching areas are now controlled by IDF, he said.

Defense Minister Ehud Barak said Saturday that Israel is very close to meeting the objectives of its 22-day-old offensive in Gaza.

"After three weeks of Operation Cast Lead, we are very close to reaching the goals and securing them through diplomatic agreements," Barak said during a visit to the south of the country, according to a statement from his office.

The security cabinet was to meet Saturday night to discuss a unilateral cease-fire in Gaza.

The decision would mean Israel putting an end to Operation Cast Lead without an agreement with Hamas, relying instead on the support of the United States and Egypt in battling arms smuggling into Gaza.

Israel's Channel 10 on Saturday quoted IDF Chief of Staff Gabi Ashkenazi as saying he is in favor of bringing the IDF Gaza operation to a close.

A government source emphasized that there has been great progress with Egypt in reaching an agreement on fighting arms smuggling. The deal would require the combined use of technological measures on the border between Gaza and Egypt, operations against smugglers in the southern Gaza town of Rafah and the use of international experts to identify smuggling tunnels on the border.

The deal would also call for cooperation between Israel and Egypt on matters relating to the Gaza Strip in which they have shared interests, without the interference of Hamas.

Egypt is at the moment considering whether to organize a summit in the near future in Cairo between Olmert, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas.

Egypt's state-run news agency MENA reported on Saturday that Mubarak has invited French President Nicholas Sarkozy and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas for talks on how to end the Gaza offensive.

The Middle East News Agency (MENA) reported that Abbas and Sarkozy are set to hold talks with Egyptian President Hosni Muabark on Sunday.

The United States and Israel signed an agreement on Friday aimed at stopping the smuggling of weapons into the Gaza Strip, U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said.

The deal includes measures meant to fight arms smuggling from Iran to Gaza, with the policing to take place throughout the route by which the arms reach Gaza, including patrols of the Persian Gulf, Sudan and neighboring states.

The two-and-a-half page document outlines a framework under which the United States will provide military and intelligence assets, including detection and surveillance equipment, as well as logistical help and training to Israel, Egypt and other nations in the region. The equipment and training would be used for monitoring Gaza's land and sea borders.

The document also calls for the U.S. to expand work with its NATO partners in the effort, particularly in the Red Sea, Mediterranean Sea, Gulf of Aden, Indian Ocean and eastern Africa, according to a text.

It also commits Washington to use relevant components of the U.S. military to assist Mideast governments in preventing weapons and explosives flows to Gaza that originate in or transit their territories.

Although signed by the Bush administration, the agreement is binding on the incoming administration of President-elect Barack Obama and Rice and State Department spokesman Sean McCormack said both Obama and Secretary of State-designate Hillary Rodham Clinton had been briefed on the details.

<http://www.haaretz.com/news/barak-israel-very-close-to-achieving-goals-in-gaza-1.268310>

Appendix 11

Olmert: Nobody Will Determine Israel's Right to Defend Itself

11.01.2009

Livni: Gaza battle isn't one-time conflict, won't end in accord; state vows to press ahead with op.

Prime Minister Ehud Olmert said Sunday that no external body would ever be allowed to determine Israel's right to defend itself against security threats.

"We have never agreed that someone should decide for us if we are allowed to strike at those who bomb kindergartens and schools and we will never agree to this in the future," he told ministers during the Cabinet's weekly meeting in Jerusalem. "No decision, present or future, will deny us our basic right to defend the residents of Israel.

"For three weeks now, the State of Israel has been making an impressive military effort in the Gaza Strip in order to change the security situation in the south of the country," said the prime minister.

"For many years we've demonstrated restraint. We reined our reactions. We bit our lips and took barrage after barrage. No country in the world - not even those who preach morality to us - would have shown similar patience and self-control," he told ministers.

"At the end of the day, the sense of responsibility and the obligation to defend our citizens, after endless warnings, led us to the unavoidable decision to defend our children and our residents whose lives had become intolerable," he added.

Olmert vowed that the Israel Defense Forces would press on with its offensive against Hamas in Gaza, asserting that Israel was close to achieving its goals.

"Israel is approaching the goals it set for itself, but another effort is needed, and determination, in order to change the security reality in the South and to bring security to the citizens," Olmert said.

The prime minister's comments came after Israeli soldiers advanced into densely-populated Gaza City on Sunday, reportedly killing at least 10 Palestinian gunmen.

Olmert added that, "We must not miss at the last moment what has been achieved in an unprecedented national effort. The Israeli public has willingness and patience for this, as does the government."

The prime minister said Israel had rejected a United Nations resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire in Gaza on the grounds that "sharply rules out continued attacks directed against civilians and does not forbid urgent action against them."

He also said Israel's military had already made great sacrifices in the Gaza fighting, in which 10 soldiers have so far died.

Defense Minister Ehud Barak also addressed the cabinet, telling them that the IDF was continuing to operate in order to prevent smuggling through the Philadelphi route along the Gaza-Egypt border.

"The IDF is operating in the Gaza Strip and in parallel, the diplomatic channel is being examined. There is no contradiction between these things," Barak said.

Livni: Gaza battle isn't one-time conflict, won't end in accord
Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni said Sunday that Israel's war with Hamas is not a one-time conflict that will end with an agreement.

Speaking during a joint press conference with German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier in Jerusalem, Livni said that, "Hamas regrets the day they decided to intensify the rocket fire on Israel under the assumption that we would show restraint."

"We need to understand that on the day after [Operation Cast Lead] we must prevent Hamas from rearming, because we cannot allow a scenario in which Hamas understands that it cannot fire, but allows itself to stock up on weapons," she added.

"We are in midst of a struggle against terrorism, and it is not a one-time conflict," she said.

This is not a conflict that will end with an agreement. We embarked on this campaign with the intent of achieving military goals and in order to clarify that we will not put up with this situation any longer. We set out to change the equation. Israel is responding with force, and considerable force at that," Livni added.

"I would like to thank the [German] minister for displaying understanding for our situation and for his willingness to help in preventing smuggling in the future."

On Friday, the security cabinet decided to continue Operation Cast Lead in the Gaza Strip, but not expand it at this stage. In the coming days Israel will focus its military and diplomatic efforts on pressuring Egypt to work toward the Israeli and international demand to deploy an international force to combat smuggling from Egypt to Gaza.

Palestinian sources told Haaretz that Cairo demanded Saturday morning that the militant group respond to its cease-fire proposal within 48 hours. Egypt warned that if Hamas rejects its offer, Egypt would be unable to stop Israel from continuing its ground offensive.

Senior officers in the Israel Defense Forces told Haaretz that for further achievements, the army will have to expand the operation by at least 20 days and include reserve units in the fighting. A senior officer in Gaza said Hamas' capabilities were gradually eroding and that the group had lost more than 300 militants from its armed wing since the ground operation began.

Amos Gilad, the head of the Defense Ministry's political-security branch, will travel this week, most likely on Monday, for talks in Cairo with the head of the Egyptian security services. A Hamas delegation Saturday arrived in the Egyptian capital for similar talks.

Source: Amos Gilad to only discuss smuggling with Egyptians

A political source in Jerusalem said Gilad was instructed to address only smuggling into Gaza, and not other issues related to renewing a cease-fire with Hamas.

In Friday's cabinet meeting, Gilad told ministers that Egypt understands the need to stop smuggling, but that a program for doing so had not yet been formulated. "They are willing to sign on to deal with the issue, and we will continue talking with them until we reach a practical solution," he said.

Still, Gilad reportedly remarked recently that "the Egyptians are great at making efforts, but not at achieving results."

A high-level Israeli political source said Friday that without a solution to the smuggling including an effective supervisory system on the Egyptian border, the Gaza operation will not be brought to an end.

Israel made clear in talks with officials representing the United States, France, Germany and other countries that only a solution including an international presence on the Egyptian side of the Philadelphi route will satisfy Israel and allow it to end the offensive.

Defense officials have noticed heightened Iranian involvement in Hamas' activity in the Strip. It appears the group's leadership has received promises from Tehran to "fill up the warehouses," possibly even with longer-range rockets, if it continues hostilities with Israel.

<http://www.haaretz.com/news/olmert-nobody-will-determine-israel-s-right-to-defend-itself-1.267897>

Appendix 12

Barak: Gaza Invasion Won't Be Short, and It Won't Be Easy

Defense Minister: We don't want war, but we can't abandon Israeli citizens who have

Jan 03, 2009

Defense Minister Ehud Barak said Saturday that Israel's campaign against Islamic Hamas militants in Gaza will not be short, nor will it be easy.

Israel launched a ground operation against Hamas on Saturday after mounting a bruising air assault last Saturday. The campaign is meant to curb rocket and mortar attacks from Gaza on southern Israel.

Addressing the nation in a special televised press conference following the launch of the ground invasion, Barak said that Israel was not eager to wage war, but could not abandon its citizens, residents of the south, who have been victimized by Hamas rockets.

"The campaign won't be easy and it won't be short," he said, emphasizing that the operation entails the risking of Israeli lives. "I know well the dangers that come with an offensive, and what the heavy price will be."

"I don't want to fool anyone. The residents of southern Israel will also undergo some tough times," Barak continued.

The defense minister also addressed the possibility of an escalation in violence in northern Israel, along the border with Lebanon. "We hope that the northern front will remain calm, but we are prepared for any possibility," he said.

<http://www.haaretz.com/news/barak-gaza-invasion-won-t-be-short-and-it-won-t-be-easy-1.267368>

Appendix 13

Olmert calls a halt to assault on Hamas

01/16/2009

Prime Minister Ehud Olmert declared Operation Cast Lead a victory Saturday night and threw the ball into Hamas's court, declaring a unilateral cease-fire that suspends the three-week operation, whose future depends on whether Hamas continues to fire on Israel. Olmert's announcement followed a three-hour emergency meeting of the 12-member security cabinet Saturday night that approved the cease-fire by a vote of 7-2, with one abstention. Finance Minister Ronnie Bar-On and Industry, Trade and Labor Minister Eli Yishai voted against, while Pensioners Affairs Minister Rafi Eitan abstained. According to what was decided Saturday night, Israel will stop its

offensive, but will keep the IDF forces in place, see how Hamas responds and whether an effective mechanism will be set up on the border to stop smuggling. If so, then discussions will begin on withdrawing the troops. If not, the operation will continue. "Today, we face you again and can say that the conditions have been created so that our targets, as defined when we launched the operation, have been fully achieved, and more so," Olmert said, in a special address to the nation on Saturday night. Those goals were defined as stopping the rocket fire on Israel and an end to the arms smuggling into Gaza. "Hamas was hit hard, both its military capabilities and its governing infrastructure," Olmert said. "Its leaders are in hiding," Olmert said of Hamas. "Many of its members have been killed. The factories in which its missiles were manufactured have been destroyed. The smuggling routes, through dozens of tunnels, have been bombed. The Hamas's capabilities for conveying weapons within the Gaza Strip have been damaged." Olmert said that according to the assessments of all the security services, "Hamas's capabilities have been struck a heavy blow, which will harm its ability to rule and its military capabilities for some time." Olmert said the cease-fire would go into effect at 2 a.m. Sunday morning. Immediately following Olmert's announcement, Hamas fired eight missiles at Israel. The return of kidnapped soldier Gilad Schalit was not a condition of the cease-fire, though both Olmert and Barak pledged to continue working unceasingly for his release. Olmert said that Hamas was completely surprised by Israel's determination and strength throughout the operation, and that if it continued with its attacks after the cease-fire goes into effect, it will be surprised again by Israel's response. "I don't suggest they test us," he said. "Hamas did not foresee Israel's determination and its seriousness in bringing about a change of the reality in the region," he said. "Hamas's leaders did not believe that Israel would launch an operation of this scope on the eve of the elections. Hamas did not foresee the strength of the military attack, and more than anything else, it did not foresee the results," he said. Olmert stressed that the security cabinet met after he received a phone call from Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak describing the Egyptian cease-fire proposal. "Hamas is not a part of the arrangement we reached," Olmert said. "Terrorist organizations like Hamas have no part in agreements." Olmert, in what sounded almost like a line-by-line recital of lessons learned from the Second Lebanon War, said that the reserves were well prepared and equipped, the home front well taken care of, and the decisions at the government level were made in an orderly fashion. He was profuse in his praise of Defense Minister Ehud Barak and Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni, who was not at the security cabinet meeting because she was en route home from the US. Both Olmert and Barak, who spoke after Olmert, stressed that the war was waged not against the Palestinians but rather against Hamas, with Olmert reiterating his commitment to a two-state solution. Barak said there were likely to be continued rocket attacks on Israel and IDF forces in the immediate aftermath of the cease-fire, and that the army was prepared to deal with that eventuality. Hamas, meanwhile, said it was not obligated by the unilateral declaration. "The occupier must halt his fire immediately and withdraw from our land and lift his blockade and open all crossings and we will not accept any one Zionist soldier on our land, regardless of the price it exacts," Hamas spokesman Fawzi Barhoum said. Hamas fired rockets that landed near Ashdod and in the Eshkol and Sha'ar Hanegev areas just before the end of the security cabinet meeting. Olmert, who last week supported the continuation of the operation, while both Livni and Barak were in favor a cease-fire, now believes that Israel has achieved the two goals it set for itself: an end to the terrorism from Gaza, and preventing arms smuggling from Iran and other terrorist organizations into Gaza. The security cabinet

was briefed by Amos Gilad, the head of the Defense Ministry's diplomatic-military bureau, and the prime minister's foreign policy adviser Shalom Turgeman on their talks Thursday and Friday with Egypt, and the various understandings being worked out with Egypt on how to stop the smuggling. The understandings with Egypt are just one layer of a multilayered approach being put together to create an international mechanism to prevent the arms smuggling. Another key component was signed Friday in the US, when Livni and US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice signed a memorandum of understanding in Washington, "regarding prevention of the supply of arms and related materiel to terrorist groups." That agreement underscores the US commitment to help Israel fight terrorism, and pledges both increased intelligence security and intelligence cooperation, an enhancement of the existing international sanctions, and enforcement mechanisms against providing support to Hamas and other terrorist organizations. Diplomatic officials said that the effort to stop the smuggling has three parts: an international effort to choke off the smuggling routes before the arms find their way to the tunnels under the Philadelphi Corridor; more effective Egyptian efforts in fighting the smuggling at the border; the building of some type of physical barrier - a moat, trench or some kind of underground "wall" - that could be built by US or European engineers and technicians. Europe also committed itself over the weekend to fighting the smuggling, with French President Nicolas Sarkozy, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi and Spanish Prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, scheduled to arrive in Israel Sunday to give their support to the agreement. They will be coming to Israel from Sharm e-Sheikh, where Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Sarkozy are cochairing a summit to discuss the crisis. Among other participants invited to attend are UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan - who on Friday called for Israel to be barred from the UN - and Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas. Brown announced Saturday that Britain was prepared to provide naval resources to help monitor and stop arms being smuggled into the Gaza Strip. Brown said Germany, France and Britain sent a letter to Israel and Egypt saying that they were prepared to do everything they could to prevent arms trafficking. Italy also signed on the letter. In addition, Brown said Britain was also prepared to do everything it can to help with the border crossings, including European support for monitors at the crossings. "We are prepared to provide British naval support to stop arms trafficking. Other countries are agreeing also that they will provide the support that is necessary to stop arms getting into Gaza," Brown said. "At the same time, we're prepared to provide European support for monitoring at the crossings." Just prior to the convening of the security cabinet, Noam and Aviva Schalit, the parents of Gilad Schalit, held a press conference demanding that the release of their son be incorporated in any agreement demanding that the release of their son be incorporated in any agreement to stop the fighting.

<http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Olmert-calls-a-halt-to-assault-on-Hamas>

Appendix 14

Olmert: Operation Cast Lead will continue

01/09/2009

Despite the UN Security Council resolution calling for a Gaza cease-fire, Prime Minister Ehud Olmert said Friday afternoon that the IDF operation in the Strip will continue. "Israel has never agreed to external forces determining its right to defend its citizens," Olmert said in a statement issued by the Prime Minister's Office following the Security Cabinet discussion on the UNSC resolution. "The IDF will continue to work to defend Israeli citizens and will carry out all the objectives it was given in the operation," he continued. Olmert said that the rocket fire from Gaza Friday morning "only proves that the UN resolution is not practical and will not be honored by the murderous Palestinian organizations." Gaza terrorists fired over 30 rockets into Israel on Friday. Osama Hamdan, a Hamas envoy to Lebanon, also rejected the UNSC call for a cease-fire, telling al-Arabiya satellite channel that the group "is not interested in it because it does not meet the demands of the movement." Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri said the UN failed to consider the interests of the Palestinian people. "This resolution doesn't mean that the war is over," he told al-Jazeera satellite television network. "We call on the Palestinian fighters to mobilize and be ready to face the offensive, and we urge the Arab masses to carry on with their angry protests." Earlier on Friday, Olmert, Defense Minister Ehud Barak and Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni convened for a preliminary consultation on the UNSC Gaza truce resolution ahead of the Security Cabinet meeting. Livni also released a statement on Friday morning regarding the resolution in which she stressed Israel's independence in defining its goals. "Israel's past, present and future actions are based solely on its considerations, the security of Israel's residents and its right to self-defense," she said. Meanwhile, speaking on Army Radio, Trade, Industry and Labor Minister Eli Yishai didn't rule out the possibility that the US abstention from Thursday night's UNSC vote was a result of pressure from "certain senior Israeli officials." He also blasted the UNSC resolution which, according to Yishai, supported Hamas terror. "The world is acting as a Hamas lobbyist [but] will understand, despite the UNSC resolution, that we must act with all our force to achieve our goals, to bring quiet to the South," said Yishai. Israel Radio also quoted a senior official as saying that a decision regarding the resolution needn't be reached on Friday, and that Israel could wait to see whether its demands regarding a cease-fire will be met.

<http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Olmert-Operation-Cast-Lead-will-continue>

Appendix 15

IDF ready to deploy in all of Gaza Strip

01/06/2009

As Operation Cast Lead concluded its harshest 24 hours on Tuesday after the IDF lost five soldiers, senior defense officials revealed that the army was prepared to deploy in the entire Gaza Strip, if necessary. Defense Minister Ehud Barak will decide in the coming days whether Israel should expand the ground operation against the Hamas terrorist infrastructure, they said. Since the ground operation was launched on Saturday, IDF troops from several infantry and armored brigades have, according to Palestinian reports, taken up positions throughout northern Gaza - near Beit Lahiya, Beit Hanun, Jabalya, Saja'iyah and al-Atatra. Despite increasing international pressure on Israel to withdraw its troops, a senior official confirmed that plans had been drawn up to move troops into the south as well. Four soldiers were killed in friendly-fire incidents that took place during fighting on Monday night. Three soldiers were killed when a tank mistakenly opened fire on a home in Saja'iyah occupied by officers and soldiers from the Golani Brigade. Another tank accidentally fired on a home in al-Atatra, killing an officer in the 202nd Battalion of the Paratroop Brigade. The soldiers were Cpl. Yousef Moadi, 19, who lived recently in Haifa, but was originally from the Druse village of Yirka; Maj. Dagan Wertman, 32, from Ma'aleh Michmash in the Binyamin region; St.-Sgt. Nitai Stern, 21, from Jerusalem; and Capt. Yonatan Netanel, 27, from Kedumim. On Tuesday morning, St.-Sgt. Alexander Mashevizky, 21, was killed and four other soldiers from a joint Golani-Engineering Corps force were lightly wounded in a gun battle with Hamas operatives in northern Gaza City. Mashevizky, a member of an elite Engineering Corps unit, led the joint force, which was ambushed by Hamas gunmen while conducting ground sweeps. The Hamas operatives were reportedly hit by IDF fire. Barak said Tuesday that Israel had paid a painful price for a bitter, unavoidable battle. "It is a bitter battle, but an unavoidable one," he continued. "No peace-loving country can allow a terrorist organization to ruin daily life and embitter the lives of civilians." A senior IDF officer said on Tuesday that Hamas had stepped up its attacks against troops based in the periphery of towns and villages in northern Gaza. Over 150 Palestinians have been arrested in Gaza. There have also been a number of kidnapping attempts by Hamas operatives who pop out of tunnels and try to grab soldiers. If the IDF decides to expand its operations, it may send some of the reservists who have been training in the South into the Gaza Strip. "Hamas is trying to draw us inside the built-up areas," said a senior IDF officer, speaking by a secure phone line from the field. "Hamas is trying to avoid a classic battle with us. Last night, we had a suicide bomber who tried to break into a compound and blow up, and the force responded quickly. There is also sniper fire from hundreds of meters away, and when we get into buildings there is a lot of mortar fire." In spite of the fierce fighting, diplomatic activity has begun to gain steam, and defense officials predicted that Operation Cast Lead could be over in the coming week if a diplomatic resolution is achieved. The IDF is conditioning its acceptance of a new cease-fire with Hamas on the establishment of a supervision mechanism in the Gaza Strip and the creation of a force based along the Egyptian side of the Philadelphi Corridor to prevent the smuggling of weaponry and explosives from Egypt into Gaza. Amid international criticism over civilian deaths and increasing calls for a cease-fire, IDF soldiers edged closer to two major Gaza towns on Tuesday. A total of 58 Palestinians were killed Tuesday, including 30 who were reportedly killed in an IDF mortar attack on a Jabalya school from which Hamas was launching mortars into IDF positions. The IDF said that several Hamas gunmen were among those killed in the school. Senior officers said the IDF would likely deepen its

operations in Gaza in the coming days. Since it took up positions in northern Gaza, the IDF said Hamas was having difficulty in launching long-range Katyusha rockets against Ashdod and Beersheba. "Unless Hamas comes to its senses, we will find ourselves in other parts of the Gaza Strip," a senior officer said. "Hamas is determined, and this operation is not a walk in the park." The IAF also struck the home of one of the founders of Hamas's rocket division on Tuesday. The IDF said that the terror chief, Iman Siam, was in his house at the time of the air strike in Jabalya. The army said that in addition to being a founder of Hamas's rocket-launching program, Siam was the head of the group's artillery program throughout the Gaza Strip. At least 10 Hamas and Islamic Jihad gunmen were killed in other Gaza battles early Tuesday, the IDF said, claiming that soldiers had killed close to 150 Hamas gunmen since the ground operation was launched on Saturday. Paratroopers operating near the town of al-Atatra discovered a booby-trapped doll at the entrance to a smuggling tunnel. The doll-bomb was safely dismantled. A Givati force entered a school on Monday night, and in the morning discovered that it was rigged with explosives that were connected to a piano in a nearby home. In an overnight clash, paratroopers operating near al-Atatra spotted a suicide bomber and opened fire on him. The shooting triggered his explosive belt, which killed him when it detonated. One soldier was lightly wounded in the incident. Elsewhere, a booby-trapped house was bombed. The IDF believed that under the house were a number of smuggling tunnels. The IDF announced that it had conducted over 30 sorties during overnight operations late Monday and early Tuesday. During the raids, IAF planes bombed the Jabalya home of Basal Abu Wadi, a prominent Hamas military officer who was at the level of a company commander in Izzadin Kassam. The Jabalya home of another Hamas officer, Ashraf Guda, was destroyed in a different air strike. His house was said to function as a Hamas command and control center. The house of a third company commander in the military wing, Iman Jalala, was also targeted overnight. Around 40 rockets were fired at southern Israel on Tuesday, causing damage to structures. Six people suffered from shock, but there were no other casualties. Magen David Adom paramedics attended 37 rocket impact scenes throughout the day. Yaakov Lappin contributed to this report.

<http://www.jpost.com/Israel/IDF-ready-to-deploy-in-all-of-Gaza-Strip>

Appendix 16

Hamas warns Israel over Gaza ground invasion

December 31, 2008

Gaza – Ma'an – The armed wing of the Hamas movement threatened Israel on Monday over its alleged plans to launch a ground invasion on the Gaza Strip.

The movement's Al-Qassam Brigades said it would "teach Israeli forces a hard lesson if they dare to invade the Gaza Strip" in a statement sent to Ma'an.

Al-Qassam addressed Israel's leadership in the message, saying, "If you decide to enter Gaza, it will change into a volcano," adding that fighters would fire missiles even further into Israel.

Meanwhile, a spokesperson for the Al-Qassam Brigades said that If Israeli soldiers enter Gaza, "your children will collect your soldiers' corpses."

" Hamas and Al-Qassam are in every house. They will attack you from under the debris. If you believe shelling homes will make us retreat, you will learn that your plans are wrong, and we will surprise you," Hamas spokesperson Abu Ubayda said in a televised speech.

Ubayda also told Israeli leaders to begin preparations for a second Winograd Commission, referring to the Israeli fact-finding commission that was appointed to inquire into the army's failures during the 2006 war in Lebanon.

Abu Ubayda claimed that Al-Qassam has launched 150 Grad missiles at Israeli towns over the past three days, reaching up to 30 kilometers from the Gaza Strip.

<http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=207486>

Appendix 17

Olmert tours Beersheva, says Israel to avoid long war

Jan. 1, 2009

Bethlehem - Ma'an - Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert visited the central Israeli town of Beersheva on Thursday, where he told Israeli press that "no war was declared in Gaza."

"But it's clear that it is impossible to continue accepting a reality where hundreds of thousands of Israelis are living in continuous fear," the prime minister said.

He said that the Israeli military hopes to achieve its goals quickly, and that Israel will deal with Hamas "with an iron fist," despite that "they handle themselves with silk gloves."

During Olmert's tour of Beersheva on Thursday, he held a meeting with residents, met with the mayor and visited sites struck by projectiles.

<http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=207424>

Appendix 18

Hamas orders Al-Qassam Brigades fighters to retaliate

Dec. 27, 2008

Gaza - Ma'an - Hamas has ordered the Al-Qassam Brigades, its militant wing, to respond "by any means necessary" to the airstrikes in Gaza.

Tawfiq Jabber, the Gaza police chief, was reportedly killed in one on of the attacks.

Islam Shahwan, a Hamas police spokesman, said that the attacks destroyed most of the police headquarters in the Gaza Strip and that a police graduation ceremony was being held during the assault.

Hamas spokesman Fawzi Barhoum called for a massive response to the airstrikes and a renewal of operations within Israel.

He also asked Palestinians to "remain patient in light of these Israeli crimes."

Sources within Hamas told Ma'an that every de facto security building in the Gaza Strip was attacked.

Islamic Jihad leader Khaled Al-Batsh said that the Israeli attack amounts to "open war" against Palestinians, intended "to put down the resistance."

Al-Batsh condemned international and Arab States for their "silence on such massacres." He also swore that what had happened "would never make the resistance factions surrender."

<http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=207255>

Appendix 19

Hamas: Ceasefire possible within week

Jan. 7, 2009

Bethlehem - Ma'an Exclusive - A ceasefire in Gaza could be negotiated in the coming week, a Hamas leader said on Wednesday.

Ghazi Hamad the spokesperson of the Hamas government elected in 2006, said that Hamas has a positive attitude towards the diplomatic efforts at a ceasefire, mentioning the efforts of Egypt, France, and Turkey in this regard.

"I can say that during the week there will be a commitment to ceasefire and the atmosphere is ready for diplomatic efforts," during an interview with Ma'an.

This announcement came as Israel signalled it is willing to consider Egypt's proposal for a ceasefire. The US has thrown its support behind the Egyptian plan, and called on Israel to accept it.

A statement sent by the Israeli Prime Minister's office said: "Israel views as positive the dialogue between Egyptian and Israeli officials in order to advance these issues."

The Israeli security cabinet reportedly discussed the Egyptian draft on Wednesday. During the cabinet meeting, the Israeli ministers also considered a proposed "third phase" of the war in Gaza, in which Israeli troops would invade Gaza's urban centers, a step they have hesitated to make until now.

A group of high-ranking Hamas leaders are currently in Egypt for talks that may address the ceasefire plan.

Egypt brokered a six-month truce between Israel and Hamas that collapsed in November when Israel invaded Gaza and renewed its blockade of the territory.

International news agencies quoted senior Hamas political official Musa Abu Marzuq, saying, "Hamas is studying the suggestions by Egypt, Syria, France and Turkey for ceasefire."

Abu Marzouk stressed that Hamas would not enter into negotiations regarding a permanent ceasefire as long as Israeli occupation exists.

The West Bank-based Palestinian Authority has also reportedly agreed to the Egyptian proposal. Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas went to the United Nations Security Council on Tuesday to demand action to stop what he termed "genocide" in Gaza.

<http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=207611>

Appendix 20

Hamas prime minister calls for unity, dialogue

Jan. 1, 2009

Bethlehem - Ma'an - The de facto prime minister of the Hamas-led government in the Gaza Strip promised Palestinians that peace will prevail in spite of the ongoing onslaught.

The Hamas leader was speaking in a televised address from an undisclosed location.

In the speech, Ismail Haniyeh wished Palestinian Christians a very Merry Christmas, congratulating them on the occasion of Jesus' birth and thanking them, "for your patience."

He quoted a leader from the Gazan Christian community midway through his address: "Between slavery and death, we do not have any choice. We fear nothing."

"Our internal front is solid. We are with you. We will sacrifice everything for you and for Gaza," the letter from a Christian leader in Gaza reportedly said.

"What is happening in Gaza is not an ordinary offensive, as it appears in some media outlets. What is happening is immoral and without principles," Haniyeh said.

Turning to the ongoing Israeli assault on Gaza, the Hamas leader said that Israel's operation has so far "violated all religious values. It's genocide against the Palestinians in Gaza since all kinds of ground, air and naval weapons are used in it."

"Hundreds of tons have been dropped on Gaza, its children, its women. It's a war that is targeting everything on the ground, mosques and universities.

"This war does not target just Hamas and the government. It is targeting Palestinians and their cause," he said.

The de facto prime minister insisted that on televisions and radio, there are "two scenes: one of killing, shelling, assassinations and destruction. The other is steadfastness, the ability to sacrifice."

"The Palestinians will win over the tanks that are waiting for permission to commit more crimes against the Palestinians," he said.

Haniyeh applauded the Arab solidarity rallies taking place on streets throughout the world in support of Palestinians in Gaza. He added that such demonstrations confirm that Gaza is "not alone."

The Hamas prime minister called for a halt to the attacks and opening the crossings, without conditions. He said that the "main contradiction is with the Israeli occupation. We do not have any battle with any of the Palestinians or any of the Arab countries."

"We can't be distracted with these other battles," he said, noting the "political and geographic unity of the Palestinian territories."

He added that "the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is one unit. The core of the Palestinian cause is the issues of Jerusalem, refugees, land and the prisoners."

He also called for dialogue, without conditions or restrictions, calling for an end to statements "that serve only the interests of the Israeli occupation."

The prime minister also denied news reports from Saturday that 20 Fatah affiliates were inside one of the local prisons in Gaza and were killed in an Israeli airstrike on Gaza earlier.

He concluded by calling for immediate halt to the Israeli attack on Gaza, without conditions, lifting the siege and opening all of the crossings.

<http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=207426>

Appendix 21

Hamas to Israel: You began killing your children the day you started killing ours

Jan. 5, 2009

Gaza - Ma'an - Addressing the public for the first time since the beginning of the Israeli aggression on the Gaza Strip, senior Hamas leader Mahmoud Zahhar spoke out against Israel, and encouraged fighters to continue their resistance.

Palestinian homemade projectiles, manufactured by the hands of resistance fighters out of pipe and fertilizer destroy Israeli's idea that their nation is secure, he said in a recorded message aired on Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV.

Speaking about Israel, Zahhar said, "They began killing their children when they killed ours. They began bombarding their hospitals when they bombarded ours. They began demolishing their synagogues when they demolished our mosques. You kicked off the means for your termination with your very own hands," he said.

The problem is not that projectiles are being launched from Gaza, he said, but is rather the occupation and siege against Gaza. Zahhar demanded that Gaza crossing points be opened, and criticized the European attitude towards Israeli aggression as well as the US siding with Israel. He also described the UN stance as "wrong."

People of the world have taken to the streets to protest the Israeli action; they are not being represented by their governments who are acting with complicity with this latest aggression, he said.

Zahhar also confirmed that the Palestinian resistance and the people in Gaza are a united front, and cautioned those who are weak from becoming "traitors or betrayers," since they would demolish the strength of the people of Gaza.

<http://www.maanneews.com/Content.aspx?id=207547>

Appendix 22

Hamas says ceasefire proposals "under review"

Jan. 8, 2009

Gaza - Ma'an - A de facto government spokesperson announced on Thursday that several ceasefire initiatives are "under review" to stop the ongoing bloodshed in the Gaza Strip.

De facto government spokesperson Taher An-Nunu said Thursday that "we will talk about them after we finish reviewing them," but insisted that no proposal would be accepted that "does not serve Palestinian interests."

"What is need is an immediate halt to the Israeli offensive on Gaza, as well as an end to the illegitimate blockade."

An-Nunu concluded by saying that "the three-hour ceasefire is insufficient to remove the dozens of bodies that are under rubble" in Gaza, claiming that the Israeli military is simply attempting to "improve its image in the wake of the massacres carried out in Al-Fakhoura."

Al-Fakhoura is the Gazan city where Israeli soldiers shelled UN schools sheltering hundreds of Palestinians, killing as many as 48, mostly women and children. <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=207655>

Appendix 22

Mahmoud Ahmed Juha

Martyrdom: Assassination

Gaza city

2009-01-13

He went out with his comrades to resist the occupation forces which raided Az-Zaytoon neighborhood, the Zionist drones fired several missiles at him, Osama As-seifi and Mahmoud Juha.

Al Qassam Brigades mourn the death of the Mujahed, reaffirms the commitment and determination to continue the resistance against the belligerent occupation forces.

Finally, may Allah (swt) accept him and his blessed efforts for the path of Jihad and may Allah grant his family patience and solace for his lose.

"To God we belong and to him we shall return."

http://www.qassam.ps/martyr-541-Mahmoud_Ahmed_Juha.html

Appendix 23

Abdullah Mazen Al Ghurrah

Martyrdom: Assassination

Gaza city

2009-01-12

During the Zionist War on Gaza, his leadership asked him to go out to help his comrades in resisting the occupation who trying to invade Gaza, but the Zionist drones fired two missiles at him.

Al Qassam Brigades mourn the death of the Mujahed, reaffirms the commitment and determination to continue the resistance against the belligerent occupation forces.

Finally, may Allah (swt) accept him and his blessed efforts for the path of Jihad and may Allah grant his family patience and solace for his lose.

"To God we belong and to him we shall return."

http://www.qassam.ps/martyr-538-Abdullah_Mazen_Al_Ghurrah.html

Appendix 24

Osama Ayoub As-Saifi

Martyrdom: Assassination

Gaza city

2009-01-13

Statement

In the twelfth of January of 2009, the Zionist Forces advanced in Az-Zaytoon neighborhood, he pulled his comrades from the area they were inside it due to the Zionist heavy shelling, the he come back to the same area to maintain control.

He ordered his comrade to hide and be ready to fire RPG missile at the Zionist special forces, the Zionist forces raided a home, he tried to reach them and clash with them, but he failed, he changed his plan, he went to save the house from the Zionist forces, but they noticed him and fired anti-person missiles.

Al Qassam Brigades mourn the death of the Mujahed, reaffirms the commitment and determination to continue the resistance against the belligerent occupation forces.

Finally, may Allah (swt) accept him and his blessed efforts for the path of Jihad and may Allah grant his family patience and solace for his lose.

"To God we belong and to him we shall return."

http://www.qassam.ps/martyr-524-Osama_Ayoub_As_Saifi.html

Appendix 25

Eyad Khamees Al Banna

Martyrdom: Assassination

Jabalya city

2008-12-27

Statement

After the bloodiest Zionist attack on Gaza on December 27th, 2008, Al Qassam men were prepared to defend their land and the Palestinian civilians with their humble weapons they got. He directed to the eastern area in Jabalya camp and settled in a place they prepared before.

The Zionist special forces tried to storm the place, but they found Eyad and his friend Fayez Abu Warda, they clashed with the Zionists, they Zionist forces pulled out, they were cowards, F-16 shelled the area so they martyred.

He was martyred after a long bright path of jihad, hard work, struggle and sacrifice.

Al Qassam Brigades mourn the death of the Mujahed, reaffirms the commitment and determination to continue the resistance against the belligerent occupation forces.

Finally, may Allah (swt) accept him and his blessed efforts for the path of Jihad and may Allah grant his family patience and solace for his lose.

"To God we belong and to him we shall return.

http://www.qassam.ps/martyr-510-Eyad_Khamees_Al_Banna.html

Appendix 26

Eyad Hasan Ebaid

Martyrdom: Assassination

Jabalya city

2008-12-27

He martyred on December 27th, 2008, the Zionist warplanes targeted the Palestinian civilian institution all over Gaza strip and targeted the Palestinian civilian houses, 1500 Palestinian civilians killed.

He was martyred after a long bright path of jihad, hard work, struggle and sacrifice.

Al Qassam Brigades mourn the death of the Mujahed, reaffirms the commitment and determination to continue the resistance against the belligerent occupation forces.

Finally, may Allah (swt) accept him and his blessed efforts for the path of Jihad and may Allah grant his family patience and solace for his lose.

"To God we belong and to him we shall return."

http://www.qassam.ps/martyr-509-Eyad_Hasan_Ebaid.html

Appendix 27

Ahmed Nasser Tbaill

Martyrdom way: Assassination

Jabalya camp

2008-12-27

Name: Ahmed Nasser Tbaill.

Residence: Jabalya camp.

Martyrdom date: December 27th, 2008.

Background:

He was born in May 21st, 1981 in Jabalya camp in humble house. He finished his primary & Prep. study in his camp's schools, then he finished his primary schools, then he joined to the engineering department in the Islamic university. Ahmed was the best between his brothers; he participated with his friends in resisting the Zionist forces.

He set a permanent smile on his lips, he was calm, polite & he is accepted at all people, no one hate or malice him, if he went anywhere, everyone loves him.

He worked in the Islamic Block since his childhood, he was very active in the popular activities in his area, he participated in Hamas rallies, then he joined to the Islamic resistance movement Hamas.

He gained the respect of his neighbors by treating them well, he was visiting his friends permanently, his teachers witnessed that he was very polite with them.

He was working to help his father in house duties due to the difficult economical situations. He was very kind with parents, before he went out from his home, he was asking his mother if she need anything.

From the beginning, Ahmed loved the resistance path because he found it as the only way to realize the Palestinian stolen rights. Therefore, he participated in addressing several Zionist incursions in different regions.

Al Qassam Brigades:

Al Qassam leadership saw his behavior & commitment in the virtue, so they accept his request of being a member in Al Qassam Brigades, so he became a member in Jabalya camp in 2005. He began his way on many works that Al Qassam Brigades proud of him like: He participated in protecting the camp from the Zionist forces which tried to invade it. He participated with his friends in ambushing the Zionist forces. He participated in guarding his camp from the Zionist Special Forces.

Martyrdom:

In December 27th, 2008, the Zionist entity waged a wide war on Gaza civilians, the Zionist warplanes targeted the main quarter north of Gaza strip.

The Brigades said in its statement "The Mujahed was martyred after many years of hard work and sacrifice in defending his home from the Zionist occupation.

"Al Qassam Brigades mourn the death of the Mujahedeen, reaffirms the commitment and determination to continue the resistance against the belligerent occupation forces," the Brigades said.

http://www.qassam.ps/martyr-198-Ahmad_Nasser_Tbail.html

Appendix 28

2-1-2009

Barhoum: Hamas is steadfast and is leading the resistance and social services

GAZA, (PIC)-- Hamas condemned what it called "programmed tarnishing process targeting the movement" and described it as a desperate attempt to incite against the movement. The movement called on those Arabs who cannot support the resistance, not to stab it in the back.

Fawzi Barhoum, Hamas spokesman, said in a press statement, denied claims that Hamas leaders and its government officials are hiding underground and leaving the Gaza people to meet their fate as claimed by some Egyptian media outlets in a desperate attempt to tarnish the image of Hamas.

He stressed that Hamas leaders are there with the people of Gaza in mosques, social services and in every area, and cited the martyrdom of Dr. Nizar al-Rayyan as proof of that, adding that Hamas is leading the resistance and is present in all areas of activity.

"We say to those who did not want to lift the siege on Gaza and do not want Hamas to win, if you cannot do anything to protect the Palestinian people then you must remain silent because we can defend our people and our land," said Barhoum.

He further said that Hamas was strong and steadfast in the face of the Israeli occupation onslaught, adding that the situation in the Gaza Strip is under control, as there are no cases of looting or other crimes that take place during wars, instead everyone is cooperating in facing the occupation onslaught.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=44524>

Appendix 29

Hamas: The IOF targets civilians, avoids confrontation with resistance

10-1-2009

GAZA, (PIC)-- Hamas said on Friday that most of the targets attacked by the Israeli occupation air force and ground forces have been civilian targets and that the resistance has lost very little so far.

Mushir al-Masri, a Hamas leader in the Gaza Strip, said that the targeting by Israelis of civilian installations indicates a grave military and political failure on the part of the Israeli occupation.

"The more than 1000 targets struck by the Zionist enemy were civilian, including universities, hospitals, mosques and houses. This sort of targeting indicates a failure on the part of the enemy which has so far not confronted the resistance on the ground."

He pointed out that the Israeli occupation ground forces remained close to borders and in open areas to avoid confrontations with the resistance.

Meanwhile, the Qassam Brigades announced that in addition to the 8 IOF troops killed in a house they occupied in the Salatin neighbourhood of Beit Lahya in the northern Gaza Strip, its snipers have managed to kill on Friday another 4 IOF soldiers in different areas of the Gaza Strip.

This brings the number of IOF soldiers killed in Gaza by the resistance since the start of the ground invasion to 45 and the number of IOF soldiers wounded to 120, according to Hamas sources.

Furthermore, the Qassam Brigades, announced on Friday morning that its fighters fired on Friday morning a Grad rocket at an Israeli occupation military air base of Tal-Nov about 45 kilometres from Gaza, so far the farthest place targeted the Palestinian resistance.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=50374>

Appendix 30

Hamas: IOF chose date of starting hostilities, we will determine its final date

29-12-2008

GAZA, (PIC)-- Hamas on Sunday stressed that it would be the one to determine the end of military operations in the Gaza Strip after the Israeli occupation forces chose the date of starting those hostilities.

Fawzi Barhoum, a Hamas spokesman, told a press conference held jointly with Hamas political leader Dr. Ismail Radwan that the IOF military adventure was meant to liquidate the resistance program and Hamas after securing regional approval.

He emphasized that Gaza would not surrender and the Palestinian people's determination would not weaken.

The spokesman said that the declared war on Gaza would only "boost our insistence on resisting occupation in defense of our people using all means available".

He hailed the Arab and Islamic masses that expressed solidarity with Gaza and appreciated the Arab and Islamic countries that sent urgent aid topped by Qatar.

Barhoum called on the Arab countries and the Ramallah authority to immediately halt normalization of relations with Israel, break the siege on Gaza and open the Rafah crossing.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=66034>

Appendix 31

Haneyya: Israel will fail in achieving its goals in Gaza

1-1-2009

GAZA, (PIC)-- Ismail Haneyya, the premier of the PA caretaker government in Gaza, has asserted that the Israeli military adventure in the Gaza Strip would end up in failure and would achieve none of its goals.

Haneyya, addressing the Palestinian people in a speech broadcast on the Aqsa TV station on Wednesday evening, said that what is going on in Gaza is a real war. "This is a war without ethics or principles that surpassed all norms and heavenly and earthly morals. It is a war of annihilation in which all types of weapons are being used and in which none is being spared," he elaborated.

However, the premier stressed that the Palestinian internal front was solid and the people of Gaza would emerge victorious.

The enemy wanted to employ this war of genocide to liquidate a cause and to end a certain project, Haneyya said, asserting that the war was not against Hamas or the government despite being its declared purpose, "but in fact the war is directed against

all Palestinians and against their potentials, institutions and property, and is targeting the Palestine cause and the Palestinians' future".

The Islamic Ummah (Nation) and the free world would not accept continuation of this "mad war" on an unarmed people and a tiny strip of land, the premier opined.

He said that the popular and official protests worldwide against this war indicates that Gaza was not alone in the face of the aggression, and indicates that the oppression befalling Gaza is big and finally that it has occupied the hearts of millions of freedom loving peoples around the world.

The premier underscored that the Palestinian people's main battle was and would continue to be with the Israeli occupation of their lands, adding that the Palestinians would not get involved in marginal battles.

He reiterated demands for ending siege, halting aggression and opening crossings including that of Rafah.

Haneyya renewed welcome to national dialogue but said that it should be preceded by a number of steps on the part of the PA chief and his leadership in Ramallah topped by releasing all political detainees in the West Bank, declaring unequivocally the demand for opening all Gaza crossings and ending the siege and finally desisting from the hostile propaganda campaigns. The premier concluded his speech by saying, "victory is near".

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=58749>

Appendix 32

Haneyya: Int'l parties seek to give Israel more time to continue its massacres

6-1-2009

GAZA, (PIC)-- Ismail Haneyya, the premier of the Palestinian government, on Monday stated that the marked slowdown in the convention of the UN Security Council bears out that there are international parties seeking to give Israel more time to continue its massacres against the Gaza people.

In a statement received by the PIC, Haneyya also reproved some Arab states for referring the issue of Gaza to the UNSC while they know well that it is controlled by the western countries headed by the US and legitimizes the killing in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon and Somalia.

The premier underlined that the Israeli occupation decided to wage a ground military offensive against Gaza to sow more death and destruction, highlighting that Israel would fail to achieve its goals and would never be able to break the will of the Palestinian people and their legitimate resistance.

For his part, Dr. Khalil Al-Haya, a prominent Hamas leader, hailed the Palestinian people in Gaza for their steadfastness and fortitude against the Israeli aggression,

reassuring them that the Hamas leadership and the government are working day and night to defend Gaza and rout the IOF troops.

In a statement leaked from the prison and a copy of which was received by the PIC, Dr. Aziz Dweik, the PLC speaker, called on the Arab and Muslims to support the Palestinian people to restore their rights and not to enable the Israeli occupation to extract any concessions.

Dr. Dweik also stressed the need for releasing all political prisoners in the PA jails, adding that their continued detention proved that PA chief Mahmoud Abbas's calls for dialog and unity were not serious.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=65873>

Appendix 33

Hamas: We won't leave the battlefield and will fight until the last breath

4-1-2009

GAZA, (PIC)-- Hamas leader Ismail Radwan on Saturday evening stated that the Palestinian resistance and its leadership in the Gaza Strip would not leave the battlefield and would remain fighting until the last breath, warning Israel that it would pay dearly as a result of its hideous crimes in the Strip.

In a televised press statement, Radwan underlined that the Israeli occupation aims to impose its extremist racist projects at the expense of the Palestinian rights.

The Hamas leader also warned the Palestinian people not to pay attention to the rumors and lies spread by the Israeli occupation, affirming that the Palestinian resistance and its leadership are working day and night to defend Gaza.

Radwan expressed confidence of achieving victory over the Israeli occupation, promising that the Palestinian resistance would soon read triumph statements and would meet with its people in the courtyards of the Aqsa Mosque.

"Gaza will be a graveyard for you and the aggression will not be a picnic. You have no choice but to stop the aggression and end the siege unconditionally. You will not enjoy security unless the Palestinian people enjoy it first," the Hamas leader said addressing the Israeli occupation.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=49550>

Appendix 34

Five Israeli soldiers killed, about 29 wounded in clashes with the resistance

4-1-2009

GAZA, (PIC)-- The Qassam Brigades, the armed wing of Hamas said on Saturday night that at least 5 Israeli soldiers were killed and 29 others wounded during an IOF incursion into the Zaitoun neighbourhood of Gaza.

The Qassam Brigades said that they managed to tap into the IOF communications and hear them report the death of five soldiers.

Israeli occupation sources admitted that five IOF soldiers were killed and 29 others were wounded.

Local eyewitnesses said that a fierce confrontation between the Qassam Brigades fighters and the invading IOF troops took place at the Zaitoon neighbourhood to the east of Gaza City.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=33754>

Appendix 35

Hamas: IOF aggression failed to achieve its aims

11-1-2009

GAZA, (PIC)-- Hamas said that the Israeli occupation has so far failed to achieve its stated aims of toppling Hamas and ending the resistance, so the campaign has failed, unless its aim is the killing of as many Palestinian children and women as possible.

Hamas MP Mushir Al-Masri, in a statement on Sunday, said that the government is functioning according to emergency plans as best as conditions allow considering the fierce Israeli onslaught which is using the most advanced US supplied arms to kill as many Palestinian people as possible and to cause the widest possible destruction of the civilian infrastructure.

The lawmaker underlined that if by killing so many women and children the Israeli occupation sought to turn the people against Hamas, then they have failed in this too, as Hamas now enjoys more popular support than it did before this latest Israeli occupation onslaught.

Masri added that the "enemy on the military level could not eliminate resistance", and added that casualties in lines of the resistance factions were lesser than those in lines of the Israeli occupation forces.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=54319>

Appendix 36

Hamas: Gaza hard to break

28-12-2008

KHAN YOUNIS, (PIC)-- Hamas's spokesman in Khan Younis district, south of the Gaza Strip, Hammad Al-Rokob affirmed that the brutal Israeli aggressions on Gaza were meant to subjugate the Palestinian resistance and the Gaza Strip.

But he stressed that the Israeli efforts in this regard would fail despite the Arabs' feeble reaction towards the Israeli massacre going on in Gaza.

"It is clear that amidst the unsolicited Palestinians political division that wasn't of Hamas's choice and the weak Arab position vis-à-vis the Israeli atrocities against the Gaza civilians, Gaza would pay the bill of the dignity of the entire Arab Ummah.

"The (Israeli) enemy might think that he could subjugate Gaza; but it tried Gaza before and knows that it is hard to break", Rokob stressed,

"We, in Hamas, have no huge military arsenal, sophisticated weapons, and big army.... all what we possess is a little amount of weapons and ammunitions (manufactured locally) in addition to a great faith and unbreakable determination that victory would be ours", he emphasized.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=41404>

Appendix 37

Barhoum: The IOF air raids mass execution of Gaza inhabitants

27-12-2008

GAZA, (PIC)-- Hamas on Saturday charged that the Israeli occupation forces' carnage in the Gaza Strip was made with the green light of regional parties and constituted a mass execution of the Gaza people.

Barhoum, in a statement, pointed out that the raids came 24 hours after Israeli foreign minister Tzipi Livni's visit to Cairo where it met with the Egyptian president and senior officials then talked in a press conference about toppling Hamas's rule in Gaza.

He said that such a massacre was possible thanks to Arab silence, European collusion and American support for Israeli occupation.

"This bloody day was never witnessed before in the Gaza Strip", Barhoum underlined, adding that 150 martyrs fell in less than half an hour while 200 others were injured.

He finally asked the Qassam Brigades, the armed wing of Hamas, to strongly retaliate to the IOF aggression and to use all means available to defend the Palestinian people.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=63501>

Appendix 38

Bardawil: We seek to block Israel from making any political achievement

13-1-2009

DAMASCUS, (PIC)-- Dr. Salah Al-Bardawil, a member of the Hamas parliamentary bloc, stated that his Movement aims through its political talks in Cairo to block the Israeli occupation from making any political achievement after its criminal war on the Gaza Strip.

"We want to ensure that the Zionist enemy will not be rewarded for its crimes with a political achievement and we think that all Arabs, Muslims and the free people of the world are with us in this vision," Dr. Bardawil said in an exclusive statement to the PIC in Damascus prior to his travel to Cairo.

The Hamas leader underlined that the Egyptian initiative is subject to discussion, refusing to talk about the content of the initiative to the media.

Regarding the internal reconciliation, Bardawil said that the time now is not suitable to talk about this issue but. Now is the time to unite the efforts to repel the Israeli aggression on Gaza, He explained.

The Hamas leader renewed his Movement's categorical rejection of sending international troops to Gaza, but he said that the presence of international observers at the crossings is another thing in need for special arrangements.

With regard to the Israeli aims of waging a criminal war on Gaza, Bardawil underscored that there were several factors which fueled the Israeli aggression including the Israeli nature which is full of hatred and the desire to destroy the achievements made by Hamas on the ground.

He pointed out that Israel succeeded in bringing about considerable destruction in the infrastructure of civil society and in causing great tragedies to many Palestinian families because 95% of the victims were civilians, mostly children and women.

The Hamas leader concluded his statement by saying that Israel would discover that it did not achieve its intended objectives of the war on Gaza and that the international sympathy with it eroded because of its crimes against the Palestinian people.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=53934>

Appendix 39

Hanneya gov't: IOF committing genocide in Gaza

31-12-2008

GAZA, (PIC)-- The PA caretaker government of premier Ismail Haneyya has described the Israeli occupation forces' savage bombardment of the Gaza Strip as a war of genocide.

Dr. Mohammed Awad, the cabinet's secretary general, said in a press release on Wednesday that the IOF military campaign was "state terrorism" that aims at destroying everything in a bid to subdue the population of Gaza and force them to bow to occupation's dictates.

The Palestinian government would continue in its responsibility in serving the citizens regardless of the "sinful Israeli war", he said, stressing that the goals of the Israeli military campaign would not be fulfilled and Gaza would remain steadfast in face of "Israeli terrorism".

Meanwhile, IOF air strikes on Wednesday killed two doctors in Gaza city and two citizens in Khan Younis district among other casualties other than the destruction of numerous houses and vehicles that included ambulance cars.

In Tehran, the Iranian health minister called on the Hamas office in the Iranian capital to express his government and people's sympathy with the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip.

The minister said that his ministry was ready to send 1000 doctors and paramedics to Gaza to assist their comrades there in treating the wounded, and pointed out that he sent messages to his Arab counterparts and WHO to ask for immediate help for the Gaza population.

For his part, Hamas representative Dr. Abu Osama Abdul Moti hailed the Iranian position, and noted that Gaza hospitals were suffering as a result of the big number of casualties of the Israeli aggression and the shortage in medical supplies.

In Vienna, the international friends of humanity organization condemned the IOF blitz on Gaza that killed and wounded hundreds of civilians including children, women, aged people and police cadets.

The organization in a statement on Tuesday described the IOF destruction of civilian homes, mosques, universities and medicine stores as "terrible war crimes that should be halted and condemned and those committing them should be punished".

It also expressed dismay at the western stands that did not rush to protect legal and humanitarian rights that it championed and endorsed in many treaties and doctrines. The organization finally asked for an immediate stop to military exports to Israel.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=55509>

Appendix 40

Al-Qassam decides to expand its rocket attacks to reach farther areas

5-1-2009

GAZA, (PIC)-- Al-Qassam Brigades, the armed wing of Hamas, on Monday decided to expand its rocket attacks and target farther Israeli settlements and more strategic areas after Israel ignored the Brigades' previous warnings and persisted in its military aggression on the Gaza people.

"We warned you in the past that we would strike farther areas and other cities, but you did not understand and we say today that since the aggression on one and a half million Palestinians did not stop, we decided to include more than this number (of settlements) in the range of our rockets, Al-Qassam spokesman Abu Obeida said addressing the Israeli leadership.

Abu Obeida added that a lot of surprises await the Israeli occupation.

Meanwhile, Palestinian resistance sources told the PIC that there were more surprises awaiting the IOF troops.

The sources pointed out that after ten days of air strikes and two days of ground operations, the Palestinian resistance still surprises the IOF troops with new weapons and firing rockets on areas farther than before.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=36903>

Appendix 41

Hamas: We will not raise the white flag

30-12-2008

GAZA, (PIC)-- On the fourth day of the barbaric Israeli occupation forces' bombardment of the Gaza Strip that primarily targeted Hamas buildings and government institutions but which also destroyed civilian homes, Hamas asserted that it would never surrender or raise the white flag.

Dr. Ismail Radwan, one of the political leaders of Hamas, said in a press release on Tuesday that targeting mosques, universities, charitable and civil institutions and civilian homes point to the "ugly, racist, savage and terrorist image of the Israeli occupation".

He urged the Qassam Brigades, the armed wing of Hamas, to retaliate to the aggression, and hailed the Palestinian people's legendary steadfastness and backing of resistance.

Radwan also heaped praise on the Arab and Islamic masses that demonstrated in support of Palestine and called on them to continue pressuring their governments to support the Palestinians.

In another statement for Hamas on Tuesday, it said that the Palestinian people would not be content with the official Arab and Islamic regimes' condemnation but would rather like those regimes to adopt practical steps that would end the "oppressive aggression immediately, to sever all relations with the enemy and to open the Rafah border terminal".

The statement said that the IOF holocaust in Gaza is the latest in a series of brutal crimes against the Palestinian people.

It asked citizens not to evacuate their homes at the request of the IOF to shell them, and asked the people to form human shields around those houses to foil that scheme.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=40989>

Appendix 42

Al-Qassam: Our fighters inflicted heavy casualties in the ranks of IOF troops

4-1-2009

GAZA, (PIC)-- Al-Qassam Brigades, the armed wing of Hamas, said that its fighters inflicted heavy casualties on the invading IOF troops in the east and north of the Gaza Strip, affirming that it managed to kill more than five Israeli soldiers and wound about 30 others.

According to reports published by the Israeli media, which are subject to military censorship on the publication of any information about the number of soldiers killed or wounded, the Israeli soldiers who were injured were from the infantry, artillery, armored brigades and the engineering corps.

In a communiqué received by the PIC, the Qassam Brigades stated that its fighters detonated anti-personnel explosive devices in an Israeli special force near the Beit Hanoun crossing and an Israeli tank.

The communiqué added that the Qassam fighters also managed to detonate other explosive devices in different special units in Al-Zeitoun suburb, east of Gaza city, and in the Atatra area, northwest of Beit Lahiya.

According to the communiqué, the Qassam fighters were able to penetrate the radio waves of the IOF troops and heard Israeli soldiers as they were screaming in pain and talking about the death of five soldiers in their ranks.

A Palestinian field commander affiliated with the Qassam Brigades revealed that the armed wing of Hamas uses in the confrontations with the IOF troops new methods and tactics which cannot be penetrated or discovered by the invading Israeli forces.

The field commander pointed out that Qassam rocket firing units operate cautiously and skillfully and no one is able to know the places from which rockets are fired.

"We continue our mission normally and we are not affected by these raids because we have taken all precautions for such an operation and a larger one as well. We have the ability to operate in this way for a long time," the commander underscored.

In the same context, Palestinian eyewitnesses have reported that ferocious confrontations were raging between Qassam fighters and the invading IOF troops who advanced from the eastern side of Zeitoun district, east of Gaza city.

According to the eyewitnesses, the IOF troops failed to advance several meters because of the intensity of the confrontations they faced in the area despite the heavy aerial reconnaissance.

The Palestinian resistance managed to fire a homemade rockets at dawn Sunday on the Israeli Eshkol settlement built inside the 1948 occupied lands despite the intensive Israeli overflights and the ground military operation against Gaza.

The resistance also fired Saturday evening other homemade rockets on the Sha'er Hanegev settlement in the western Negev.

According to the Israeli media, a Palestinian rocket landed on a crowd of Israeli soldiers in the Sderot settlement and six others fell on the Eshkol settlement on the same day.

In a communiqué received by the PIC, the Qassam Brigades announced that it fired 41 rockets and mortar shells on different Israeli settlements and posts on Saturday, the eighth day of the aggression on Gaza.

Hamas leader Mushir Al-Masri stated that the Palestinian resistance spearheaded by the Qassam Brigades pursues special tactics and move steadily in their confrontations with the invading IOF troops.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=45973>

Appendix 43

Abu Zuhri: Gaza is the starting point for final victory

12-1-2009

SANA'A, (PIC)-- Hamas's political leader Dr. Sami Abu Zuhri has confirmed Saturday that the battle in Gaza would serve as the starting point for final victory over the Israeli occupation, asserting that the Palestinian resistance has more surprises for the enemy.

Zuhri was speaking before massive gathering in the Yemeni capital Sana'a in support for Palestine where he also pointed out that all the US-Israeli coordinated plans to finish Hamas or sideline it have failed.

He added, "The US-Israeli plans started with the so-called Dayton plan that aimed at criminalizing the Palestinian resistance and exonerating the occupation but they failed. They attempted to instigate the Palestinian people against Hamas by besieging the Gaza Strip but they also failed, prompting them to wage this extermination war on Gaza, but they will also fail".

Voicing his opinion about the UN resolution 1860 that calls for ceasefire in Gaza, Abu Zuhri explained that the resolution doesn't meet the minimum level of the Palestinian people demands. The Israeli occupation government had immediately rejected the resolution, and intensified the onslaught on Palestinian civilians in Gaza.

International human rights organizations, including Amnesty International among other groups have accused the Israeli occupation of using intentionally-prohibited weapons in its war on Gaza.

Abu Zuhri also hailed the decision of the Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez to expel the Israeli ambassador in Caracas, saying Arab countries with diplomatic ties with Israel should have followed the Venezuelan step.

Moreover, the Hamas official stressed that the Palestinian people won't raise the white flag despite the suffering and the bloodshed in Gaza, explaining that the Gaza battle had united the Arab and Muslim Ummah, and drew more international support to the Palestinian cause.

Furthermore, Abu Zuhri reiterated his Movement's position on the necessity to open the Rafah crossing point permanently not only for food and drinks, but also for Arab weapons in order to save the Palestinian people in Gaza who are part of the Arab Ummah.

Finally, Abu Zuhri explained that his Movement would study the Egyptian initiative, adding that his Movement would support any initiative that would end the war on Gaza, force the IOF troops' withdrawal from Gaza, lift the unjust economic siege, and open all crossing points in Gaza Strip, including the Rafah crossing point.

In occupied Jerusalem, the Israeli writers and political analysts in the Hebrew Haaretz newspaper warned the Israeli occupation government to stop the war on Gaza, and to immediately pull out of Gaza, explaining that a prolonged war in Gaza would jeopardize lives of the Israeli soldiers, and would harm the Israeli internal front.

The paper also criticized Israeli politicians for wasting time in disputing on the proper time to get out of Gaza, describing such disputes as "unacceptable political luxury".

It also urged the Israeli political and military echelons to "draw lessons" from the Israeli war on Lebanon in 2006 that ended with humiliating defeat to the Israeli occupation army at the hands of Hizbullah fighters.

"Just get out", the paper said in its editorial article, revealing that Israeli premier Ehud Olmert and Israeli war minister Ehud Barak prefers a pullout through an agreement with Hamas Movement with Egyptian and US help, while Israeli foreign minister Tzipi Livni want a unilateral withdrawal from the Strip.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=61027>

Appendix 44

Muzzaini: Resistance preparing surprises for IOF

1-1-2009

GAZA, (PIC)-- Dr. Osama Al-Muzzaini, one of the political leaders of the Hamas Movement in Gaza Strip, has underlined that Palestinian resistance was still capable to strike and was preparing "surprises" for the Israeli occupation forces.

He told the media office of Hamas in east Gaza city that Hamas would never acquiesce to the "enemy's humiliating conditions", recalling that his Movement refused better conditions for a ceasefire.

"We will not accept humiliating conditions for our people regardless of losses or sacrifices," he said.

Muzzaini charged that Egypt was colluding with the Zionist enemy and was a partner in the aggression, adding that Egyptian intelligence chief Omar Suleiman was quoted as saying that Hamas should be taught a lesson and that Hamas was led by a "gang".

He also charged PA chief Mahmoud Abbas with collaboration with Israel in its aggression on Gaza, adding that his request for a meeting with Hamas and all other factions was meant to cover up for his "dirty role" in the ongoing war on Gaza.

For its part, the Islamic Jihad Movement said in a statement on Wednesday that the battle in Gaza was furnishing the way before a better Palestinian future.

It expressed conviction that the "Zionist enemy" was heading to a new retreat and certain defeat.

"The scattered remains and destroyed buildings are clear proof of the enemy's bankruptcy and failure in face of resistance's steadfastness and success," the Jihad opined.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?ItemId=64109>

Appendix 45

Bahar: Israel's crimes against our people will not kill their steadfastness

12-1-2009

GAZA, (PIC)-- Dr. Ahmed Bahar, the acting speaker of the PLC, stated that the Israeli atrocities committed against the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip would not undermine their steadfastness, hailing at the same time the worldwide popular anger in solidarity with the Gaza people.

In a press release received by the PIC, Dr. Bahar underlined that Israel resorted to waging an immoral and criminal war on civilians and killing children and women after it failed to achieve its objectives through the frivolous negotiations.

The acting speaker stressed the PLC's support for the Palestinian resistance by all means available in order to repel the Israeli aggression on Gaza, adding that the council rejects any solution that does not guarantee an end to the aggression, a withdrawal of the IOF troops from Gaza and full lifting of the siege on Gaza.

He also hailed the Palestinian resistance fighters in Gaza for inflicting considerable losses in the ranks of IOF troops.

Testimonies collected by the prisoner center for studies from Palestinian ex-detainees kidnapped during the current war on Gaza revealed that the IOF troops practiced theft and violence against them during detention.

A Palestinian citizen called Abu Mohamed, 55, told the center that the IOF troops stormed his house in a barbaric way terrifying his children and women and forced him along with his son to undress before tying up their hands and confiscating 2,000 shekels from him.

Abu Mohamed added that the IOF troops blindfolded him and his son, and detained them outdoors in the crossfire along with other Palestinian detainees, pointing out that the IOF troops did not return his confiscated money and did the same with other detainees before releasing some of them.

The center called on the international community, the Red Cross, the UN to pressure Israel to stop such violations against human rights, considering what is happening against Palestinian detainees as a war crime.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?ItemId=37970>

Appendix 46

Hamas: What was not given under siege, would not be given under bombardment

12-1-2009

GAZA, (PIC)-- The Hamas Movement stated that the Israeli military campaign and aggression failed to achieve its objectives, highlighting that it would never give under bombardment and destruction any kind of concessions not given under the blockade.

In a press statement received by the PIC, Dr. Ismail Radwan, a prominent Hamas leader, underlined that there could be no talk of any calm before an immediate cessation of the Israeli aggression against the citizens, a complete withdrawal of IOF troops from the Gaza Strip, ending the siege and opening the crossings especially the Rafah border crossing.

Dr. Radwan said that his Movement does not accept the confiscation of the Palestinian people's right to resist occupation because wherever there is occupation, there is resistance, adding that the issue is not only humanitarian, but there is occupation which must end.

The Hamas leader also demanded the prosecution of Israeli leaders in international war crimes tribunals for the atrocities they committed against the Palestinian people.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?ItemId=52758>

Appendix 47

Haneyya: The Israeli aggression aims to break the epic steadfastness of Gaza

28-12-2008

GAZA, (PIC)-- The Palestinian Prime Minister Ismael Haneyya called on the Palestinian people for more unity in the face of the continuing Israeli occupation onslaught stressing that the Israeli occupation aggression will not break the Palestinian people's will or insistence on their rights.

In a televised address aired by al-Aqsa satellite channel Haneyya said that the Israeli occupation massacres will not weaken the Palestinian people who are more insistent on their rights pointing out that the Israeli occupation has committed many massacres against the Palestinian people in the past including al-Buraq Massacre, Deir Yassin Massacre, Sabra and Shatila, Nahallin, the Ibrahimi Mosque, the old city of Nablus, Bethlehem, al-Burajj and Khan Younis, yet the Palestinian people emerged after each massacre stronger and more determined.

"They want to break the Palestinian epic steadfastness in the face of the Israeli imposed siege, to end the culture of resistance and to create a rift between the elected government and its popular base. They seek to divert the attention of the world from the real problem, which is occupation, Judaization of Jerusalem, hundreds of roadblocks and a siege the like of which has not been witnessed in modern history, so

they use their propaganda machine to claim that Hamas and its resistance is the problem."

He greeted all free people around the world who protested at the Israeli occupation massacres in the Gaza Strip.

<http://english.palinfo.com/site/pages/details.aspx?ItemId=61180>