

Hebron University

Faculty of Graduate Studies

English Department



*The Rhetoric of Gaza War: A Comparative Analysis of the Palestinian and the Israeli
Discourse in Media Reporting*

By

Hamza Tamimi

Supervised by

Professor Ahmad Atawneh

This Thesis is Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master in Applied Linguistics and the Teaching of English, College of Graduate
Studies, Hebron University, Palestine.

October, 2012

Hebron University

Faculty of Graduate Studies

*The Rhetoric of Gaza War: A Comparative Analysis of the Palestinian and the
Israeli Discourse in Media Reporting*

By

Hamza Tamimi

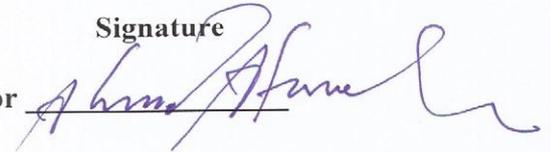
This thesis was successfully defended on October 1, 2012 and approved by:

Committee members:

1. Professor Ahmad Atawneh

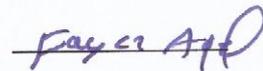
Supervisor

Signature



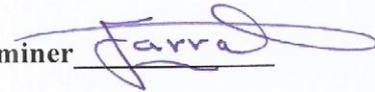
2. Dr. Fayez Aqel

External examiner



3. Dr. Mohammad Farah

Internal examiner



Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my mother and sister, Wafa' and Hind Tamimi, who have supported me throughout my life, and to my friend Fuad Abu Eisheh, whose support and encouragement have been invaluable at every step in completing this project.

I would like to thank my mother and sister, Wafa' and Hind, for being loving and supportive family members and for always surprising me with a cup of coffee when I needed it the most. From my childhood, my mother and sister have shared with me their own love of learning and have never failed to support my ambitions. Thanks for everything, mother and sister. I would like to thank my friends and teachers throughout my life. Finally, I would like to thank my brother, Saleh Tamimi, for being a loving and supportive brother and for reminding me what is most important in life.

Acknowledgements

All praise is due to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds, the Beneficent, and the most Merciful. I would like to thank my committee members, Prof. Ahmad Atawneh, Dr. Fayez Aqel, and Dr. Mohammad Farrah, for helping me complete this study. I am especially grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Ahmad Atawneh, who has tirelessly provided support and guidance over the last several months. In fact, this project would not have been possible without Allah's help and the committee's mentoring. I would especially like to express my gratitude to the staff members and to the students of Al-Fawwar Basic Boys' school for being supportive to me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	II
TABLE OF CONTENTS	III
ABSTRACT	V
ARABIC ABSTRACT	VI
DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS	VII
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Statement of the Problem	3
Objectives of the Study.....	3
Significance of the Study.....	4
Research Questions.....	4
Research Hypotheses	5
Limitations of the Study	5
Roots of the Conflict.....	5
CHAPTER TWO	8
LITERATURE REVIEW	8
Just War Theory.....	8
Just Cause	8
Last Resort.....	9
Proportionality	9
Right Intention.....	9
Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)	10
The Nature of CDA	10
Methods of CDA.	12
Using Personal Pronouns for Various Functions	12
Lexicalization.....	14
Ideographs.....	16
Modality.....	18
Language and Ideology	20
The Ideological Square.....	20
The Construction of an Enemy in the Discourse.....	20
CHAPTER THREE	23
METHODOLOGY	23
Data Collection	23
Procedure of the Study	25
CHAPTER FOUR	28

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	28
Just War Theory.....	28
The Israeli Side.....	28
Just Cause.....	28
Proportionality.....	31
Last Resort	32
Right Intention	33
The Palestinian Side.....	33
Just Cause.....	33
Proportionality	34
Last Resort	35
Right Intention.....	35
Pronouns	36
The Israeli Side.....	37
The Palestinian Side	45
Selecting Lexicalization	53
The Israeli Side.....	54
The Palestinian Side.....	58
Synchronic Ideographic Analysis	63
The Israeli Side.....	64
Terror and Peace vs. Palestinians and Israelis.....	64
Us vs. Them.....	69
Defense vs. Peace.....	73
The Palestinian Side.....	78
Victory and Resistance	79
MODALITY	85
The Israeli Side.....	85
The Palestinian Side.....	90
CHAPTER FIVE	94
Conclusions and Pedagogical Implications	94
BIBLIOGRAPHY	97
Books and Articles.....	97
Media Sources	102
APPENDICES	104
HANIYEH’S SPEECH.....	104
MESHAAL’S SPEECH.....	105
OLMERT’S SPEECH	111
OLMERT’S PRESS RELEASES.....	116

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to analyze the discourse of Gaza war which started on December 27, 2008 and ended on January 18, 2009. The study will focus on the linguistic features that were employed to serve the different agendas of the different sides of Gaza war (2008/9). The data for this study consisted of news reporting about Gaza war and quotes of Israeli and Palestinian politicians. The data was collected from three Palestinian newspapers, two Israeli newspapers, and from relevant internet sources where some related data could be found. The study of the literature review allowed the researcher to work out a framework of different categories of discursive indicators which are ideologically oriented. Following McGee (1980), Van Dijk (1991), Fairclough (2003), Merskin (2004) and Harvard (2006), the model of analysis was categorized into the following: 1- the legitimation of war by just war theory 2- the use of the pronouns *we, they, us, I and our* 3- selecting lexicalization and ideographs 4- modality 5- the ideological square 6- the construction of an enemy in the discourse. This paper has shown how the investigated linguistic elements had ideological functions in war language and how war language was dependent on elements like the just war theory, the choice of the lexical items, pronouns, and the modality of the speaker. Throughout their discourse, the Israelis tried to show their constant commitment to the elements of just war theory by manipulating some linguistic elements, such as: pronouns and lexical items. The Palestinians, however, tried to invalidate the Israelis' commitment to just war theory. Regardless of their weakness, the Palestinians used pronouns, lexical items, and modality in order to claim victory. The ideological use of the linguistic elements proves that these elements have ideological functions which have to be taught and integrated in materials for English teaching (e.g., adding these functions at the end of each unit).

Arabic Abstract

ملخص الدراسة

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحليل خطاب حرب غزة (2009) وذلك بالتركيز على المؤشرات اللغوية التي وظفت لتحقيق أجدات معينة للأطراف المختلفة في حرب غزة. تشمل بيانات هذه الدراسة على نشرات اخبارية واقتباسات لسياسيين إسرائيليين وفلسطينيين. تم تجميع البيانات من ثلاثة صحف فلسطينية وصحيفتين إسرائيليتين ومن مواقع انترنت ثابتة توجد فيها بيانات ذات علاقة بالدراسة. مراجعة الدراسات السابقة مكن الباحث من عمل إطار تحليلي مكون من تصنيفات مختلفة للمؤشرات الخطابية الأيديولوجية. بناء على فان دجيك (1991) وفيركلوف (2003) و ميرسكن (2004) وماك جيبي (1980) وهارفرد (2006) تم تصنيف الإطار التحليلي إلى التصنيفات التالية: 1- شرعنة الحرب باستخدام عناصر الحرب المشروعة . 2- استخدام الضمائر. 3- استخدام الألفاظ. 4- التنبؤ 5- المربع الإيديولوجي 6- بناء صورة العدو في الخطاب. ولقد بينت الدراسة كيف أن لغة الحرب لها أهداف ايدولوجية وأنها تعتمد على عناصر مثل نظرية الحرب المشروعة واختيار الألفاظ والضمائر وتنبؤ المتكلم في التعبير عن الثقة بالنفس بالتزامه بالحقيقة التي يؤمن بها على أنها قطعية أو ظنية. يظهر الإسرائيليون التزامهم بعناصر الحرب المشروعة عن طريق توظيف عناصر لغوية مثل: الضمائر والكلمات. يحاول الفلسطينيون تفنيد ادعاء الإسرائيليون التزامهم بعناصر الحرب المشروعة، وبالرغم من ضعفهم يستعمل الفلسطينيون الضمائر والكلمات ليدعوا النصر. استعمال هذه العناصر اللغوية لتحقيق أهداف ايدولوجية يثبت أن للعناصر اللغوية أدوار ايدولوجية لا بد أن تدرس وتدمج في الكتب التدريسية، فعلى سبيل المثال، يمكن إضافة هذه الوظائف لتدريسها للطلاب في نهاية كل وحدة دراسية.

Definition of Key Terms

- **Just war theory:** is the attempt to distinguish between justifiable and unjustifiable uses of organized armed forces. There are four elements of just war theory discussed in this study; these include: *just cause, right intention, proportionality of ends, and last resort.*
- **Critical discourse analysis (CDA):** is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice and focuses on the ways social and political domination are reproduced in text and talk.
- **Lexicalization:** is the process of choosing a word to express a concept.
- **Ideograph:** is an ordinary language term found in political discourse. It is a high-order abstraction representing collective commitment to a particular but equivocal and ill-defined normative goal.
- **Ideology:** is a belief system that portrays a group's fundamental social, economic, political, or cultural interests.
- **Modality:** the modality of a clause or a sentence is the relationship it sets up between authors and representations; what authors commit themselves to in terms of truth or necessity.
- **Synchronic Ideographic Analysis:** is the analysis of the meaning of the ideograph in its current state due to its relationship to other ideographs or lexical items.
- **The Ideological Square:** is an overall discourse strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation employed in political discourse.
- **Deixis:** refers to the phenomenon wherein understanding the meaning of certain words and phrases in an utterance requires contextual information.

Chapter One

Introduction

At war times, nations tend to adopt discourse that supports their political stances as well as the righteousness of their struggle. They also employ narratives that emphasize the negative traits and intentions of their enemies as well as the enemy's responsibility for the absence of a solution and for the ongoing suffering. Unsurprisingly, this kind of discourse is found in the discourse of Gaza war (2008/9); each side of the conflict presents an opposite story. In other words, the Palestinian discourse emphasizes the fact that Palestinians are victims of occupation and that Israel is aggressive, responsible for the suffering of the Palestinians, and opposed to peace. On the other hand, Israel emphasizes the attacks of Palestinian militant groups and accuses them of being unwilling to reach a solution to the conflict. The Israelis- according to this narrative- are victims of these attacks and they are not subject for blame. In essence, the Israelis tend to legitimize their war against Gaza and delegitimize the Palestinians' political stance; conversely, the Palestinians tend to legitimize their political issue and to delegitimize the Israeli war.

Analyzing the language of war as reported in the media has become a tradition in discourse analysis. During the Gaza war (2008/9), the Palestinians and the Israelis used a fertile language of discursive elements. Along with the military war, there was a verbal war during the war of Gaza. That is, each side of the conflict wanted to win that war by providing discourse that supported its political stances. Lexical items, pronouns and modality were prominent discursive elements in the discourse of Gaza war. These elements, however, were employed to achieve certain

political goals, such as: legitimation and blame shifting. The Harvard Law Review¹ (2006) model of legitimation of war on Iraq which includes the just war theory will be used in the analysis of media texts reporting or commenting on Gaza war. The Harvard Law Review is the most cited journal for law studies and it is considered as one of the oldest reviews of its kind (Journal Citation Reports²). It clarified in detail the elements of just wars and it analyzed the war on Iraq (2003) using the elements of just war theory. In addition, the elements of just war theory are considered as an aid for warfare studies³.

According to the Harvard Review, when a state declares a war, it tries to meet the elements of a just war in order to legitimize that war. Hence, because Israel declared the war against Gaza, it must have tried to convince the world that it met the elements of a just war. On the other hand, the Palestinians will invalidate the Israeli claims of a just war.

The approach used in this study is critical discourse analysis; henceforth (CDA) serves as an analytical framework to examine the data of this study. Using pronouns and lexical items in different ways to serve the legitimation agenda of every side in the war will be explored under the just war theory. In particular, the pronouns “us” versus “them” show various functions in the discourse of war, for example, the pronoun “us” is used to define ourselves and the pronoun “them” is

¹ War, Schemas, and Legitimation: Analyzing the National Discourse about War.

Harvard Law Review

Vol. 119, No. 7 (May, 2006), pp. 2099-2120 (article consists of 22 pages).

Published by: The Harvard Law Review Association, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4093611>

² Journal Citation Reports (Overview). Thomson Reuters. 2010. Web. Retrieved 25/6/2012.

³ justwartheory.com. Web. Retrieved 18/4/2012.

used to refer to the enemy (Thorne, 2009). Lexical items are used to disguise the truth and to make a cover for the nasty actions in war (ibid). There are, therefore, ideological functions of linguistic elements. This study, however, tests the linguistic elements outlined in the literature review in the context of Gaza war (2008/9) in order to find what ideological functions these linguistic elements had at war in order to have a better understanding of these elements.

Five elements will be explored here, analyzing a selection of quotes, press releases and news from the sides involved in the war, key elements in the just war theory, the linguistic analysis of pronouns, modals, and lexicalization used in quotes and in speeches. Although this study considers contextual and political factors of Gaza war, it is primarily a linguistic study.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Linguistic elements have been broadly investigated in terms of their linguistic functions in the discourse. However, there have been recently some researchers (e.g., Van Dijk) who called for approaching the linguistic elements in terms of their ideological functions in the discourse. This study will aim at investigating the ideological functions of the linguistic elements in the discourse of Gaza war (2008/9) in order to find the ideological functions that were employed to serve different agendas.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The study intends to:

- 1- Investigate the ideological functions of the following linguistic elements:
 - a. Personal pronouns.
 - b. Lexicalization.

- c. Ideographs.
 - d. Modality.
- 2- Examine how politicians at Gaza war (2008/9) used the linguistic elements to legitimize their actions on the one hand and to delegitimize the enemy's actions on the other.
 - 3- Find the elements of just war theory in the discourse Gaza war (2008/9).

1.3 Significance of the Study

This study is one of the first of its type and it adopts a model of analysis for political discourse in media reporting with a focus on pronouns, lexicalization, ideographs, and modality. It will present in depth the functions of such elements. Such functions are not presented in textbooks for teaching English. Therefore, the insights resulting from this research will contribute to a better understanding of these elements for language teachers. The study will also examine the roles of linguistic features- which are present in the data- in the representations of the events of Gaza war, taking into consideration the political context as well as the context of data production.

1.4 Research Questions

This research aims to answer the following questions:

- 1- What ideological functions the linguistic elements (pronouns, lexical items and modality) had at Gaza war?
- 2- How is the commitment of the Israelis to the elements of just war theory reflected in their discourse?
- 3- How do the Palestinians delegitimize the claims of the Israelis regarding the commitment to just war theory?

1.5 Research Hypotheses

- 1- It is hypothesized that pronouns, lexical items and modality will be manipulated to serve the agendas of each side of the conflict, such as: sustaining solidarity and claiming the commitment to just war theory or invalidating that commitment.
- 2- It is hypothesized that the Israelis will use pronouns, lexical items, and modality to claim their commitment to just war theory.
- 3- It is hypothesized that the Palestinians will use the same linguistic elements to invalidate the claims of the Israelis and to show that the Palestinians are victims of the Israeli attacks.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

The study has the following limitations:

- 1- The study is limited to studying three linguistic elements; pronouns, lexicalization, and modality. Additionally, it didn't examine the figures of speech (e.g., metaphor).
- 2- The study didn't investigate the grammar of the discourse (e.g., simple present or reported speech).
- 3- The study focused on the discourse of Hamas since it played a major role at Gaza war (2008/9) and it didn't focus on the discourse of other Palestinian factions (e.g., Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine).

1.7 Roots of the Conflict

For Israelis, the year 1948 is the year of the establishment of their state in the "homeland" (Palestine) after thousands of years of exile, (Chomsky & Pappé, 2010). That year represents a chapter in the history of the Jews in Palestine that is

full of triumph and heroic stories to be told, (ibid). The same year, however, constitutes the worst chapter in the history of the Palestinians. It is the year which they refer to as Alnakbah (the disaster). It is a disaster since about seven hundred thousand Palestinians were expelled from their land Palestine to live in camps in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and in some Arab countries (ibid). In that time, Gaza was under the control of Egypt till it was occupied in 1967. From that time (1967) till the end of 1993, the Palestinian Authority (PA) was absent from the scene. After the Oslo Accord in September 1993, the PA ruled over the Gaza Strip which represents 1.5% of the land of the historic Palestine. In 1994, Gaza Strip was encircled with an electric fence making Gaza a ghetto in 2000 (ibid). It can be understood that Gaza was separated from Israel. In September 2005, Israel left Gaza Strip and destroyed the Israeli settlements there. Therefore, the Israeli presence in Gaza was ended. After that, the Palestinian Authority in Gaza and in the West Bank started the legislative elections in 2006. Hamas won the elections and as a reaction, Israel imposed a blockade on Gaza Strip which isolated Gaza from the rest of the world. Additionally, Israel led a military operation in that year and named it “Summer Rains”. On the other hand, Hamas used primitive rockets as a reaction to the Israeli bombings (ibid). These rockets could hardly result in serious damage or harm to the Israelis whereas the Israeli bombings resulted in massacres, (ibid). Shortly after the “Summer Rains”, a civil war took place between Hamas and Fatah and that left Hamas alone in control of Gaza in 2007(ibid). One year later in December 2008, Israel declared a war against Hamas in order to destroy it and its infrastructure (ibid). This war resulted in killing more than one thousand and three hundred Palestinians and fourteen Israelis (Reuters. Fact Box. January 18, 2009. Web. Retrieved April 10, 2012).

As a summary, this chapter has presented the rationale of the study and the roots of Gaza war (2008/9). However, the coming chapter will review some related studies in order to provide theoretical and methodological basis for this study.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical approach of this study. The review will include studies such as: just war theory, critical discourse analysis, using personal pronouns for various functions, lexicalization, ideographs, and modality. These elements are all relevant to the design of the current study and data analysis.

2.1 Just War Theory

The just war theory is an attempt to distinguish between just and unjust war (Orend, 2005). That is, wars that are declared should meet four elements to be seen as just. The most commonly known elements of just war theory are *just cause, right intention, proportionality of ends, and last resort*, (Orend, 2005; Harvard, 2006; Moseley, 2009). These elements will be reviewed in detail.

2.1.1 Just cause. In order for politicians to convince the world community and most importantly their nations of war, they have to provide good reasons for their decision of war (Orend, 2005). In addition, war is most often considered as a very argumentative issue which goes into critical sessions of debates and discussions before it is agreed on (Harvard, 2006). Correspondingly, war decision makers need to provide just causes which are most notably seen as just to the public (Orend, 2005; Harvard, 2006). For example, in legitimate wars, states usually try to meet the standards of human rights and to make every effort to appear as liberating others (Orend, 2005). Most theorists think that defending one's self or preventing an impending war could be a just cause (Harvard, 2006; Moseley, 2009).

2.1.2 Last resort. For wars to be seen as just, it is necessary to prove to the public that war is the last resort and that all the peaceful efforts made to prevent it were useless. In essence, war makers should appear as if they are obliged to resort to war and that they have already done everything they could to prevent it (Moseley, 2009).

2.1.3 Proportionality. During the times of war, civilian casualties are usually relatively high. These casualties should not be reported to the public as they are since they provoke insistent calls to end the war and they mostly put war makers under severe criticism. It is, therefore, crucial for war makers to minimize the real numbers of these casualties (Orend, 2005; Moseley, 2009). Proportionality, on the other hand, requires that the armed forces should not attack civilians to meet their objectives so as to make their war appear reasoned and accepted (ibid).

2.1.4 Right intention. Providing a just cause for a war might not be sufficient for taking military actions (Orend, 2005; Harvard, 2006). Right and good intentions should be made clear as the attentions for taking military actions. That is, a country that declares a war tries to appear as a morally motivated country for war with good and right intentions. In other words, war makers usually declare that their wars are simply oriented towards the development and the prosperity of the target countries (Moseley, 2009). For example, the U.S. has many times claimed that its war against Iraq was to free the Iraqi people from the dictatorship of Saddam and to bring them democracy.

Following the elements of just war theory is essential for a country that declares a war in order to legitimize its war. In other words, wars that meet the elements of just war theory are seen as legitimate; otherwise, wars will be seen as illegitimate. Hence, politicians tend to show their commitment to these elements.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

2.2.1 The nature of CDA. In his book *Critical Discourse Analysis*, Fairclough (1995) explained that CDA is concerned mainly with the exploration of opaque relationships of causality and determination between “(a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes” (p.133). This exploration is meant for the investigation of how “such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggle over power” (ibid). Moreover, it is the role of CDA to detect how hegemony and ideology consolidate support and consent for the policies of powerful political leaders (Skitta, 2006). Another role of CDA is the “reflection on the role of scholars in society and the polity” (Van Dijk, 2003).

In “*The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*”, Van Dijk (2003) pointed out that CDA principally studies the way social power and dominance are reproduced in the social and political context. CDA, in essence, aims at the analysis of how discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society (ibid). Van Dijk further argued that CDA is usually multidisciplinary. In other words, we may find critical analysis perspectives that help CDA researchers in disciplines such as: pragmatics, rhetoric, and media analysis. In other words, language and discourse are important dimensions of CDA. These dimensions, however, insist that the analyst should be constantly aware of the word choice in order to understand the underlying meanings of lexical items. To simplify the role of CDA, Van Dijk (2003) suggested that CDA research is concerned with answering this question: “How do (more) powerful groups control public discourse?” (Van Dijk, 2003).

An important notion of CDA is that of power, and more precisely the social power of groups or individuals (Van Dijk, 2003). Power in this context is defined in terms of control. That is, those who can control the acts and the minds of others are viewed as powerful (ibid). This ability necessarily presupposes a power base of those powerful people such as: force, money, knowledge, and political status (ibid). As an illustration, the power of the military is based on force whereas the power of the rich is based on money. Moreover, the power of dominant groups is based on rules, norms, and general consensus (ibid).

Research attempts to identify the relationship between language and power. According to Kramarae, Schulz and O'Barr (1984), people usually use language in social contexts to communicate human concerns among which are powers. Wrong (1979) claimed that power is the ability of someone to make intended and predicted effects on others. It is also believed that power had a close relationship with politics. Power has been found as the most effective determinant of language choice in addressing others. Brown and Levinson (1987) theory on politeness tested in different contexts and languages (Brown and Gilman 1989), Atawneh (1991) provided evidence to support this premise. The most obvious manifestation of power is observed during times of war since there are two enemies each of which uses power to win the battle at the verbal political level or at the military level on the ground (Wrong, 1979; Kramarae et al., 1984; Fairclough, 2001). There is the possibility of both enemies having either equal power or imbalance in power. In each case, language choice will depend on the imbalance of power.

Researchers of CDA claimed that political texts are best analyzed through the methods of CDA (Van Dijk, 2003; Fairclough, 2003). Studying the personal pronouns

is one important model for examining political discourse. Fairclough (2003) showed how political leaders use certain pronouns to achieve political goals. Throne (2009) pointed out that pronouns could be used to establish opposites. Some researchers in political discourse used this model in their analysis (Fairclough, 2003 & Ferrarotti, 2009). Another model for the analysis of political discourse is lexicalization (Van Dijk 2003; Fairclough 2003). Lexicalization refers to the choice of words that imply negative or positive evaluations. This model is used by many scholars in analyzing the political texts (Fairclough, 1989; Valenzano, 2006; Walts, 2006). The analysis of modality, however, is important in order to find the different evaluations of the speakers as well as the power of each of them (Fairclough, 2003).

2.2.2 Methods of CDA.

2.2.2.1 Using personal pronouns for various functions. Pronouns are primarily used to take the place of a noun. However, writers sometimes prefer certain pronouns; the pronoun “we” is used more than “I” by newspapers editors and articles writers (Eckersley & Eckersley, 1960). This is because writers and editors tend not to sound egotistical and because each writer feels that s/he isn’t speaking for or about himself/herself but speaking for and about the whole community (Eckersley & Eckersley 1960:97; Quirk et al., 1985:339). In addition, Fairclough (1989) claimed that instead of “I”, kings and leaders use “we”. Throne (2009) also claimed that establishing opposites is simply achieved by using pronouns (i.e., “us” and “them”).

As an illustration, Quirk et al. (1985) argued that the pronoun “we” has the following uses:

1. Writers usually use the “inclusive authorial *we*” in writing books (e.g., we will discuss transitive verbs in Chapter 3).

2. In scholarly and scientific articles where the writers avoid using “I” in order not to sound egotistical (e.g., we have to add salt now).
3. In the collective sense of “the nation” (e.g., we will liberate our land).
4. In contexts where the speaker tries to imply that s/he is sharing the “problem” with the hearer (e.g., doctors sometimes say to their patients: how do we feel today?)
5. In reference to the 3rd person (he/she) (e.g., when talking about their managers, some say: we are not in a good mood today).

As we noticed, there are ideological functions of pronouns; the pronoun “we” is used to establish opposites (Throne, 2009), to talk about the collective sense of the nation (Quirk et al., 1985), and to exercise power by kings and leaders (Fairclough, 1989). This would mean that the use of “we” is most suited for powerful leaders in order to: (a) talk on behalf of their nations and thus gain support as they represent them (b) establish opposites between their nations and others when it is necessary (e.g., at war times) (c) exercise their power over their people and thus have the ability to lead them. In addition, Brown and Gilman (1960) claimed that the choice of personal pronouns could reflect the power and the solidarity of the speaker and that the interpretation of the use of personal pronouns could reflect the status of the user among his/her group. However, the pronouns (us and our) are considered as cases of “we” (i.e., the pronoun “us” is the objective case of “we” and the pronoun “our” is one possessive case of “we”). Hence, the ideological functions of these pronouns are almost the same.

Personal pronouns have been classified into two categories in terms of inclusiveness and exclusiveness (Fairclough, 1989). More specifically, pronouns are inclusive when the speaker includes his/her audience to the referents, whereas exclusive pronouns exclude the hearer from the referents.

Personal pronouns, however, are one type of deixis (Adetunji, 2006). Deixis is concerned with “the relationship between the structure of language and the contexts in which they are used” (Levinson, 1983:55 as cited in Adetunji, 2006). In other words, deixis can be understood through the context or through the understanding of the intentions and the viewpoints of the speaker. Thus, we should understand the referents of personal pronouns from the speaker’s perspective or point of view.

The existence of binaries like “us” and “them” or “we” and “they” in the people’s schema can pave the way for wars (Harvard, 2006). Coe et al. (2004) suggested that binary discourse is most suitable for war times for the following reasons. First, making a dichotomy suggests a competition between two opposing forces which, in turn, is a fertile soil for good news stories. Second, the concepts of dichotomy with no exceptions have moral power and these concepts have resonance with the mass public. Third, mass media is pleased with the style of the opponents’ discourse. Fourth, creating a dichotomy could be useful for sustaining national unity and this is an ideological function.

2.2.2.2 Lexicalization. People use lexical items in order to describe and to name different elements in the world. Their nomination of the different elements reveals the way they view them. Therefore, nominations differ according to the ideologies of different groups of people. In this regard, as reported in Zaher (2009), Van Dijk (1991) stated that: “lexicalization ... is never neutral: the choice of one word rather than another to express more or less the same meaning or to denote the same referent may signal the opinions, emotions, or special position of a speaker” (p.53). However, the analysis of the lexical items used in newspapers and in political discourse will help us to reconstruct the image of the world presented by the press and the politicians (Pisarek, 1983 cited in Zaher, 2009). In addition, lexical choices can

serve ideologically in the representation of different sides of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and the legitimization or delegitimation of their actions depending on the ideology of the newspaper or the speaker.

One strategy of lexicalization is categorization. As reported in Zaher (2009), Van Leeuwen (1996) defined categorization as: “the representation of social actors by functionalizing, identifying or appraising them, i.e. by referring to them by virtue of ascribing to them identities, functions and positive or negative evaluations that they share with others”. In other words, people use categorization in social interaction to refer to entities in the world and to classify them. Additionally, selecting a certain category creates a bond between what is being categorized and other members of the same category. Thus, our perception of a person or a group is influenced by our categorization of that person or that group. The categorizations of the different groups might also affect our actions towards them, for example, those who categorized Palestinians as terrorists would perceive that Palestinians should be killed.

Some practical studies were conducted to analyze the discourse of the Palestinians and the Israelis and these studies investigated the lexicalization for the Palestinians and the Israelis (e.g., Atawneh, 2011; El-Bilawi, 2011; Pollak, 2011). These studies revealed how lexical items were manipulated to promote certain ideologies. However, these studies didn't study other linguistic elements in the discourse (e.g., modality and pronouns). Atawneh (2011) showed that the Israelis used negative categorizations of the Palestinians, for example: Palestinians were described as “cockroaches”, “grasshoppers”, and “slaves”. He also found that the Israelis used lexical items for threatening Palestinians.

2.2.2.3 Ideographs. Since this study examines the discourse of Gaza war (2008/9) from an ideological perspective, we need to define the word ideology. In his book *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, Van Dijk (2000) defined ideology as a belief system that portrays a group's "fundamental social, economic, political, or cultural interests" (p. 69). A reflection of ideologies in discourse can be found in what McGee (1980) termed as "ideograph". He defined the ideograph as:

An ordinary language term found in political discourse.

It is a high-order abstraction representing collective commitment to a particular but equivocal and ill-defined normative goal. It warrants the use of power, excuses behavior and belief which might otherwise be perceived as eccentric or antisocial, and guides behavior and belief into channels easily recognized by a community as acceptable and laudable. (p.15)

Ideographs aren't considered as normal terms; rather, they are considered as politically powerful terms that exist in common vocabulary (Valenzano, 2006).

Valenzano (2006) pointed out that ideographs are employed to rally the public around a certain policy or idea, to suture the differences that exist among the different groups of the community, and to gain support from the public. Therefore, ideographs appear to be on everyone's side. Because of their high abstraction and generality, McGee (1980) believed that ideographs cannot be used to test or to establish truth, but in the realm of political rhetoric, ideographs can "pass" as truth. Ideographs, then, are considered as a powerful tool for persuasion. Walts (2006) claimed that ideographs "can make war, cause peace, create mistrust, fear, and unity by virtue of their very existence" (p.49). As an illustration, the following words are considered famous

ideographs: “terror”, “peace”, “equality”, “family”, “freedom”, and “liberty” (McGee, 1980; Valenzano, 2006; Walts, 2006).

It is clear that not every term can be an ideograph. McGee (1980) suggested that terms become ideographs when people view their meaning as absolute, creating self-contained arguments for a particular ideology. McGee (1980) wrote that:

Ideographs are one-term sums of an orientation, the species of “God” or “Ultimate” terms that will be used to symbolize the line of argument the meanest sort of individual *would* pursue, if that individual had the dialectical skills of philosophers, as a defense of a personal stake in and commitment to the society. Nor is one permitted to question the fundamental logic of ideographs: Everyone is conditioned to think of “the rule of law” as a *logical* commitment just as one is taught to think that “186,000 miles per second” is an accurate empirical description of the speed of light even though few can work the experiments or do the mathematics to prove it. (p.7)

Ideographs are discussed as having two meanings; diachronic and synchronic (McGee, 1980; Valenzano, 2006; Walts, 2006). Diachronic meaning refers to historical meaning of the ideograph. Synchronic meaning, however, refers to the meaning of the ideograph in its current state due to its relationship to other ideographs (ibid). That is, they are defined by looking at the terms with which they are paired in a historical moment (Valenzano, 2006).

Valenzano (2006) and Walts (2006) examined the use of ideographs in the “war against terror” where they examined the post 11/9 discourse. However, Pollak (2011) examined the use of ideographs in Olmert’s press releases during Gaza war (2008/9). In his study, Pollak analyzed his data within the framework of synchronic ideographic analysis. He analyzed the ideographs found in Olmert’s press releases by examining the relationship between the ideographs and other significant words in the corpus. In addition, he concluded that ideographic analysis had to be done along the same lines of the discourse of Hamas.

2.2.2.4 Modality. As reported in Fairclough (2003), Halliday (1994) defined modality as “the speaker’s judgment of the probabilities, or the obligations, involved in what he is saying”. On the other hand, they claim that modality “involves the many ways in which attitudes can be expressed towards the pure reference-and-prediction content of an utterance, signaling factuality, degrees of certainty or doubt, vagueness, possibility, necessity, and even permission and obligation” (Verschueren, 1999).

These formulations see modality in terms of a relationship between the speaker or the writer and the representations. Modality, therefore, is more close to subjectivity than it is to objectivity as it involves the speaker's judgment and prediction. Moreover, modality has been discussed as having two different functions (i.e., an epistemic meaning and a deontic function). The former expresses a logical probability whereas the later expresses a use related to social interaction, consider the following examples:

Ali *may* come this afternoon. (*may* suggests a probability)

You *may* leave.

(*may* suggests giving a permission and thus accomplishes a social interaction).

Modality can be seen as a process of texturing identities (Fairclough, 2003). In other words, what a person commits himself/ herself to is a very important part of their identities. Moreover, modality can be recognized through the following relevant markers:

1. Modal verbs, e.g., can, could, ...
2. Modal adverbs, e.g., certainly, probably, ...
3. Participial adjectives, e.g., required, supposed, ...
4. Other types of adverbs, e.g., in fact, obviously, usually, often, ...
5. Hedges, e.g., sort of, kind of, ...

These markers, however, have significant value in texts. For example, participial adjectives can express the necessity of doing or not doing something. Other markers like modal verbs can be used to express obligation (e.g., must). Moreover, the rhetoric power of the speaker who uses modality as well as the speaker's political power can be examined through his/her use of modals (Fairclough, 2003). In other words, those who commit themselves to great actions could be seen as powerful. However, not everyone can commit himself/herself to great actions; rather, politicians and powerful people can do that (Fairclough, 2003). In this regard, people who tell others what is obligatory and what is not are seen as powerful. Fairclough (2003) states:

The power of futurological prediction is a significant one, because injunctions about what people must or must not do now can be legitimized in terms of such predictions about the future. (p.167)

Modality, therefore, can reflect the speaker's commitment to a certain

ideology or preferences. It can also reflect the power of the speaker in his/her discourse.

2.3 Language and Ideology

2.3.1 The ideological square. Politicians tend to contrast the enemy's image to their country's own image to create what was referred to as "binaries of opposition" (Valenzano, 2006). These binaries serve to perpetuate the market economy, protect those who hold power, and to justify political and military policies toward an enemy (ibid). In addition, Van Dijk (1991) demonstrated that an overall discourse strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is employed in the political discourse. He referred to this strategy as the "ideological square" model by which "our" positive actions and "their" negative actions are emphasized on the one hand, and "our" negative actions and "their" positive actions are hedged, mitigated, or excluded on the other. In effect, to let others notice your positive traits, you have to compare them with others' negative ones. Hence, language is not less important than traditional weapons and it can be used as Thorne (2009) suggested as a means of provoking hostilities.

2.3.2 The construction of an enemy in the discourse. To clarify this concept, the best statement was given by Keen (1986) saying: "First the image, then the enemy" (p. 10). The construction of an enemy image has played a critical role in the maintenance of political power or hegemony (Merskin, 2004). As reported in Merskin (2004), Spillmann and Spillmann (1997) suggested that governments use the idea of an enemy as a method of social relations, of reinforcing values of the dominant system, of garnering participation, and in the maintenance of these beliefs. In addition, the idea of a common enemy can be used as a hegemonic device in order to distract people's attention and divert aggression toward a common threat (Merskin,

2004). It can be concluded that governments use the idea of an enemy in countries where governments are accused of being irresponsible in order to divert people's attention from the government's faults to another issue such as: a common threat or an enemy.

Spillmann and Spillmann (1997) explained that an enemy image is characterized by the following:

1- Negative Anticipation.

Enemies are always viewed as people with bad intentions. Whatever they do for us (the nation that is at war with an enemy) is undoubtedly meant to hurt us.

2- Putting Blame on the Enemy.

Any negative condition, economic crises, and any existing strain are with no doubt attributed to the enemy. In other words, the enemy is thought to be the source of anything bad or harmful to "us".

3- Identification with Evil.

The values of the enemy must necessarily be evil. On the other hand, "our" values represent the good. In addition, the enemy is always striving to destroy "our" highest values. For example, Coady (2009) suggested that Bush inevitably accompanied the talk of the "good guys" with the talk of the "bad guys" and this had lead Bush to believe that "they hate us because we are so good".

4- Zero-Sum Thinking

What is seen good by the enemy is necessarily bad to "us" and vice versa.

5- Stereotyping and De-Individualization.

Anyone who belongs to the enemy's group is "our" enemy.

6- Refusal to show Empathy.

There is no way to show empathy with those who threaten "us".

Having reviewed the studies related to the themes of the research paper, it has become obvious that now we have a framework for analyzing data in the field of political discourse related to Gaza war (2008/9). This will be reflected in the following chapter on methodology of the study.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter aims at introducing the method used for data analysis; to present the data and the corpus of the study, and to introduce the analytical framework of the study. The corpus of this study was carefully searched for; it was collected from relevant sources. Moreover, data collection was a challenging task because data were scattered in different sources. The collected data consist mainly of quotes of both Palestinians and Israelis. Few press releases and speeches were collected and added to the corpus. The analysis follows the methods of analysis outlined by McGee (1980), Van Dijk (1991), Fairclough (2003), Merskin (2004) and Harvard Review (2006); that is, the analysis of just war theory elements, pronouns, lexicalization, ideographs, modality, the ideological square, and the construction of an enemy in the discourse.

3.1 Data Collection

Data was taken from media sources including newspapers, websites, and TV interviews or speeches representing the involved parties in the war (i.e., the Israelis and the Palestinians). The study depends mainly on quotes from political leaders or officials of the two parties as reported in the media during the war period from December 27, 2008 to January 18, 2009. However, most of the original statements were made in Hebrew and in Arabic but the translations were taken from reliable sources (e.g., English news sources). The sources include: Reuters News Agency, Aljazeera English, Al-Quds Newspaper, Al-Ayyam Newspaper, Al-Hayat newspaper, The Jerusalem Post, Haaretz, the Israeli Prime Minister's Office, Press TV, and BBC.

The corpus of the study consisted of:

- 1- A hundred and twenty quotes for the Israelis and the Palestinians collected from the website of Reuters⁴ News Agency and accessed on April 7, 2012.
- 2- Six press releases of the former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert collected from the official website of the *Prime Minister's Office*.⁵
- 3- Thirty five headlines collected from the Israeli newspaper *The Jerusalem Post*.⁶
- 4- Fifteen headlines collected from the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz*.⁷
- 5- Twenty headlines from the Palestinian newspaper *Al-Ayyam*.⁸
- 6- Sixteen headlines from the Palestinian newspaper *Al-Quds*.⁹
- 7- Twenty six quotes collected from Aljazeera English¹⁰.
- 8- Three important speeches during the Gaza war; one for Ehud Olmert¹¹, one for Khalid Meshaal,¹² and one for Ismael Haniyeh¹³.
- 9- A summary of a televised speech of Mahmood Abbas¹⁴.
- 10- One interview with the Israeli foreign minister Tzipi Livni on Meet The

⁴ Reuters. World News Headlines. Web. Retrieved April 7, 2012.

<<http://uk.reuters.com/news/archive/worldNews?date=12282008>>

⁵ Prime Minister's Office. Web. Retrieved May 27, 2012. < <http://www.pmo.gov.il>>

⁶ The Jerusalem Post. The Jerusalem Post Archives. Web. Retrieved June 4, 2011.

<<http://www.jpost.com/Cooperations/Archives/>>

⁷ Haaretz. Web. Retrieved November 2, 2011. < <http://www.haaretz.com>>

⁸ Al-Ayyam Newspaper. Web. Retrieved June 19, 2011. < <http://www.al-ayyam.com>>

⁹ Al-Quds Newspaper. Web. Retrieved June 19, 2011. < www.alquds.com>

¹⁰ Aljazeera English. Middle East News. Web. Retrieved June 19, 2012.

<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/>>

¹¹ Olmert's speech was taken from the official website of the former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert; Retrieved Sept. 2, 2011

<<http://www.pmo.gov.il/PMOEng/Archive/Speeches/2009/01/speechcabinet170109.htm>>

¹² Meshaal's speech was videotaped by Syria TV and reported by Aljazeera channel. The video was accessed on June 10, 2011. The video was taken from YouTube.

< <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g5Cs6YrvOok&feature=related>>

¹³ Haniyeh's speech was videotaped by Press TV, Aljazeera, and other channels. However, the speech is taken from YouTube and was accessed on June 10, 2011.

< <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sQGTaohlomM>>

¹⁴ The summary was taken from Aljazeera English website. Retrieved June 19, 2012.

<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/>>

Press¹⁵.

11- Three quotes from different sources; two from BBC¹⁶ and one from foxnews.com¹⁷.

It should be noted that all data were collected from the internet. However, the dates of access are mentioned in this section so there is no need for mentioning them in the following sections in order to avoid repetition. In addition, the speeches and the quotes in this study are of major Israeli and Palestinian politicians. As an illustration, Ehud Olmert was the Prime Minister of Israel at Gaza war (2008/9), Tzipi Livni was the Israeli Foreign Minister, and Ehud Barak was the Minister of Defense. However, Mohmood Abbas was the Palestinian president whose authority was only in the West Bank, Ismael Haniyeh was Hamas Prime Minister in Gaza, and Khalid Meshaal was the head of the Political Bureau of Hamas. In addition, the speeches and the press releases that were added to the data were of a prominent value at Gaza war (2008/9). However, there are other Israeli and Palestinian officials mentioned in this study and the researcher will introduce them in footnotes or next to their speeches.

3.2 Procedure of the Study

As mentioned in the literature review, there is not a single method for undertaking CDA, but different studies employ different methods depending on the aims of the study and the type of data to be analyzed. Pollak (2011) studied the press

¹⁵ Israeli foreign minister Tzipi Livni interviewed on Meet The Press. January 4, 2009. Web. Retrieved June 11, 2011. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7a8c84217-0>. The transcription of the interview is found on the website: clips and comment; <http://www.clipsandcomment.com/2008/12/28/transcript-israeli-foreign-minister-tzipi-livni-on-meet-the-press-december-28-2008/>

¹⁶ BBC. Israel troops admit Gaza abuses. March 19, 2009. Web. Accessed on November 10, 2011. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7810123.stm>>.

BBC. Gaza conflict: Reaction in quotes. January 4, 2009. Web. Retrieved November 10, 2011. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7810123.stm>>

¹⁷ The quote is taken from a news story from Foxnews.com. Retrieved November 11, 2011. <<http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,473145,00.html>>

releases of Olmert using the method of synchronic ideographic analysis. In addition, Valenzano (2006) and Walts (2006) studied the ideographs of war especially those that the President Bush employed in his discourse. Fariclough (2003) studied various excerpts and texts by employing the methods of studying pronouns and modality of the speaker. Ferrarotti (2009) studied the inclusive and the exclusive pronouns used by the news presenters of TG 5 TV, Rai Uno TV, BBC, and CBC TV. However, Van Dijk (1991) emphasized the use of the ideological square in approaching political discourse. In his study, Merskin (2004) adopted the method of the construction of an enemy in the discourse. Although the study of Harvard (2006) is not a linguistic study, the elements that were outlined in their study are relevant to the analysis of political discourse. The elements of just war theory, the ideological square, and the construction of an enemy are examined in the study in order to see how these elements were reflected in the discourse. That is, how the linguistic elements were manipulated to meet the mentioned elements. In this study, political discourse will be examined and the model of analysis will be a combination of all these models as follows:

- 1- Searching for the legitimation elements of just war theory in the Israeli and the Palestinian discourse.
- 2- Finding the types of pronouns and their frequencies to study their functions in the war discourse.
- 3- Collecting and analyzing the key lexical items that are prominent in shaping the meanings and the ideologies of war discourse (e.g., ideographs).
- 4- Collecting and analyzing the types of modals to study their manipulation in the war discourse.
- 5- Finding the mechanisms of the ideological square and the construction

of an enemy in the data.

To summarize this chapter, the collected data will be examined in the coming chapter by using the procedure outlined above. It should be noted here that the speeches and the press releases that were collected were prominent in media sources; that is why the researcher focuses on them.

Chapter Four

Results and Discussion

This chapter aims at discussing the results under the theoretical context of the study. The study is mainly concerned with investigating the ideological functions of the selected linguistic items. In order to answer the research questions, a theoretical framework was adopted. Data will be analyzed under the following models: just war theory, pronouns, selecting lexicalization, and modality. Only relevant examples from data will be used to stand as evidence for the themes of the investigated topics. The data sources are given in footnotes or at the end of every quote. In the analysis, the Israeli side and the Palestinian side are given subheadings under each main heading.

4.1 Just War Theory

The most relevant elements of *just war theory* to this study are: *just cause*, *proportionality of ends*, *last resort* and *right intention*.

4.1.1 The Israeli side.

4.1.1.1 *Just cause*. The following statement of Ehud Barak, the Israeli Minister of Defense, illustrates the causes of the war, he says:

We have carefully weighed all our options. We are not war hungry, but we should not allow a situation where our towns, villages and civilians are constantly targeted. It will not be easy or short, but we are determined. We are peace-seekers. We have restrained ourselves for a

long time, but now is the time to do what needs to be done¹⁸.

The major problem is targeting Israeli civilians by Hamas rockets. Barak makes his audience believe that the Israelis seek peace but they are forced to engage in this war. Of course, nothing is mentioned about the reasons why Hamas rockets were fired. That is why it seems natural to accept a justification for war based on this simplistic reason. However, the audience of Barak is mainly the Israeli public and the world watching the events.

Support for the Israeli claims on the justification of war comes primarily from Israeli allies and friends like Britain, Italy, and the US as seen in the following quotes published by Reuters on January 5, 2009:

Italian Foreign Ministry:

The Italian government, which even recently supported Israel's right to self-defense... makes a heartfelt appeal to our Israeli friends so that everything possible is done to ensure the protection of civilians and the provision of humanitarian aid.

Again, the Italian ministry ignored the roots of firing rockets and only presents the Israeli side of the story. This attitude questions the credibility of the Italians like all other Israel allies who only go with the Israeli narrative.

Gordon Brown, the British Prime Minister:

¹⁸ Ehud Barak, Israeli Minister of Defence, BBC. Gaza conflict: Reaction in quotes. January 4, 2009. Web. Retrieved November 10 2011. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7810123.stm>>

What we've got to do ... is work harder than we've done for an immediate ceasefire. The Israelis must have some assurance that there are no rocket attacks coming into Israel. (Reuters. Web. January 4, 2009)

The tone of this statement is softer than that of the Italian. There is a tendency or implication that the rockets issue will be discussed on both sides.

Obama, the US President:

If somebody was sending rockets into my house where my two daughters sleep at night, I'm going to do everything in my power to stop that. I would expect Israelis to do the same thing¹⁹.

Obama's statement is even more supportive of the Israeli position than others. Any country will not accept sit idly while thousands of rockets are fired at its citizens. Simplifying the issue in this manner is only indicative of a total bias and animosity to the other side of the conflict from a party that has been seen as mediator for peace.

The stated aim of Israel was to curb rocket and mortar fire by militants from Gaza. That was the right intention. However, the real undeclared purpose was as said by one Israeli soldier reported by BBC news on March 19, 2009:

We are the people of Israel; we arrived in the country almost by miracle, now we need to fight to uproot the

¹⁹ Guardian Newspaper. 29 December 2009. Web. Retrieved November 10, 2011. <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/dec/29/barack-obama-israel-gaza>>

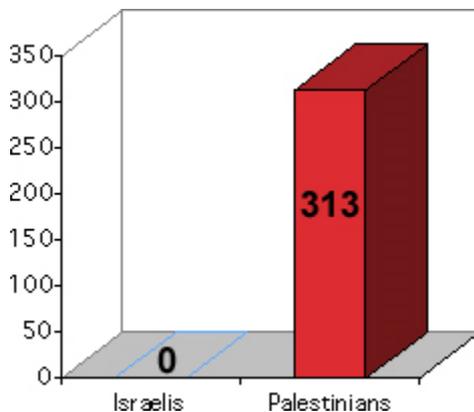
gentiles who interfere with re-conquering the Holy Land²⁰.

4.1.1.2 Proportionality. Though just war theory defines harms primarily as human suffering and physical damage, civilian casualties should be minimized. Therefore, armed forces should not attack civilians to meet their objectives so as to make their war appear reasoned and accepted.

Since the Israeli operation began on December 27, over 294 Israelis have been injured in Palestinian rocket and mortar attacks and over 244 Israelis have been treated for shock.²¹

The evidence of lack of proportionality is clear according to these figures. It will be seen more obvious in the following graphs²²:

Palestinian and Israeli Children Killed in Gaza 27/12/08- 18/01/09

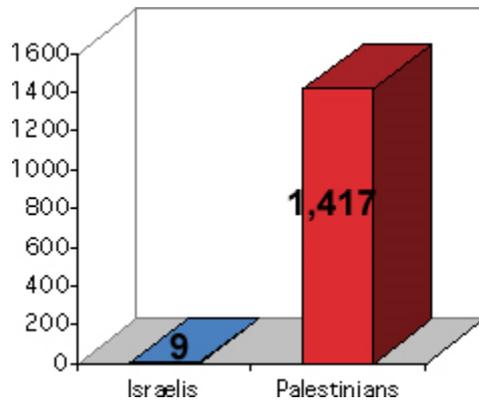


²⁰ BBC. Israel troops admit Gaza abuses. March 19, 2009. Web. Accessed in November 10, 2011. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7810123.stm>>.

²¹ Source: www.SderotMedia.com. Web. Retrieved: Sept. 2, 2011.

²² http://www.ifamericansknew.org/cur_sit/dec08.html. Retrieved: Sept. 2, 2011.

Palestinians and Israelis Killed in Gaza 27/12/08- 18/01/09



As we notice, roughly one hundred Palestinians were killed for every Israeli.

There has been ample evidence to invalidate the claim of proportionality in this war.

4.1.1.3 Last resort. Presenting war as the last resort can be seen in the following lines:

We decided to enter a kind of a truce and not to attack Gaza Strip. Hamas violated, on a daily basis, this truce. They targeted Israel, and we didn't answer. They smuggled weapon, they built a small army in Gaza Strip, so the situation was unbearable... we need to give an answer to this. (Israeli Foreign Minister, Tzipi Livni, on January 4, 2009²³).

According to Livni, Hamas's violation of the truce, targeting Israel, and rearming Hamas's army were more than what Israel can tolerate. This implies that

²³ Israeli foreign minister, Tzipi Livni, interviewed on Meet The Press. Web. 11 June 2011. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7a8c84217-0>. This quote was taken from a televised interview with Livni on NBC's Meet the Press. The transcription of the interview is found on the website: clips and comment; <http://www.clipsandcomment.com/2008/12/28/transcript-israeli-foreign-minister-tzipi-livni-on-meet-the-press-december-28-2008>.

Israel has tolerated a lot and suffered a lot. Thus, Israel has tried all the nonviolent peaceful solutions to protect its nation, but all these solutions have failed to protect Israel.

4.1.1.4 *Right intention.* In his press release on January 4, 2009, Olmert said:

Israel is not at war with the Palestinian people in Gaza. They are not our enemies; they are also victims of violent and murderous repression by those same terrorist organizations. To them I say, on behalf of all of Israel, that we will not allow a humanitarian crisis to be created in the Gaza Strip. We will help supply food and medicines like any enlightened and moral country must do²⁴.

Olmert's right intentions are explicit in the above excerpt. According to him, Israel is not fighting against the Palestinians. In addition, the Israelis intend to help and to supply the Gazans with food and medicine. No sign of savagery can be found in his words. Thus, the intentions of the Israelis in this war are presented as right and good.

4.1.2 The Palestinian side.

4.1.2.1 *Just cause.* Seeing the firing of rockets as just on the part of the Palestinians is justified by the statement of Meshaal saying:

Some are speaking about the tunnels as if Gaza is a super power with advanced weapons, while we are

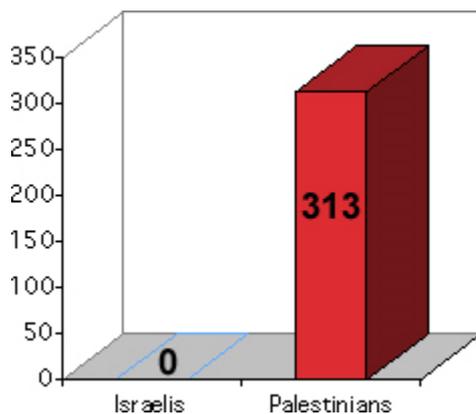
²⁴ Prime Minister's Office. Web. January 4, 2009.

people with very limited capabilities to defend our territories and ourselves. Nobody has the right to take our legitimate right for defense and resistance. (Meshaal's speech on January 10, 2009).

According to Meshaal, the firing of the rockets against Israel is a kind of defense since the Palestinians try to defend their lands and their selves by such rockets. In addition, defending one's self is a just cause for taking military actions.

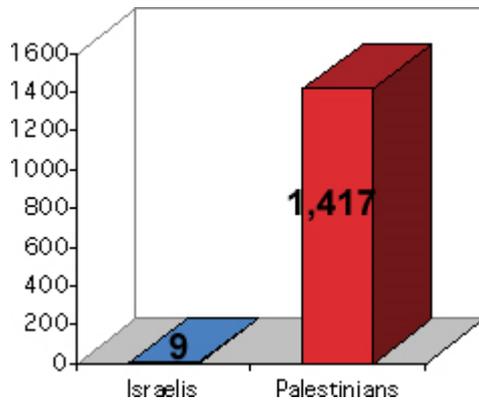
4.1.2.2 Proportionality. When we look again to the following graphs²⁵, we will see that the Palestinians didn't kill any Israeli child whereas the Israelis killed more than three hundred Palestinian children. However, the Palestinians killed five Israeli soldiers and three Israeli citizens. This means that the Palestinians didn't violate the principles of proportionality like the Israelis.

Palestinian and Israeli Children Killed in Gaza 27/12/08- 18/01/09



²⁵ http://www.ifamericansknew.org/cur_sit/dec08.html, retrieved Sept. 2, 2011.

Palestinians and Israelis Killed in Gaza 27/12/08- 18/01/09



4.1.2.3 Last resort. Presenting the attacks of Hamas as the last resort can be seen in the following lines of Meshaal: “*We are ready for the challenge, this battle was imposed on us and we are confident we will achieve victory because we have made our preparations*” (Reuters, January 2, 2009). Since the war was imposed on Hamas, Hamas found that its last resort is making its preparations (military actions). These lines suggest that Hamas’s attacks against Israel are defensive not offensive. According to the statement of Meshaal, Hamas didn’t resort to its military actions by its own will but this was imposed on the movement.

4.1.2.4 Right intention. The right intentions of the Palestinians could be seen in the following statement of Haniyeh:

First, the Zionist aggression must end without any conditions...Second the siege must be lifted and all the crossings must be opened because the siege is the source of all of Gaza's problems. After that it will be possible to talk on all issues without any exception.
(Reuters, December 30, 2009).

In these lines, Haniyeh made it clear that Hamas intended to “talk on all issues without any exception” and this is a right and a good intention. However, Haniyeh’s conditions for “talking on all issues” are purely humanitarian demands. Thus, he made it clear that Hamas had good intentions and that the movement was ready to talk about peaceful solutions but the Israelis should, in advance, lift the siege and stop the war.

To conclude this section, it is now apparent that the Israelis tried to commit themselves to the elements of just war theory. On the other side, legitimation and just war elements were found in the discourse of the Palestinians but these elements were used more frequently in the Israeli discourse. However, in the following sections, the focus will be on how the Israelis manipulated the linguistic elements to show their commitment to these elements. In addition, we will see how the Palestinians used the linguistic elements in their discourse to invalidate the claims of the Israelis. The following sections will be named according to the linguistic elements that will be examined. That is, the order will be as follows: 1- pronouns, 2- lexicalization, 3- Ideographs, and 4- modality. In addition, each side will take a subheading under the main headings of the linguistic elements.

4.2 Pronouns

This section will focus primarily on two important speeches of Gaza war; the speech of Olmert at the end of the war and Meshaal’s speech on January 10, 2009. In this section, the personal pronouns will be searched for in each speech or quote. Then, they will be analyzed in terms of inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the audience. The interpretation of the function of each pronoun will depend on the uses of pronouns outlined in the literature review by Quirk et al. (1985), Fairclough (2003), and Throne (2009). That is, pronouns are used to talk about the collective sense of the nation, to

share the same “problem”, views, and the same destiny with the nation, to talk on behalf of the nation, and to establish opposites, etc.

4.2.1 The Israeli side. Applying the analytical framework on the data collected from the Israeli officials revealed their power, their unity, and their pride in the Israeli army. The referents will be decided according to the context of the original text. Moreover, since pronouns are considered as deixis, the context of the pronouns as well as the words attached with them should be analyzed. Olmert delivered a speech after the Cabinet Meeting on January 17, 2009²⁶. In that speech, many instances of pronouns were found. Figure 1 illustrates the results:

Figure 1: the occurrences of pronouns in Olmert’s speech.

	Number of occurrences
We	30
I	27
our	17
Us	7
They	7
Total	88

What is noticed in figure 1 is that Olmert used eighty eight pronouns in his speech. Only four referents out of the eighty eight pronouns refer to the Palestinians and Hamas while the rest refer to the Israelis because he used the pronoun “they” three times to refer to Israelis. There were cases of inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the Israeli people in the pronoun “we”. However, all exclusive forms of the pronouns

²⁶ Olmert’s speech was taken from the official website of the former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert; Retrieved Sept. 2, 2011
 <<http://www.pmo.gov.il/PMOEng/Archive/Speeches/2009/01/speechcabinet170109.htm>>.

“we”, “our”, and “us” exclude the Israeli people but they include the Israeli government. Figure 2 illustrates the results:

Figure 2: the occurrences of inclusive and exclusive “we” forms

	“We” forms	Percentage of “we” forms
Inclusive	10	30%
Exclusive	20	70%
Total	30	100%

However, nine inclusive “our” forms and eight exclusive “our” forms were found in Olmert’s speech. Figure 3 illustrates the results:

Figure 3: the occurrences of inclusive and exclusive “our” forms

	“Our” forms	Percentage of “our” forms
Inclusive	9	53%
Exclusive	8	47%
Total	17	100%

In addition, five inclusive “us” forms were found in Olmert's speech as opposed to only two exclusive “us” forms. Figure 4 illustrates the results:

Figure 4: the occurrences of inclusive and exclusive “us” forms

	“Us” forms	Percentage of “us” forms
Inclusive	5	71%
Exclusive	2	29%
Total	7	100%

On the other hand, the pronoun “they” was meant to refer to Hamas, the Palestinian citizens, the Israeli citizens, and to the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF).

Figure 5 illustrates the results:

Figure 5: the occurrences of “they” and “them” and their referents

The referents	“They” forms
Hamas	2
The Palestinians	2
The Israelis	2
The "IDF"	1
Total	7

Now that the results are clear, the analysis will follow the order of the results; it will start with the pronoun “we” and it will end with the pronoun “they”. However, out of eighty eight pronouns, Olmert used only four pronouns to refer to Hamas and the Palestinians while the rest were used to refer to the Israelis. This might suggest

that Olmert had ego self-pride while dehumanizing others since he mentioned them only four times.

The use of the inclusive “we” forms could suggest the following:

- (a) Olmert wanted his people to work as one team (e.g., “*we make the unprecedented effort to fight for and realize our right of self-defense*”).
- (b) Olmert implied that his nation carries the same views, the same feelings, and the same responsibilities (i.e., remembering the fallen), he said: “*we must also remember the fallen*”). As a result, he categorized himself and his nation in the same group (i.e., “we”). Olmert has further practiced his power when he spoke on behalf of his nation about the nation’s responsibility towards the “fallen”.

Exclusive “we” forms were meant to include the government of Israel. These forms could be used to:

- 1- Talk about the accomplishments of the Israeli government, for example:

“*We formulated understandings with the Egyptian government...the realization of which will bring about a significant reduction in weapons smuggling from Iran and Syria to the Gaza Strip*”. The achievements are not only of Olmert’s efforts but by the help of his government members. Olmert doesn’t sound egotistical or arrogant but he sounds like a humble leader who gives a share to everybody of his government in that achievement. If he doesn’t do so, Olmert would likely lose support from his government and his nation.

- 2- Greet and motivate the Israeli defense forces (IDF) (e.g., “*We send our wishes for a speedy recovery to the residents of the South and to the IDF soldiers injured during the operation*”). The soldiers are motivated and greeted by the Israeli government (i.e., the elite of the Israeli people).

- 3- Talk about the ethics of the Israeli government (e.g., “*we made widespread and concerted efforts to see to the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian population*”). This may imply that Olmert and his government work as one united team and that they are not separated. In addition, a reflection of the commitment to proportionality is manifested here. That is, “we” (the government of Israel) made great efforts in order to meet the “humanitarian needs of the Palestinian population”. The value of the pronoun “we” is that the whole government of Israel is united behind this cause. Therefore, no official in the Israeli government, then, is savage since all of them are united to help the Palestinians in their humanitarian needs.
- 4- Talk about the right intentions of the Israeli government, for example: “*We feel the pain of every Palestinian*”, “*We do not hate you*”, “*we did not want and do not want to harm you*”. The use of the pronoun “we” was to refer to the Israeli government, for example: “we feel the pain” and “we don’t hate you”. The use of this pronoun has helped Olmert to talk not only about his intentions but also about the intentions of his government. These intentions are presented as good intentions which would serve the Israelis’ commitment to an important element of just war theory (i.e., right intention).

There are instances of “I”, for example: “*I have been watching the people of Israel day and night*”, “*I saw the brave soldiers*”, “*I also saw the actions of the Home Front Command*”. These instances are attached with some qualities of a good and a responsible leader who watches his people day and night and who cares about them and this is a noble characteristic of good leaders. This may imply that Olmert is not like leaders who seek leisure and entertainment, yet he sounds like a loyal leader. In other words, the pronoun “I” was used to construct an image of self-pride.

Inclusive “our” forms may suggest the following:

- 1- Olmert and the Israeli people are on the same boat; they have the same enemy and the same soldiers, for example: “*If **our** enemies decide*” and “*ten of **our** soldiers*”. Olmert used the pronoun “our” to mean that all Israelis (not only Olmert and his government) have the same enemy and the same army. Thus, every Israeli must be involved in the battlefield since the enemy is “ours”.
- 2- Inclusive “our” could be used as a means of sustaining solidarity among the Israeli people since “**our** enemy” is the same, “**our** soldiers” are the same, and “**our** children” are the same. Hence, Israelis need to work as one team in order to “defend **our** children”. Therefore, it is not only Olmert’s responsibility to defend the Israeli children but it is also “our” responsibility and everybody should be involved in this responsibility. Another important value of the use of the inclusive “our” is supporting the idea that Israel has a just cause for its war; that is, to “defend our children”.
- 3- Raising the national feelings by reminding them of “***our** strength*”, “***our** power*”, and “***our** future*”. Power, future, and strength are very essential values to the nation that everyone would be glad to defend. These are issues that the whole nation cares about since these are not only Olmert’s but “ours”.
- 4- Olmert is expressing his love to his soldiers by describing them as “sons” and by talking to them as a father (e.g., “***our** dear and beloved sons*”). By so doing, he is not acting as a tough commander but as a father who cares for his “beloved sons”. Additionally, fathers would gladly die for the safety of their sons and would make sacrifices to protect them. Therefore, it was not because Olmert hated his soldiers that he sent them to Gaza but because he loved them. Moreover, because soldiers are dear to everyone “our dear”, this could consolidate the soldier’s self-esteem and confidence.

Exclusive “our” forms could suggest the following:

- 1- Expressing the wishes of Israeli government to the Israeli people and to the Israeli forces, for example: “*We send **our** wishes for a speedy recovery to the residents of the South and to the IDF soldiers injured during the operation*”.
- 2- Focusing on the achievements of the Israeli government in order to get support from the Israeli public, for example: “*along with the totality of **our** achievements in the operation*”.
- 3- Showing the government’s commitment to an important cause of the Israelis (i.e., freeing the Israeli prisoner Gilad Shalit, for example: “*Gilad is at the top of **our** agenda*”).

Inclusive “us” forms were used when Olmert wanted to raise the self-esteem of the Israeli people (e.g., “*it was the home front that created an unshakable foundation which strengthened **us** and gave **us** the ability to continue fighting*”). In another example, Olmert involves all the Israelis in the threat that comes from “*those who threaten **us***”. Hence, this threat matters to everyone in the country and; thus, everyone will be concerned about ending that threat. In another instance of “us” forms, Olmert said: “*I do not suggest that it or any other terrorist organization test **us***”. In this example, Olmert created a powerful image of the Israeli people and not only of his government. This image could contribute to sustaining confidence among the Israelis. On the other hand, exclusive “us” forms were used to show how the Israeli government was committed to proportionality and right intentions, for example: “*the international organizations which acted and continue to act tirelessly to assist **us** in providing the Palestinian population with appropriate living conditions*”. In other words, the international organizations assist “us” in helping the Palestinians and that means that “we” have already helped the Palestinians and the international organizations has assisted and still assist “us” in helping them. However,

all the pronouns that have been discussed above refer to Olmert's group (i.e., the Israelis). Olmert manipulated these pronouns to ascribe good qualities to his government and to give a share to the Israelis in these qualities. In addition, these pronouns were used to show that the government and the people of Israel are united and powerful.

Olmert also used the pronoun "they" in order to refer to the Israeli soldiers and to the Israeli people, he said: "*I thank the people of Israel, its fighters and **their** commanders for the fierceness of spirit and the social solidarity **they** demonstrated over these past weeks*". He used the pronoun "they" in order to show that the Israeli people and the Israeli forces are united. In addition, he ascribed a good quality to the Israeli people and forces because they demonstrated "social solidarity".

The pronouns that were used to refer to the Palestinians were used in order to show the right intention of the Israelis, for example: Olmert said:

I wish to convey my regret for the harming of
uninvolved civilians, for the pain we caused **them**, for
the suffering **they** and **their** families suffered as a result
of the intolerable situation created by Hamas.

It is also noticed that Olmert shifted the blame for the suffering of the Palestinians to Hamas. His right intention is apparent as he didn't intend to cause any harm for the Palestinians and he regretted for any harm from which they suffered. However, "they" forms, which were used to refer to Hamas, were attached to negative traits, Olmert said: "*they were mistaken... They wish to continue fighting*". On the other hand, "we" forms were attached to positive traits in order to show the positive image of the Israelis and the negative image of Hamas.

4.2.2 The Palestinian side. Now that we have looked at the data from the Israeli side, analyzing pronouns of media texts from the Palestinian side will be introduced to show the solidarity, the victimization of the Palestinians, and the savagery of the Israelis.

On January 10, 2009, Meshaal delivered a televised speech on Syria TV²⁷.

Meshaal used the several pronouns. Figure 6 illustrates the results:

Figure 6: the occurrences of pronouns in Meshaal's speech

	Number of occurrences
We	30
I	4
our	16
Us	5
They	27
Total	82

Meshaal used eighty two pronouns in his speech. As noticed, he only used twenty seven pronouns to refer to the Israelis. As Olmert did in his speech, Meshaal tried to show that he had ego self-pride and he tried to dehumanize the Israelis. There were cases of inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the Palestinian people in the pronoun “we”. However, all exclusive forms of the pronouns “we”, “our”, and “us” exclude the Palestinian people but they include Hamas. Figure 7 illustrates the results:

²⁷ Meshaal's speech was videotaped by Syria TV and reported by Aljazeera channel. The video was accessed on June 10, 2011. The video was taken from YouTube.
 URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g5Cs6YrvOok&feature=related>

Figure 7: the occurrences of inclusive and exclusive “we” forms

	“We” forms	Percentage of “we” forms
Inclusive	8	27%
Exclusive	22	73%
Total	30	100%

However, seven inclusive “our” forms and nine exclusive “our” forms were found in Meshaal’s speech. Figure 8 illustrates the results:

Figure 8: the occurrences of inclusive and exclusive “our” forms

	“Our” forms	Percentage of “our” forms
Inclusive	7	44%
Exclusive	9	46%
Total	16	100%

In addition, two inclusive “us” forms were found in Meshaal’s speech as opposed to only one exclusive “us” form. Figure 9 illustrates the results:

Figure 9: the occurrences of inclusive and exclusive “us” forms

	“Us” forms	Percentage of “us” forms
Inclusive	2	67%
Exclusive	1	33%
Total	3	100%

On the other hand, the pronoun “they” was meant to refer to the Israelis and to the USA. Figure 10 illustrates the results:

Figure 10: the occurrences of “they” and “them” and their referents

The referents	“They” forms
The Israelis	25
The USA	2
Total	27

The analysis will begin by the pronoun “we” in its two cases; inclusive and exclusive.

Inclusive “we” forms could have several functions in Meshaal’s speech. For example: the pronoun “we” was used to show the solidarity between Hamas and the Palestinian people, Meshaal said: *“we are the victim, we were invaded we are the people to whom all these massacres were committed. We demand”*. The pronoun “we” apparently refers to Hamas and to the Palestinian people. Therefore, the demands that follow these lines are not only of Hamas but of all the Palestinian people. There must

be a kind of consensus among the Palestinian people and Hamas about these demands. Hence, Hamas is presented as the leader of the Palestinian people who determines their demands and who speaks on behalf of them. Additionally, since the pronoun “we” refers to the Palestinian people, this would mean that Israel committed massacres to the Palestinians since it is mentioned in the quote above that Israel committed massacres against the Palestinians. This, however, stands as an invalidation of the claims of the Israelis regarding their commitment to proportionality. Another use of the inclusive “we” forms was to ask for public and international support as he declared that “*we are people with very limited capabilities to defend our territories and ourselves*”. The pronoun “we” is apparently a referent to all the Palestinians including Hamas. Accordingly, the abilities of Hamas do not only belong to the group but to the Palestinian nation. Further, these abilities are said to be “limited” which could imply that it is needed to supply the Palestinians with more abilities. The “limited capabilities” of the Palestinians are used for noble causes (i.e., defending the Palestinian nation, defending the nation’s rights, and defending the nation’s lands). These noble missions-according to Meshaal- are the missions of Hamas and all the Palestinians. Accordingly, Hamas deserves support from all nations since it is committed to noble causes (i.e., defending the Palestinian rights and the Palestinian lands).

On the other hand, exclusive “we” was mainly used to show the power of Hamas and its ability to make demands, for example, Meshaal said:

- ...*we* will not accept any negotiations for a truce in the light of and under the pressure of a military campaign and siege.
- *We* will also not accept the interference of international forces.
- *We* supported national unity from day one.

- What *we* need is more stern resistance in Gaza and *we* need more fierce protests in the Arab and Islamic world and the international community.
- ...*we* struck the airbase of Balnakhim.

Most of the quotes above are mainly about the demands of Hamas. The last quote, however, focuses on the striking of an Israeli airbase and as noticed, striking the airbase was attributed to Hamas not to the militants of the movement. This may be considered as a message to the Palestinians that all the movement is standing against the Israelis. We can also see one positive self-presentation in these quotes (i.e., supporting the national unity).

Concerning the use of the pronoun “I”, this was not used excessively whereas the pronoun “we” was used excessively. This might suggest that Meshaal didn’t intend to sound egotistical. However, Meshaal used the pronoun “I” when talking about the failure of the Israelis and about the calls of the countries to stop their relations with Israel, for example: “*I can say with all confidence according to facts on the ground that from a military perspective the enemy has failed completely... I call on Arab countries not to welcome any Israeli official in their capitals*”.

Inclusive “our” forms were used seven times. For example, Meshaal said: “*the blood of our women and children and people will increase our cohesion and determination to achieve our aims*”. The children and women mentioned are not strangers but they are very close to Meshaal and Hamas because they are “*our women and children*”. This could imply the existence of solidarity between Hamas and the Gazans. The blood of children and women cannot be seen like normal blood but as blood that empowers “*our cohesion and determination to achieve our aims*”. As a result, the blood will serve to the benefit of every Palestinian cause and not only for Hamas’s cause because this blood empowers “our” attachment and not only Hamas’s

attachment. The pronoun “our” was also attached to the objectives and to the demands in order to imply that the objectives and the demands are not only of Hamas but of the Palestinians. Hence, Hamas is presented as sharing the same objectives and demands that the Palestinians have which, in turn, serves to show solidarity between Hamas and the Palestinian people. However, one important observation of the lines of Meshaal is his efforts to invalidate the Israelis’ commitment to proportionality since he stated at the beginning that the Israelis killed Palestinian women and children and this is against the principle of proportionality. Not only this, there is no proportionality of soldiers to soldiers. The inclusive pronoun “our” was also used to show how Hamas and the Palestinians have the same destiny, lands, and rights, Meshaal said:

- ...and let the rights of **our** people be admitted to, let them recognize **our** rights to live without a siege and closed border crossings.
-to defend our territories and ourselves.
- ...the price of this bloodshed is freedom and to decide **our** own destiny.

This could mean that Hamas and the Palestinians are united together as one entity and that Hamas is representative of the Palestinian people. In addition, Meshaal’s grounds in dealing with any initiative are built on the demands of “our people”, he said: “*We, with an open mind, will deal with any initiatives and decisions based on the basis of the legitimate demands of **our** people*”. This may pave the way to the legitimation of any political decision from Hamas. In addition, the Palestinian people and not only Hamas will discuss the decision of entering a truce. Meshaal said: “*people discuss in the issue of truce as **we** did in the past*”. Such harmony between Hamas and the Palestinian people can tell about the good relations between Hamas and the Palestinians. Additionally, this might constitute a message to the Israelis and

to the world that Hamas didn't stand against the will of its people because it discussed with them "the issue of truce".

In his speech, Meshaal not only called the Arab leaders to support the Palestinians, but he also called the "nation" (the Islamic nation which is "our nation") to support them, he said: "*I call on our nation to remain in one line in support of the just battle of our people*". Here, Meshaal made it clear that the battle is a battle of the Palestinian people not a battle of Hamas (e.g., "the just battle of *our* people"). Accordingly, Hamas was out of the scene but when the battle of the Palestinian people began, they marched and stood with the Palestinian people. Now, it is the Arabs' turn to stand with the Palestinian people like Hamas. Another quote that supports the same idea (i.e., the battle of the Palestinian people) can also be found in the following lines: "*This war is not a war on Hamas as the Zionist enemy tries to portray, but is a war on all the Palestinian people, the Palestinian issue and the whole nation*". In these lines, Meshaal added another involved party in the war that is the Islamic nation. Hence, not only the Palestinians are supposed to defend Palestine but every Muslim in the world. Additionally, since the war is against all the Palestinians, Meshaal refutes the Israelis' claims regarding their commitment to proportionality.

Exclusive "our" forms were used to legitimize the acts of the movement, for example: Meshaal said: "*Nobody has the right to take **our** legitimate right for defense and resistance*". In this quote, we can notice that "our" is attached to "legitimate right for defense" and that would mean that the Palestinians have a legitimate cause. The pronoun "our" was also used to show the unity between Hamas and the Palestinians as Meshaal said: "*So this is a battle of demonstrating military strength, a fight or war to impose a defeat on **our** people*".

The inclusive “us” forms were used in two occasions. Meshaal said: “*And to the Arab countries, by God you abandoned and degraded us*” and “*A very important point is that the Muslim world should stand by us*”. Because the pronoun “us” includes Hamas and the Palestinians, the Arabs who hates Hamas are accused of abandoning the Palestinians. Therefore, if the Arabs want only to abandon Hamas, they will abandon the Palestinians as well and vice versa since they are one entity as Meshaal presented them. In addition, since the Palestinians and Hamas are presented as one entity (us), supporting the Palestinians requires supporting Hamas. However, the only exclusive “us” was used to refer to resistance, Meshaal said: “*The Zionists wanted to impose a humiliating defeat on us because the only obstacle to confront them is resistance, especially in the Gaza Strip*”. The pronoun “us” included Hamas and other militant groups in Gaza who adopt resistance against Israel. Hence, Israel didn’t intend to defeat Hamas but it intended to defeat the resistance in Gaza and so this constitutes a call to all the militant groups to stand with Hamas.

In using the pronoun “they”, Meshaal created negative images of the Israelis. Here are some examples:

- ...**they** can negotiate for what better suits them.
- **They** are trying to send a message to the Israeli population that *they* are victorious.
- But **they** have not attained any of their aims.
- ...**they** have lost their magnitude in Gaza.
- **They** also try to trick the world and show that *they* have gone deep into Gaza by fabricated TV footage. **They** depict by means of false pictures that *they* have entered deep into Gaza.
- **They** kidnap people and then execute them in cold blood.

Here, Meshaal created gloomy images of the Israelis (they) by ascribing negative traits to them, such as: kidnapping people and killing them. The Israelis- according to Meshaal- “try to trick the world”; therefore, the whole world must do its best to prevent them from doing this. Further, since they tried to “trick the world”, kidnapped people and killed them, and they lost “their magnitude in Gaza”, the Israelis’ claims of following the elements of just war theory are all refuted.

To summarize this section, it was noticed how the Israelis manipulated the pronouns in order to collect the Israeli public around one goal. They also used the pronouns in order to create binary discourse between them and Hamas. Hamas, however, used the pronouns to refute the Israelis’ claims and to consolidate solidarity between the Palestinian public and Hamas (i.e., to put themselves and the Palestinians in the same boat). Further, they used the pronouns in order to emphasize that the Palestinians are victims of the Israeli attacks. However, the ideological functions outlined in the literature review were found in the discourse of the Israelis and the Palestinians. That is, it was noticed how the pronouns were manipulated to unite the nations’ objectives and destiny, to show the power of the leaders, and to make opposites.

4.3 Selecting Lexicalization

This section is concerned with identifying the lexical items that constitute different categorization of each party. In addition, the lexical items that are used to serve the ideology of each party will be investigated. In this context, the ideology of the Israelis is to manifest their commitment to the elements of just war theory whereas Hamas’s ideology is to delegitimize the claims of the Israelis and to gain support from the Palestinians and from the world.

4.3.1 The Israeli side. Investigating the lexicalization of the Israeli newspapers has revealed different negative categorizations of the Palestinians. To begin with, Palestinians are categorized as the **launchers of rockets**.

In a headline from The Jerusalem Post, the author wrote: “**Gazans** fire rocket barrage on Negev²⁸”. The word “**Gazans**” could be seen as a general term that might include almost all the Gazans. This may create an image to the reader that Gazans (not only Hamas) are responsible for the firing of rockets. Hence, the killing of Gazans is legitimized since they are all involved in firing rockets. This stereotyping could create an enemy image of all Gazans and could legitimize the Israeli acts against them.

In a column entitled: “Middle Israel: The Truth about Gaza”, the author stated:

THE TRUTH about Gaza is that it won't pacify; it's a matter of tradition. The only town in the Holy Land that was **foolish** enough to resist Alexander the Great, Gaza is also the city that consciously and voluntarily voted by a landslide for a leadership that promised it war, and not just war, but a war that had to cost it as dearly as it just has, and deliver yet more of the destitution, **humiliation** and **despair** which already had long been Gaza's hallmark. (Amotz Asa-e, The Jerusalem Post. Web. January 1, 2009).

“**Foolish**”, “**despaired**”, and “**humiliated**” are other examples of negative categorizations of Palestinians. The word “**foolish**” describes all the people of Gaza

²⁸ The Jerusalem Post. December 7, 2008.

because-as the writer claims-ever since the times of Alexander, Gaza resisted a very powerful army which is like the Israeli army. This foolishness is likely to last forever since the author has reached to his conclusion by referring to the past (tradition) and the past will repeat itself again and again. Additionally, the use of the words “**destitution**”, “**humiliation**”, and “**despaired**” gives the impression that the author is calling for the destruction of Gaza and for the collective punishment of all the Gazans because-according to the author-they are “**foolish**”. Further, the word “**hallmark**” indicates that Gaza has always been living in humiliating and despairing living conditions. Accordingly, who in the world would condemn Israel for destroying Gaza or humiliating its people?

On January 9, 2009, Eli Kavon wrote an essay entitled “ *Hamas is blind*” (Eli Kavon, The Jerusalem Post. Web. January 9, 2009). The word “**blind**” is likely to mean that Hamas lacks perception and rational thinking and this might present Hamas as an enemy with bad intentions. Furthermore, Kavon stated: “*The Palestinians in Gaza today are **desperate** because they are prisoners of their own delusions and their own self-imposed culture of victimization*”. In these lines, Kavon derogated the Palestinians in Gaza by categorizing them as “**desperate**”. By so doing, Kavon is implicitly showing his prejudice towards the Palestinians. The Palestinians-according to Kavon- “are prisoners of their own delusions”, so they are not like civilized nations who don’t follow delusions. Moreover, the Palestinians -according to Kavon- are not victims since the “culture of victimization” is a delusion. In Kavon’s sense, the Palestinians are not categorized as victims; therefore, the Israeli military campaign against them is legitimate.

On the first day of the Gaza War, Yaakov Katz authored an article where he said: “*The air strikes that began at 11:30 a.m. ... killed over 200 Palestinians*”

(Yaakov Katz, The Jerusalem Post. Web. Dec 28, 2008). Using neutral words “**air strikes**” to describe the Israeli attack could soften the impacts of that attack.

The categorization of the Israeli people and its army was connected to religion. On January 19, 2009 Haaretz reported: “*The Chief Rabbi of Safed, Rabbi Shmuel Elyahu, visited a Bnei Akiva yeshiva in Ashdod yesterday where he declared the war against Hamas as "a war of the people of Israel against Amalek*²⁹.” (Jack Khoury, Nadav Shragai, Yoav Stern and Haaretz Correspondents, *Haaretz*. Web. January, 19, 2009). According to Rabbi Elyahu, all the Israeli people are involved in the war against Hamas. Rabbi Elyahu made an analogy between an old religious war (war against Amalek) and the war against Hamas. By so doing, the Rabbi evokes the religious feelings of the Israeli people and makes the Israeli people look at that war as religious. However, glorification of the Israelis is manifested by the Rabbi’s reference to the war as a religious war. In other words, those who stand against a religious war are usually looked at as negative people whereas those who proclaim a religious war are people of high morals. Hence, as the war is religious, its cause is purely just to the Israelis especially the religious.

On December 29, 2008, The Jerusalem Post quoted Livni saying:

I will not accept any **equation** between the Hamas that tries to kill children and Israel that defends itself while doing everything possible to prevent harming children.

(Gil Hoffman & Shalhevet Zohar, The Jerusalem Post. Web. December 29, 2008).

²⁹ The Amalekites are nomads who attacked the Hebrews at Rephidim in the desert of Sinai during their exodus from Egypt.

The word “**equation**” could be interpreted as making an analogy between Israel and Hamas in terms of killing children. It is not acceptable-according to Livni-to blame Israel for killing children since it defends itself and prevents “harming children”. It is not even acceptable to say that both sides kill children or to make both sides responsible for the killings. It is only Hamas who is blamed because it “tries to kill children”. It is, therefore, legitimate for Israel to kill children while it is not for Hamas. Again, we have another reflection of the Israelis’ commitment to proportionality such as the claims that Israel does its best to prevent killing children.

On December 28, 2008 Fox News quoted Barak saying: “Now is the time for fighting” (Ehud Barak, Fox News. December 28, 2008). The use of the word “**now**” could imply that there has been a predetermined plan of the Israeli army for attacking on that time. Hence, the Cast Lead operation wasn’t an accidental unplanned war; rather, it was a full planned scheduled attack that was to take place on that day. Furthermore, Barak sounds like a soldier who is waiting for that moment that he was dreaming of for a long time.

Categorizing the Israeli locals can be seen in the following headline from The Jerusalem Post:

“Worker killed, 16 hurt in Grad attack on Ashkelon. Hanni al-Mahdi from Beduin village of Aro'er dies of shrapnel wounds. Locals **terrified**, but want the IDF to clean Gaza of rocket launchers'. Dozens of rockets, mortars hit South, send Sderot residents back to shelters”. (Yaakov Katz; The Jerusalem Post. Web. December 6, 2008).

Presenting “Sderot residents” as victims is clearly manifested in this excerpt since they are “**terrified**” and since they were sent to “**shelters**”. Those “**terrified**” locals wanted the IDF to interfere in order to “clean Gaza of rocket launchers”. This, again, could legitimize the acts of the IDF because the IDF attacked Gaza in order to help the “terrified locals”, and this can be seen as a just cause for the intervention of the Israeli troops.

4.3.2 The Palestinian side. Now that we have looked at the data from the Israeli side, lexicalization of media texts from the Palestinian side will be introduced to show how the Palestinians are victimized in the war. In addition, rallying support and saving face are also introduced in lexicalization of media texts taken from the Palestinian side.

In the aftermath of the Cast Lead operation and on October 31, 2008, Haniyeh delivered a televised speech to the Palestinian people³⁰. In his speech, Haniyeh did pay “**tribute**” to the Palestinian security services, the Palestinian government and the Palestinian medical teams. Paying “**tribute**” indicates a high degree of gratitude and respectfulness to those mentioned in the speech. We, therefore, understand that those whom Haniyeh mentioned did their jobs in a perfect manner that deserves such high gratitude, Haniyeh said: “*who are working on the difficult circumstances and who proved their responsibility and capability of withstanding these difficult circumstances*”. Such responsibility and capability in the different teams that he mentioned could imply that those Palestinian teams were characterized by solidarity. Here, Haniyeh categorized the Palestinian security services as “**heroes**” who work as one team to protect the Palestinians. In addition, the Palestinian medical teams and the

³⁰ Haniyeh’s speech was videotaped by Press TV, Aljazeera, and other channels. However, the speech is taken from YouTube and was accessed on June 10, 2011.
URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sQGTaohlomM>

ambulances were targeted by the Israelis; Haniyeh said: *“the Israeli warplanes even targeted them and targeted the ambulances”*. Creating such an image of the situation in Gaza (targeting the ambulances and the medical teams) should provoke the feelings of sympathy from the different countries of the world. Haniyeh said: *“I tell you people of the world we need more and more, we are in dire need of this”*. Regardless of this dire need, Palestinians are expected to achieve victory, *“we will stay standing firmly on our own two feet and we will stay with our heads hung high and we will be victorious with Allah’s help”*.

In the same speech Haniyeh said:

What is happening in Gaza is not normal **aggression**. It is a real war, a war without morals, with neither principles nor laws. It is a war of **elimination** against the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip.

The use of the word **“aggression”** implies that the Cast Lead operation is an illegitimate unjust war. Haniyeh further claims that the Cast Lead is more than a normal aggression but **“a war without morals”**. Not only did Haniyeh use the word **“aggression”** to describe the Israeli war against Gaza but also other Palestinian officials used it. The following examples illustrate this:

- The most important obligation is to rally the forces, nationally and regionally, to end the barbaric and criminal Israeli **aggression** against our people in the Gaza Strip," he said in a televised address. (The Palestinian President Mahamoud Abbas. Aljazeera English. January 3, 2009)
- We don't want to die under the Israeli **aggression** and occupation. We want the international community and the Americans to tell the Israelis to stop the

bloodshed over our people. (Hazem Abu Shanab, a Fatah leader. Aljazeera English. January 4, 2009)

- We are demanding from Israel, the occupying power and aggressor, to stop this **aggression** immediately. (Riyad Mansour, the Palestinian permanent observer to the UN. Aljazeera English. December 31, 2008)
- I believe Israel is not learning the lesson. They don't know that this kind of **aggressive** attack against the Palestinians creates a new cycle of violence inside Palestine. It will not defeat the Palestinian resistance. (Osama Hamdan, Hamas official. Aljazeera English. December 28, 2008)

Accordingly, it is expected that Israel kills children, women, old people, civilians, etc. It is also expected that Israel will commit crimes that the world has never heard of. The audience is also expected to view the Israeli army as an aggressive bloody army. This can serve to make the world sympathize with the Gazans and with Hamas. Furthermore, Haniyeh described the war as “**a war of elimination against the Palestinian people**”. This would mean that the Israeli army targets every Palestinian since it aims at eliminating every Palestinian. Hence, Haniyeh identified the Israelis with evil since the Israelis-according to Haniyeh-declared a “war of elimination” against the Palestinians. In addition, Haniyeh used the word “**Palestinian**” in order to send a message that not only Hamas is targeted but the Palestinian people as well. However, the word “**Zionist**” might imply that not every Jew is involved in the aggression but only the Zionists. Therefore, Hamas doesn't consider the Jews as enemies but their enemies are only the Zionists. However, presenting the Israeli operation as an aggression serves to draw an image of savagery of Israel and to invalidate the Israelis' claims of following the elements of just war theory.

On December 30, 2008, the first pages of Palestinian newspapers were full of news about Gaza. The news carried different headings like:

The Black Saturday: headless bodies, messed up body parts, and alive people searching for their loved ones amid tens of corpses, (Al-Hayat newspaper. Web. December 30, 2008).

The first part of the title “**The Black Saturday**” could indicate that what happened on that day was catastrophic and terrible. The second part of title gives precise descriptions of the bodies, for example: “**headless**” and “**messed up**”. However, such precise descriptions are absent in the titles of the Israeli newspapers that were investigated. For example: The Jerusalem Post has reported that two hundred Palestinians were killed without mentioning anything about their age or their bodies (Yaakov Katz, The Jerusalem Post. Web. Dec. 28, 2008.).

Such precise information can also be found in Al-Quds newspaper. For example: Al-Quds newspaper has reported the following on December 30, 2008: “*Death toll rises to 330 **martyrs**, including dozens of children and women*” (Al-Quds newspaper; December 30, 2008). The word “**martyr**” could indicate that the Palestinians who were killed have been killed for a noble cause. Furthermore, some extra information is given about the martyrs like “**children**” and “**women**”. This might serve to show the brutality of the Israeli assault. On the same day, Al-Quds has reported the following about the deaths of children: “*The death of about 40 children and injuring about 180 in three days*” (Al-Quds newspaper; December 30, 2008). This reporting might refute Livni’s claims on December 28 that there were no civilian casualties among those who were killed. Another Palestinian newspaper that gave a

detailed description of the deaths was Al-Ayyam Newspaper. In one of the titles, it is stated that: “23 martyrs in the sixth day of the *massacre*, including one of the leaders of Hamas and 11 children and 9 women” (Al-Ayyam Newspaper, January 1, 2009). The Israeli attack was described as a “**massacre**” or an “**aggression**” not only in Al-Ayyam Newspaper but in all the Palestinian newspapers. This would show the brutality of the Israeli assault, the illegitimacy of the war, and the negative image of the enemy. In addition, this may provoke the world’s sympathy with the Palestinians. In addition, mentioning the precise information regarding the killing of children and women stands as a solid proof that invalidates the Israelis’ claims of proportionality.

Three major Palestinian newspapers (Al-Quds, Al-Ayyam, and Al-Hayat) have categorized the attack as a “**massacre**” which implies that this attack killed innocent civilian people. However, Katz-the Israeli reporter- used the word “**Palestinians**” to talk about the deaths in that attack. The use of the word “**Palestinians**” could be misleading because the author didn’t mention who was exactly killed (i.e., Palestinian children, Palestinian gunmen, Palestinian women, etc.). Contrary to that, one Palestinian newspaper (Al-Quds) has reported on December 30, 2008 that in three days the death toll of children was about forty and that one hundred and eighty children were injured. Furthermore, it was reported in Al-Hayat newspaper on December 28 that the bodies were found headless.

As a conclusion, the Israelis used negative categorizations for the Palestinians, such as: the **launchers of rockets** and **foolish**. These categorizations drew an image of savagery of the Palestinians and this could legitimize the Israeli attacks against them. On the other hand, they categorized the Israelis as **terrified** in order to show that their citizens are victims of the attacks and this requires a “heroic” intervention

from the Israeli forces. The lexical items, however, were employed to create an enemy image for both sides. On the other side, the Palestinians categorized the Israeli attack as an “**aggression**” and as a “**war of elimination**”. These categorizations refute any sign of legitimacy from the Israeli attacks and draw a picture of the savagery of the Israelis. And in order to show that the Palestinians were victims, the Palestinians who were killed were categorized as “**martyrs**”.

4.4 Synchronic Ideographic Analysis

In this section³¹, the focus will be on identifying the ideographs that were employed in the discourse of Gaza war. It is related to lexicalization; however, in the previous section the focus was on lexical items that serve the ideology of each party and on categorization. The focus in this section is on lexical items as well, but these lexical items are abstract items that represent collective commitment to equivocal normative goal. These items are outlined by many scholars in the review of ideographs (McGee 1980, Valenzano 2006 and Walts 2006).

Synchronic ideographic analysis will be used in analyzing the ideographs. Therefore, the roles of the ideographs can be interpreted due to their relationship to other lexical items. Additionally, the ideological square will be part of the analysis since ideographs and lexical items can be used to ascribe good qualities to “us” and bad qualities to “them”. The construction of an enemy will also be part of synchronic ideographic analysis. The ideological square and the construction of an enemy will be used in order to have a clear interpretation of the use of ideographs and other lexical items.

³¹ Note: ideographs and significant words are written in bold.

4.4.1 The Israeli side.

4.4.1.1 Terror and peace vs. Palestinians and Israelis. To begin with, the first press release of Olmert was on December 27, 2008. His first press briefing was on the “Operation in the Gaza Strip”. Olmert said:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

For the last seven years, the Hamas and other **terrorist** organizations, were attacking **innocent** Israelis in the south part of the country and threatened the lives of many thousands of Israelis that wanted to live **peacefully** in their homes and to carry on their lives in a **comfortable** and **normal** way.

Two ideographs can be found in the excerpt; “**terrorist**” and “**peacefully**”. When we apply the “ideological square” on the above excerpt, we will notice that the negative ideograph is meant for Hamas whereas the positive terms “**innocence**”, “**peace**”, “**comfort**”, and “**normality**” are meant for the “people of the south [the Israelis]”. Therefore, “people in the south” are presented as innocent civilians (victims) who “wanted to live peacefully” and Hamas is presented as a villain. This situation requires a “heroic” intervention from the IDF (Pollak, 2011). This situation also constitutes a just cause for the declaration of war because it is for the sake of protecting “the people of the south” who want to live “**peacefully**”.

Going back to the press release of Olmert, we can notice that Olmert reinforces the ideographic contrast between “**terror**” and “**peace**”:

Everyone who heard the leaders of the Hamas in the last few days can easily understand that they are not looking for **peace**, they are not looking for **relaxation**, they are

not looking for **ceasefire**, they are looking for a country to continue their **attacks** and to try and do everything in order to upset the lives of so many **innocent Israelis** in our part of the country.

The “ideological square” is again apparent as we have the opposition of “**terrorist attacks**” to “**peace**”, “**relaxation**”, “**ceasefire**”, and “**innocence**”. In effect, the negative ideograph is used in these lines-as Pollak (2011) suggested- to destroy all the positive ideographs. In addition, Olmert’s negative anticipation of Hamas can be reinforced by Olmert’s claim that Hamas is simply “looking for a country to destroy”, no matter which.

That claim serves two purposes: first, it serves to show the “crisis” element of the Hamas threat, to remove any sign of logic from their actions, and to suggest that they might strike a different country if Israel does not stop them (Pollak, 2011). Second, it serves to reject the idea that Hamas attacked Israel as a reaction to the alleged justifications of Hamas regarding the Israeli oppression. Correspondingly, Olmert constructed an evil image of Hamas because it-according to Olmert- attacks citizens only for the sake of “terrorism”.

The briefing concludes with two paragraphs devoted to express Olmert’s concerns regarding the casualties in the south of Israel and Gaza and the possibility of humanitarian crisis. Olmert said:

The operation in Gaza intends primarily to change the situation in **the south** part of our country [...] Already today, we lost one Israeli citizen in Netivot, Beber Vaknin, of blessed memory, and a few Israelis were injured and of course I offer my sympathies to the families of those who suffered from these **attacks**. We did everything

in order to make sure that **Israelis in the south part of the country** will be protected under the circumstances. It's not going to be easy. It's not going to last just a few days. It may continue and one thing must be clear. We are not fighting against **the people of Gaza**. I take this opportunity to appeal to **the people of Gaza**. As I have said several times in the past, you, **the citizens of Gaza** are not our enemies. Hamas, Jihad, the other **terrorist** organizations, are your enemies as they are our enemies. They brought **disaster** on you and they try to bring **disaster** to the people of Israel [...] We'll continue to make an effort to avoid any unnecessary inconveniences to **the people of Gaza**. I promise you on behalf of the Government of Israel that we will make every possible effort to avoid any humanitarian crisis in Gaza. **The people of Gaza** do not deserve to suffer because of the **killers** and **murderers** of the **terrorist** organizations.

Olmert is found to repeat (the people of Gaza) in order to demonstrate his sensitivity and his commitment to “**peace**” as a foundational positive ideograph (Pollak, 2011). In other words, he wants to escape from any responsibility regarding the devastation in Gaza by saying in advance that he has good intentions with regard to the Gazans. Hence, the blame for the deteriorating situation is basically on Hamas (the enemy). Additionally, Olmert's good intentions are explicitly emphasized in the above excerpt and this serves to show the Israeli commitment to the element of right intention. Further, the commitment to proportionality is apparent in the above excerpt since Olmert claimed that the Israelis tried not “to hit any uninvolved people” and to “avoid any humanitarian crises in Gaza”.

Again, Olmert constructed an image of an enemy who is blamed for the bad consequences of war. However, we can notice that the negative ideograph “**terrorist**” (surrounded by negative ideological terms and descriptors as “**killers**”, “**murderers**”, “**attacks**” and “**disaster**”) stands opposed to positive ideographs, including “the people of the south” and “the people of Gaza”. This serves to construct the operation as beneficial for “the people of Gaza” because its target is the “**terrorism**” of Hamas which is opposed to “the people of Gaza” in Olmert’s ideographic system (Pollak, 2011).

The ideograph “**terror**” has been used by other Israeli politicians. For example, the Israeli President Shimon Peres said:

We don't intend neither to occupy Gaza nor to crush Hamas, but to crush **terror**. And Hamas needs a real and serious lesson. They are now getting it [...] We shall not accept the idea that Hamas will continue to fire and we shall declare a ceasefire. It does not make any sense. (Israeli President Shimon Peres: January 05, 2009. Source: Reuters).

Peres makes his audience believe that the Israelis are very humanitarian and noble since they are not even willing to destroy those who attack them, but they will instead destroy “**terror**”. Hence, they didn’t resort to war for the sake of it or for the sake of destroying others (Hamas); rather, they resorted to war for a very just cause (i.e., “destroying terror”). On the other hand, Hamas- as mentioned earlier- attacked for the sake of “**terrorism**”. The ideograph “**terror**” is also found in the following quote of Livni:

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. (Haaretz. Web. January 12, 2009).

The Ideograph “**terror**” is now attached to “**military force**”. This is to claim that the solution for “**terror**” is military force alone. There is, then, no space for any peaceful solutions such as: negotiations or truces. Hence, no sign of empathy has to be showed to Hamas because this would oppose the progress in “fighting terror”.

Not only did Israeli politicians use the ideographs “**terror**” but also the Israeli mass media. The ideograph “**terror**” could be found in the following excerpt from The Jerusalem Post: “*Some 20 Kassam rockets and mortar shells pounded the western Negev over the weekend as Palestinian **terror** factions in the Gaza Strip intensified their attacks on Israel*³²”. In this excerpt, however, the ideograph “**terror**” is attached to the Palestinian factions. This link would go in harmony with the Israeli narrative and would confirm the claims of the Israeli politicians regarding the existence of “**terror**” in Gaza Strip.

In his next press release³³ on January 3, 2009, Olmert said:

The goal of the operation is to continue advancing the goals that the Government has set for the operation as a whole, including **striking hard** at Hamas's terrorism infrastructure and changing the security reality for residents of the south.

³² The Jerusalem Post. *IAF aircraft strike as Kassams rain down*. December 15, 2008.

³³ “Security Cabinet Decision on the Continuation of IDF Operations in the Gaza Strip”.

The construction of an enemy requires the refusal to show empathy. This is clearly manifested when Olmert said that they will strike hard “ Hamas's terrorism infrastructure”. In addition, Olmert expressed his strong determination for fulfilling the operation as set by “the Ministerial Committee” and the recommendations of the IDF regardless of the atrocities that Hamas will face. Refusal to show empathy can also be seen in the following quote of Livni: “*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*”. Describing the reaction of Israel as “**vigorous**” indicates that Israel isn’t willing to show empathy to anyone who tries to attack it. This could legitimize the “**vigorous**” reaction of Israel that resulted in horrible consequences, that is, the blame isn’t on Israel; rather, it is on Hamas that started to attack it since it is of Israel’s nature to react “**vigorously**”.

4.4.1.2 Us vs. them. On January 4, 2009, Olmert delivered a press release entitled: “Excerpts from Prime Minister Ehud Olmert’s remarks at the start of the weekly Cabinet meeting”. Olmert said:

In a **responsible** and **determined** country, it cannot be that the home front will be subject to **attack** and a **daring, strong and well-trained military** does not **defend** it. Last Friday, we decided in accordance with a proposal that I submitted along with Foreign Minister Livni and Defense Minister Barak, as per the recommendation of IDF Chief-of- Staff Lt.-Gen. Ashkenazi and the security services, to send our boys to

defend their parents, brothers, sisters and neighbors that they left at home.

The only ideographs appearing here are implicit. There are: “[terrorist] attack”, “right to Defense” and “defend”. However, Olmert ascribes a number of qualities to the Israeli/IDF (us) that justify the decision to go to war; by possessing those qualities, Olmert implies, Israel is capable of both judging that war and executing it successfully (Pollak, 2011). He also implies that war was the last resort since the “*Israelis gave the calm a chance in the hope of avoiding a wide-ranging military operation*”.

In this release, Olmert follows the “ideological square” as he ascribes a number of good qualities to the IDF (us). For example: the IDF is described as “**responsible**”, “**determined**”, and “**daring, strong, and well-trained**”. Therefore, Israel- according to Olmert is capable of managing this war successfully.

He continued:

Parallel to the military operation, a diplomatic campaign is also being waged. In recent days, I have been in continuous contact with most leaders of the **free world**. I briefed them on Israel's position and goals and I spoke with them about the unavoidable constraints that caused the State of Israel to reach the conclusion that there was no alternative to the use of force in order to bring about a change in the situation.

The very clear ideograph in the above excerpt is “**free world**”. Of course, Hamas is not a country of the “**free world**” but Israel is. Countries of the “**free world**” can understand each other and therefore they can understand why and how the

war was “**unavoidable**” (Pollak, 2011). Further, Bush- a leader of the “free world”- supported Olmert in this war; hence, this is a war between the “**free world**” and the “evil world”. The ideograph “**free world**” is also mentioned with the word “**unavoidable**” in order to claim that the war was the last resort, and when the leaders of the “**free world**” understand this, the war will be between the “free world” and the “evil world”.

In the excerpt below from the previous press release we will see how Olmert constructed the image of the Israelis (**us**) and the image of Hamas (**them**).

Israel is not at war with **the Palestinian people in Gaza**. They are not our enemies; they are also victims of **violent** and **murderous repression** by those same **terrorist** organizations. To them I say, on behalf of all of Israel, that we will not allow a humanitarian crisis to be created in the Gaza Strip. We will help supply food and medicines like any **enlightened** and **moral** country must do.

Olmert’s negative other-construction is clear in the above excerpt. According to Olmert, Olmert’s enemy is not the people of Gaza. Olmert’s enemy is “**terrorist**”, “**violent**” and “**murderous**” organizations. On the other hand, “our” country is “**enlightened**” and “**moral**”. The binary discourse of Olmert and the evil image that he drew of Hamas serve as legitimate reasons for using force against Hamas. Additionally, humanitarian crises are not allowed by “our” “**enlightened**” and “**moral**” country; rather, they are allowed by “**terrorist**”, “**violent**” and “**murderous**” groups like Hamas. The blame, again, is put on Hamas in order to escape from the responsibility for the horrible consequences of the war. However, the positive self-

construction in this excerpt serves to support the Israelis' commitment to the element of right intention.

Livni was also found to follow the same narrative of Olmert. She was quoted saying: *"I will not accept any equation between the Hamas that tries to **kill children** and Israel that **defends itself** while doing everything possible to **prevent harming children**".* (Gil Hoffman & Shalhevet Zohar, The Jerusalem Post, December 29, 2008). In this quote, Hamas was presented as a villain who "**tries to kill children**" whereas Israel was presented as a state that "**defends itself**" and that tries to do "everything possible to prevent harming children". Based on Livni's representation, all the hostilities of war can be attributed to Hamas because it "**tries to kill children**" but not to Israel that does its best to save children. Again, positive self-construction and negative other-construction are manifested by another Israeli politician in order to legitimize "our" stance and to delegitimize the other's stance.

Positive self-construction is, again, manifested in the January 11 press release: "PM Olmert's Remarks at the Start of the Weekly Cabinet Meeting", Olmert said:

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**. 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**. 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.

Olmert ascribes some positive traits to the IDF and to Israel as he describes them as “**impressive**”, “**restrained**”, “**patient**”, and “**self-control**”. The atrocities of war can be therefore attributed to the “**terrorist**” and “**murderous organization**” not to the “**patient**” and “**self- controlled**” country of Israel. By having such positive traits, Olmert implies that nothing is possible to “defend our children and our residents” except resorting to war.

4.4.1.3 Defense vs. peace. From the above press release, Olmert continued:

[...] We did not delude ourselves that what seemed natural, clear and self-evident for any other country, would be received with a proper measure of agreement given that the State of Israel is involved. This did not impair, and does not impair, our determination to **defend our residents**. 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. No decision, present or future, will deny us our basic **right to defend** the residents of Israel.

The construction of Palestinian militant groups as evil is manifested in the lines above as Olmert describes them as “**those who bomb kindergartens and schools**”. The audience now can notice the difference between the “**patient**” country of Israel and the savagery of Hamas and other “**murderous organizations**” that hits kindergartens and schools. That is, there couldn't be any action more savage than

bombing schools and kindergartens and, conversely, there couldn't be anything more legitimate than defending one's self. Finally, Olmert concludes by stressing the importance of unity, he said: "*we must not, at the last minute, lose what has been achieved in an unprecedented national effort that restored the spirit of unity to the nation*". This statement suggests that despite of all the harms that happened to "us", this war "**restored the spirit of unity to the nation**". This confirms the findings of Valenzano (2006) who found that "terror" rhetoric fosters unity through national condemnation of the "terrorist" (the other).

On Jan 17, Olmert delivered a press release entitled: "Statement by Prime Minister Ehud Olmert to the Foreign Press". It begins with the announcement of the signing of the bilateral agreement that Olmert discussed with Condoleezza Rice on the previous day:

[...]This is a major step forward and I want to take this opportunity to first thank President Mubarak for his leadership and his understanding of the situation and also to thank the President of the United States, George W. Bush, the Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, for their endless efforts throughout the last three weeks in order to protect **the right of Israel for self-defense** against **terrorist** activities and at the same time to help create the necessary international environment that will bring an end to hostilities while guaranteeing **the right of Israel to defend itself** against any aggression

perpetrated by **terrorist organizations** from whichever direction.

We can notice how Olmert constructed the image of the IDF and Hamas. Throughout his press releases, Olmert coupled the mission of Hamas with terms like: “**terrorism**” or “**murder**”, but never “**defense**”. On the other hand, the mission of the IDF is “**defense**” but never “**terrorism**” or “**murder**” (Pollak, 2011). Further, defense is considered as a just cause for declaring a war.

Olmert continued:

[...] I want to make a special appeal to **the people of Gaza**. Time and again, I talk to you and I appeal to you and I try to explain to you that Israel is not your enemy. Hamas is your real enemy. Hamas is our enemy. Hamas is your enemy and so are the other **terrorist organizations**. [...] I believe that there will be an international effort to help recuperate Gaza and the Government of Israel will make every possible effort in order to help the humanitarian organization together with us in order to improve the situation and to remove the suffering from the daily routine of the Palestinians who are captive of **terrorist organizations** that were using them in order to try and achieve their conditions.

Olmert’s efforts to win the support of the Palestinians are visible in this excerpt. Of course, Olmert needed to win the Palestinians’ support in order to weaken Hamas. Again, Olmert stresses the notion that he has good intentions for the people of Gaza. However, those who have bad intentions are the “**terrorist organizations**”. The

dichotomy is clear; “we” make efforts to protect the Palestinians from any harm whereas the “**terrorist organizations**” use the Palestinians to achieve political goals. Thus, the “**terrorist organizations**” are responsible for all the damage and the sufferings of the Palestinians.

The ideograph “**peace**” appears again in the following excerpt from the previous press release:

The ultimate goal of this government [...] is to achieve **peace** with the Arab countries; first and foremost, with the Palestinians, and hopefully in the future with others. This is our desire; this was the focus of the efforts that this government made for a lot of time. We hope that we will continue to negotiate with the Palestinian authority in order to bring **peace** to this area and it will start with the **peace** on the basis of the vision of President Bush of a two-state solution: a homeland for the Palestinian people in a Palestinian State and a homeland of the Jewish people in the State of Israel. This is the goal, this is the spirit, this is the idea, this is what we want to achieve and I hope that tonight we are making a first important step in trying to change the security situation in the south part of the State of Israel in order to advance the chances that ultimately will bring **peace** to our area.

Olmert insists that Israel’s ultimate goal is “**peace**”. That is, occupation, destruction, terrorism, and all the negative or the evil goals are not, fundamentally, the

goals of Israel. On the other hand, destruction, occupation, and terrorism are there in Gaza and the West Bank but Israel's ultimate goal is "**peace**"; hence, Hamas or the Palestinians are subject for blame for the bad situation. Further, since destruction, occupation, and terrorism are the most dominant characteristics of the situation in Palestine, Israel or the Palestinians must have intended to reach to such a situation. However, since Israel's ultimate goal is "**peace**"; the Palestinians' ultimate goal must have been terrorism and destruction. Hence, the ideograph "**peace**" enabled Olmert to shift the blame onto the Palestinians for the worsening situation.

The ideograph "**peace**" can also be found in Barak's speech to the BBC. Barak said:

We have carefully weighed all our options. We are not war hungry, but we should not allow a situation where our towns, villages and civilians are constantly targeted. It will not be easy or short, but we are **determined**. We are **peace-seekers**. We have restrained ourselves for a long time, but now is the time to do what needs to be done³⁴.

We can notice that "**determined**" and "**peace-seekers**" are positive traits of the Israelis. Hence, those who possess such qualities are not likely to do any harm for the other; conversely, the other is expected to harm them. In addition, since "**we are peace-seekers**" and Hamas is a "**terrorist organization**", Hamas bears the responsibility for the ongoing suffering and for the absence of a solution.

³⁴ Cited in footnote number 12.

Identifying Hamas with evil is explicitly manifested in Olmert's final press release which was delivered with the company of several EU members (state leaders). In his final press release Olmert said: "*we signed a memorandum of understanding on [...] actions which will prevent the **terrorist** organization, Hamas, from rearmament. This is in the supreme interest of all those who fight **the forces of evil***". Indeed, Olmert considers the EU members and Israel among those who "**fight the forces of evil**". The attachment of the ideograph "**terrorist**" and "**those who fight the forces of evil**" indicate that the EU members and Israel have the same goal (i.e., fighting "**the forces of evil**"). And since the EU members have the right to "**fight the forces of evil**", Israel also has the right to do so.

4.4.2 The Palestinian side. As we applied the "Ideological square" analysis to the Israeli discourse, we will apply it to the discourse of Hamas. We will apply a synchronic analysis on the ideographs found in the data of Hamas. However, McGee (1980) suggested that ideographs are abstract words that don't have stable meanings. Therefore, each ideograph refers to an abstraction which may have many different meanings depending on its context. However, the ideographs which were apparent in the Israeli discourse are scarcely found in the discourse of Hamas. Hence, other ideographs are mainly discussed in this section, for example: the ideographs "victory" and "resistance" were found to be frequently used by Hamas officials. In effect, the ideograph "victory" was stretched in the discourse of Hamas to describe the bad situation of the people of Gaza after and during the war. Similarly, the ideograph "resistance" was employed in different contexts where it was not given a particular meaning. The analysis below will show how and why the ideographs were used in the discourse of Hamas.

4.4.2.1 Victory and resistance. In Haniyeh’s speech³⁵, we can notice the abundant use of the ideograph “**victory**”. For example: “*we are close to victory*” and “*the signals of victory have begun to show themselves*”. This could imply that the Palestinians have achieved many of their goals and they are now very close to victory.

In his speech, Haniyeh made it clear that victory will be achieved for two reasons; the first reason is the firm stand of the people of Gaza and the second reason is the stand of the Palestinian resistance against the Israeli army.

Haniyeh stated:

Victory is coming because **this people** has stood **firmly** and because this **resistance** has stood and has maintained and has defended and has also lived up to the expectations of **the people of Palestine and the Ummah**. (Haniyeh’s speech)

In the above excerpt, we can see that the ideograph “**victory**” is attached to the people of Gaza and to the “**firm**” stand of the Palestinian people. Consequently, knowing that their “**firm**” stand is a reason for “**victory**”, the people of Gaza are invited to show solidarity since solidarity is needed to stand firm against the Israelis. Additionally, “**the people of Palestine**” are also attached to the ideograph “**resistance**”. By the pairing of the ideograph “**resistance**” and “**the people of Palestine**”, the Palestinians are invited to support the Palestinian resistance because- according to Haniyeh- the Palestinian resistance is another reason for achieving “**victory**”. This pairing also indicates that it is the “resistance that lived up to the

³⁵ Cited in footnote number 10.

expectations of the Palestinians and the Ummah (the Islamic nation)”; it didn’t let them down and it didn’t abandon them on these difficult circumstances.

Another mechanism noticed in the discourse of Hamas in order to claim victory is positive self-construction especially for Hamas. Before claiming victory, it is important to possess certain qualities. Courage, steadfastness, patience, sacrifice, and power are very important qualities of those who try to convince others that they can be victorious. However, it is difficult to believe that weak or coward people can achieve victory. Hence, the public needs to see the mentioned qualities in those who claim victory. Hamas, however, tried to claim victory in different times during the war but it, in advance, tried to build solid grounds upon which it can claim victory.

Victorious people must be brave and they must give no quarter to their enemies. Creating a brave image of Hamas can be seen when Haniyeh said: “*We will not leave our land, we will not raise white flags and we will not kneel except before God*”³⁶. The facts that “we will not leave our land”, “we will not raise white flags”, and “we will not kneel except for God” support the notions that Hamas is courageous and that Hamas is a powerful opponent of Israel that can stand against it. By this positive self-construction, Haniyeh made his audience believe that Hamas will stand firmly against Israel and that the firmness of the movement will last to the end. This could create a brave picture of Hamas and its leaders and consequently consolidate the Palestinians' support to them.

Victory requires good military preparation. In addition, showing one's preparations to the enemy might spread panic among its army and might help in gaining support from the public. In this regard, Meshaal stated: “*We are ready for the*

³⁶ Reuters, December 27, 2008.

*challenge, this battle was imposed on us and we are **confident** we will achieve **victory** because we have made our **preparations***³⁷”. Meshaal ascribed some positive traits of Hamas such as: “**we are ready**”, “**we are confident**” and “**we have made our preparations**”. These positive traits as well as the existence of the ideograph “**victory**” may give the impression that Hamas can handle the fight and can win the war. Meshaal also drew a brave picture of his movement because of his strong prediction regarding achieving “**victory**”. He is very confident of achieving “**victory**”, and people need to see confidence in their leaders. Therefore, the Palestinian people are likely to support him because of his confidence and because of the “**preparations**” that his movement has made to achieve “**victory**”. On the other hand, Meshaal sent a message to the Israelis regarding the preparations the movement has done to challenge them. In his message, Meshaal overestimated the preparations that his movement has done since he assumed that these preparations guaranteed “**victory**”. These “unusual” preparations might raise the fears of the Israeli army as well as fears of the Israeli people. The Israelis, then, are likely to find themselves unable to answer this question: what kind of preparations has Hamas done to achieve victory?

Mentioning the preparations of the movement to the Palestinians or to the Arabs could create the impression that Hamas will live up to the expectations of the Palestinians since it is always prepared to defend the Palestinians. On the other hand, mentioning its preparations to the Israelis could raise the fears of the Israelis.

However, not only Meshaal focused on the preparations of the movement but also Abu Obaida- Al-Qassam Brigades spokesman- said addressing the Israeli army: “*We have **prepared** for you, Zionists, thousands of **tough fighters** who are waiting for you*”

³⁷ Reuters, January 2, 2009.

*in every street, every alley and at every house, and they will meet you with **iron and fire***³⁸. Again, “**We have prepared**” and we have “**tough fighters**” indicate that Hamas has made the required preparations for war. Such kind of preparation will allow the fighters meet the Israelis with “**iron and fire**”. Hence, Hamas fighters are not hiding from the Israelis like a coward army; conversely, they are prepared as brave men.

The ideograph “**victory**” was found to be accompanied with the word “**blood**”. Meshaal said: “*For those who sell out and raise the excuse of wanting no more dead, I say **victory** is achieved only with **blood***”³⁹. Some think that a lot of Palestinians were killed and that Palestinians have paid a very heavy price for the sake of achieving “**victory**”. Here, Meshaal made it clear that there was no way for achieving “**victory**” but the way of “**blood**”. Therefore, he and his movement are not subjects for blame since they are not responsible for the bloodshed of Gaza war. The blood of the Palestinians was a normal price for achieving “**victory**”. In other words, no one can blame Hamas for the heavy price that the Palestinians paid in the war.

In his speech which lasted for about half an hour, Meshaal addressed different parties⁴⁰: the people of Gaza, the Arab leaders, the Arab nations, the Israelis, the Israeli leaders, and “the free world”. However, the ideographs “**victory**” and “**resistance**” were paired together in two occasions in his speech.

Here are the occasions where the ideograph “**victory**” was paired with the ideograph “**resistance**”:

³⁸ Reuters, January 7, 2009.

³⁹ Reuters, January 21, 2009.

⁴⁰ Cited in footnote number 9.

- What we need is more stern **resistance** in Gaza and we need more fierce protests in the Arab and Islamic world and the international community to achieve **victory** for **the people of Gaza**.
- It is better to achieve **victory** through **martyrs** and **wounded**, instead of having **casualties** without **resistance** and **victory**.

The pairing of the ideograph “**resistance**” and “**victory**” creates a relationship between both ideographs where “**resistance**” becomes a prerequisite for achieving “**victory**”. This “**victory**”, however, isn’t the “**victory**” of Hamas; rather, it is the “**victory**” of “the people of Gaza”. Therefore, supporting the “**resistance**” would necessarily help “the people of Gaza” in achieving “**victory**”. Additionally, those who do not intend to support Hamas are called to support it now because the support of Hamas is not only in favor of Hamas but it is in favor of “the people of Gaza”. In the second example, Meshaal echoes himself when he mentioned earlier that “**victory**” is only achieved with “**blood**”. However, Meshaal states an absolute fact; the Palestinians will certainly have casualties whether they resist the Israelis or not. Accordingly, “**resistance**” isn’t to be blamed for having casualties. In addition, “**victory**” is presented in the quote as an inevitable result of “**resistance**”.

The use of the ideograph “**victory**” in the discourse of Hamas has its effects. One explanation for this phenomenon could be found in what Fairclough (1995) referred to as “populism”. Populism is defined as: “*a direct appeal to 'ordinary people' which actually constructs 'the people' as a political entity in a nationalistic, anti-'state interference', anti-union, pro-family, pro-property and share-owning, and so forth, image.*” (Fairclough, 1995:177). In other words, there is a kind of tendency from the politicians to use a “language” that meets the expectations of the “ordinary

people” in order not to lose the people’s support. Furthermore, people in general don’t support defeated politicians; rather, they support the victorious. However, Palestinians in the times of Gaza war were eager to hear the news of victory; hence, in order to satisfy the public, Hamas declared that the Israelis were defeated and that Hamas was victorious. We can, therefore, conclude that the excessive use of the ideograph “**victory**” was not because Hamas defeated Israel; rather, it was used in order to save Hamas’s face and to gain support from the Palestinians.

To conclude this section, we noticed how each side used the lexical items to ascribe negative categorizations of the other. These negative categorizations could weaken the other side in the verbal war and could legitimize and consolidate the political stance of one’s own side. The lexical items were not neutral; they reflected and supported the ideology of each side. However, the ideographs in the Israeli discourse were manipulated to ascribe positive traits to the Israelis and negative traits to Hamas. They were also used in order to win the support of the Palestinian public and to weaken Hamas in Gaza. In addition, they used ideographs to unite the Israeli government and the Israeli opposition. The Israelis manipulated the ideographs to show their commitment to the elements of just war theory. However, the Palestinians used ideographs to promote resistance to the Israelis and to show that Hamas is capable of standing against the Israeli might. In this section, the mechanisms of the ideological square and the construction of an enemy were manifested through the use of the ideographs (e.g., we noticed how ideographs were used for blame shifting, negative anticipation, and identification with an evil).

4.5 Modality

4.5.1 The Israeli side. In Olmert's press releases, we can find modality markers, for example: in his first press release of January 4, 2009, Olmert said:

Israel is not at war with the Palestinian people in Gaza.
They are not our enemies; they are also victims of
violent and murderous repression by those same
terrorist organizations. To them I say, on behalf of all of
Israel, that we **will** not allow a humanitarian crisis to be
created in the Gaza Strip. We **will** help supply food and
medicines like any enlightened and moral country **must**
do.

Olmert could employ the modal “**will**” to show his strong commitment to prevent “a humanitarian crisis to be created in the Gaza Strip” and to “supply food and medicines (to the Palestinians) like any enlightened and moral country **must** do”. The modal “**will**” is used according to Murcia and Freeman (1999) in order to show the speaker's strong commitment to an act. This, however, can support Olmert's claims of proportionality because, according to the above excerpt, he is insistent to help the citizens and this act corresponds to the values of proportionality. In addition, as he employed the modal “**must**”, preventing a humanitarian crises and supplying the Gazans with food and medicines are evaluated by Olmert as something obligatory. Therefore, he could create an image of an “**enlightened and moral country**” for Israel and for his government. Olmert's commitment and good evaluation to such values could invalidate Haniyeh's claims that the government of Israel is declaring “a war of elimination against the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip”, (Haniyeh's

speech). Further, since what one commits himself/herself to is an important aspect of his/her character, Olmert wanted to show that he is committed to good values.

Olmert echoed himself in his press release on January 17, 2009 when he said: *“the Government of Israel **will** make every possible effort in order to help the humanitarian organization with us in order to improve the situation and to remove the suffering from the daily routine of the Palestinians”*. Again, he expressed the strong commitment of the government of Israel to meet the humanitarian needs of the Palestinians. Olmert also expressed his right intention in the same release, he said: *“We hope that we **will** continue to negotiate with the Palestinian authority in order to bring peace”*. According to Murcia and Freeman (1999), the modal “**will**” is used to make strong predictions. The modal “**will**” in these lines is used to express Olmert’s strong prediction and hope to make “**peace**”. In other words, he commits himself to a strong prediction regarding making “**peace**”. Hence, he presents himself as a leader of good intentions.

As we examined Olmert’s speech⁴¹ for pronouns, we will examine it for modality. There are twenty one predictions where Olmert used the modal “**will**” (e.g., *“we will be able to provide an appropriate and comprehensive answer to the civilian population’s needs in the Gaza Strip”*). However, “**will**” is used to make very strong predictions where the degree of probability is very high, (Murcia & Freeman, 1999). Accordingly, Olmert is making a strong commitment to truth. Even when Olmert makes predictions, he uses a very strong modal (will) to make predictions. Since he commits himself strongly to truth and makes very strong predictions, he must be confident and certain about what he predicts or says.

⁴¹ PM Olmert’s Statement after the Cabinet Meeting

Haaretz quoted Olmert saying: “Olmert: Gaza war won't end until rockets and smuggling stop” (Barak Ravid, Haaretz, January 12, 2009). The modal “**won't**” is used to talk about impossibilities (Murcia & Freeman, 1999). Here, Olmert's judgment of Gaza war is that he is very certain about the end of the war. He is, therefore, very powerful to make his own strong judgment of ending the war. Further, Olmert used the word “**until**” as a condition for ending the war. Ending the war is subject to the fulfillment of Olmert's condition. Therefore, Olmert speaks out of power since he determines when war will end.

On January 4, 2009 the BBC quoted Barak saying:

We have carefully weighed all our options. We are not war hungry, but we **should** not allow a situation where our towns, villages and civilians are constantly targeted. It will not be easy or short, but we are determined. We are peace-seekers. We have restrained ourselves for a long time, but now is the time to do what needs to be done”, (Ehud Barak, Israeli Minister of Defense, BBC, January 4, 2009)

Barak used the modal “**should**” which indicates high authority of the speaker, (Murcia and Freeman, 1999). In addition, the modal “**should**” is employed to manifest the fact that war is the last resort. In other words, after “our towns, villages and civilians are constantly targeted”, we (the Israelis) should do something (i.e., resort to war). Barak also claimed that they are not war seekers, but they had no choice but war in order to protect their people. The time is due, in Barak's view, to resort to war which they are not hungry for but obliged to.

On January 12, 2009 Haaretz quoted Livni saying: “*I am not **going to** negotiate with Hamas and don't need them to sign anything for me*” (Barak Ravid. Haaretz, January 12, 2009). Livni is very certain about the impossibility of negotiating with Hamas since she used “**going to**” which is used with actions that the speaker is very certain about and to make very strong predictions (Murcia & Freeman, 1999). This may also indicate that Livni has very strong prejudice toward Hamas. Livni has also added:

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.
(Haaretz, January 12, 2009).

Livni makes very strong predictions; the first prediction is that war will be long and difficult and that Israel will use military force in fighting “terror”. This may imply that it is very probable that Israel will use force in the future when fighting “terror”. After that, she made a statement of fact (not a prediction) when she claimed that there are no alternatives for military force. Hence, Israel’s resort to military force against “terror” is a fact that doesn’t allow for change or doubt. She also used the modal “**must**” in order to show that it is an obligation on the Israelis to resort to war when the Palestinians fire rockets. This, however, shows that Israel is committed to the element of last resort in declaring its wars.

Haaretz also quoted Livni saying: “*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*”

(ibid). Livni's first statement is a fact presented in the simple present "Israel is a country that reacts vigorously". This statement gives an impression that this fact is not subject to doubt or question. Furthermore, Livni adds that even in the future, she is very certain that Israel will react as such since she used "**going to**". This constitutes a threatening message to Hamas so that if Hamas tries to attack Israel, it will be faced "**vigorously**" with force. In addition, in another statement of Livni, she said: "*Israel has acted, is acting and **will** act only according to its considerations, the security needs of its citizens and its right to self defence⁴²*". In this statement, Livni used the modal "**will**" in order to make three strong predictions, acting only to the Israeli considerations, to "the security needs of its citizens", and to "its right to self defence". Here, Livni tried to show the Israelis' commitment to a just cause (i.e., self-defense). She also drew a powerful image of Israel since the Israelis will act only according to their considerations regardless of the future.

On December 28, 2008, Tzipi Livni was quoted saying:

we decided to enter a **kind of** a truce and not to attack Gaza Strip. Hamas violated, on a daily basis, this truce. They targeted Israel, and we didn't answer. (Israeli Foreign Minister, Tzipi Livni; NBC's Meet the Press; December, 28, 2008).⁴³

As we notice, the first sentence is modalized with the hedge "**kind of**". This would imply that what the Israelis entered was not a real truce but it was something

⁴² Reuters. January 9, 2009.

⁴³ This quote was taken from a televised interview with Livni on NBC's Meet the Press. The transcription of the interview is found on the website: clips and comment; <http://www.clipsandcomment.com/2008/12/28/transcript-israeli-foreign-minister-tzipi-livni-on-meet-the-press-december-28-2008/>

which was more or less a truce. This could suggest that Livni doesn't recognize Hamas as a state but as a terrorist organization with whom truces are not made. On the other hand, terrorist organizations should be dealt in a different way which requires making special kinds of truces that are not like normal ones. What supports this interpretation is Livni's statement on January 16, 2009 as she said: "*I have said the end doesn't have to be in agreement with Hamas but rather in arrangements against Hamas*"⁴⁴.

4.5.2 The Palestinian side. Now that we have looked at the data from the Israeli side, analyzing modality of media texts from the Palestinian side will be introduced to show how the Palestinian politicians used modality markers to make strong predictions about making victory in order to calm down the worries and the fears of their people.

In his speech, Haniyeh made statements of facts about the victory like "*we are closer to victory*" (Haniyeh's speech)⁴⁵ and strong predictions like "*We will have victory*" (ibid). Moreover, the Palestinians are going to be victorious because the Israelis are highly expected to fail in achieving any of their goals, "*We will have victory because the occupation will fail in achieving any of its goals*" (ibid). In addition, Osama Hamdan- Hamas representative to Lebanon- used "will" to talk about achieving victory. For example, Hamdan said: "*It [Israel] will not defeat the Palestinian resistance*"⁴⁶. Accordingly, there is nothing that the Palestinians should worry about. However, it is too early to make such a prediction at the beginning of the

⁴⁴ Reuters. January 16, 2009.

⁴⁵ Haniyeh's speech is used to refer to the speech that was mentioned in footnote number 10.

⁴⁶ Osama Hamdan, Hamas official. Aljazeera English. December 28, 2008.

war but this may serve to raise the self-esteem of the Gazans since-according to Haniyeh- the Gazans are the winners despite all their losses.

On January 12, 2009, Haaretz quoted Haniyeh saying: “*Gaza will not break - our victory over the Zionists is near*” (Avi Issacharoff. Hamas is willing to negotiate on Gaza cease-fire. Haaretz, January 12, 2009). According to Haniyeh, Gazans and their government-not only Hamas-will not surrender to Israel. In Gaza, therefore, it is the mission of every man, woman, child, and resistant to stand against the Zionist aggression. This will insure the fulfillment of the claim that “*Gaza will not break*”. Haniyeh is also very certain and confident that Gazans and Hamas will stand together against the aggression. What also supports this claim is that Haniyeh and Hamas take their power from the people of Gaza. Haniyeh stated: “*When we watch over you, residents of Gaza, we draw patience and will power from you*” (Haniyeh’s speech). Since Haniyeh draws patience from the residents of Gaza and powers from them, Haniyeh represents himself and Hamas as humble to the people. In other words, Hamas isn’t superior to the residents of Gaza, yet Hamas’s power and patience are provided from Gazans which could imply that there is a strong relation between the Gazans and Hamas. Moreover, Hamas-according to Haniyeh- represents the power of the residents of Gaza because Hamas’s power and patience are drawn from the people of Gaza. However, Haniyeh seemed to be in need of the Gazan’s support because he used a polite strategy by lowering self and raising others’ rank of power.

Regardless of the different calls to support Hamas and the Palestinian people, Meshaal said: “*the resistance on the land of Gaza is fine; still and will remain and will win*” (Meshaal’s speech)⁴⁷. Since “the resistance on the land of Gaza is fine” and

⁴⁷ Meshaal’s speech is used to refer to the speech that was mentioned in footnote number 9.

since it “will remain and will win”, there should be no need for asking Arabs and Muslims for help. On the other hand, Meshaal said: “*resistance in the Gaza Strip is not as powerful as that in Lebanon, but the mercy of Allah will empower us*” (ibid). These lines suggest that the resistance (mainly Hamas) is in need of supply because it is not that powerful like that in Lebanon (Hezbollah).

Other examples where Hamas used strong predictions about “victory” can be seen in the following lines:

- “The Zionist enemy **must** know his battle in Gaza is a losing one⁴⁸”, Abu Obaida, Al-Qassam Brigades spokesman.

- “The defeat of the enemy and its failure to achieve its objectives **must** be reflected in the situation to come. I agree that the rules of the game must change, but in Hamas's favour⁴⁹”, said Abu Marzouk, who lives in Syria along with other members of the group's exiled leadership.

In the previous examples, we can notice the existence of the modal “**must**” which is used to make obligations and strong predictions (Murcia & Freeman, 1999). However, at the beginning of the war, it is not wise to talk about victory since it is too early to reach to such a conclusion. In addition, one might predict that s/he is victorious but s/he, regrettably, finds at the end of the war that s/he was truly mistaken. If one’s prediction proved to be wrong, all the public’s support to him/her would collapse at once. Correspondingly, true and wise politicians have to be careful about predicting such “fatal” predictions. However, Hamas leaders used to mention “victory” excessively from the very beginning of the war until the last day of it. As an

⁴⁸Reuters, January 4, 2009.

⁴⁹Reuters, January 5, 2009.

illustration, Hamas official Isma'el Radwan exaggerated in the description of victory saying: “*We have prepared the statement of victory for you (Palestinians) ... and you will see it soon*⁵⁰”. Radwan was quoted on January 4 whereas the war ended on January 18. Furthermore, from that date (January 4) till January 18, significant changes could happen and that changes could change the war equation. Hence, the signals of victory for either side haven't yet shown themselves and we need to wait before we make such predictions. Hence, even if Hamas was victorious on that day (January 4), its officials shouldn't have talked about victory until the signals of victory started to show themselves.

To conclude this section, it seems obvious that modality shows the high confidence of the speaker or his/her low confidence about what is being said. If the speaker has more power, s/he will show more confidence and therefore will use strong modals about predictions for the future. The weaker the power, the more tentative the value of the modals used. Though the Israelis are more powerful, the Palestinians show certainty about their survival and the way they view things.

⁵⁰ Reuters, January 4, 2009.

Chapter Five

Conclusions and Pedagogical Implications

This study has shown how war language is dependent on elements like the just war theory, the choice of the lexical items, and the modality of the speaker in expressing self-confidence about his/her commitment to the truth. The Israelis, driven by their power and strong allies, use a political language that serves their purposes in ways ignoring the cause of attacks against Israel while stressing only the results of such attacks that cause panic and some damage to their citizens. The Palestinians take some pride in their fight by standing against the giant power of Israel and its allies though they suffer heavy losses in deaths and damage in properties.

In every section, the Israelis manifested their commitment to just war theory in their discourse through the manipulations of the linguistic elements in their discourse. The Palestinians, however, used the linguistic elements to show that the Israelis did not have any just or legitimate cause in their attacks. Therefore, there have been ideological functions of the investigated linguistic elements.

The analysis revealed that the manipulation of linguistic elements had ideological functions. This manipulation can pave the way for politicians to rally the public around a certain ideology. More specifically, the analysis of pronouns showed how the Israelis could emphasize that all the Israelis have the same enemy, the same goals, and the same demands. The Palestinians, however, used the pronouns to stress the fact that all the Palestinians are targeted by the Israelis. They also used them to consolidate unity between Hamas and the Palestinians. Thus, the analysis proved that there have been ideological functions of pronouns which could be presented in teaching in combination with the linguistic functions of the pronouns. Similarly, the lexical items- including the ideographs- were manipulated throughout the discourse of

Gaza to legitimize the war and to delegitimize it. In particular, they were employed to create positive images of “us” and negative images of “them” in order to legitimize “our” actions and to delegitimize “theirs”. Additionally, ideographs were employed in order to give a general image of what is taking action on the ground. For example, the use of the ideograph “terror” in the Israeli discourse could make the audience believe that the Palestinians had no reason for attacking Israel. Further, any country can employ the ideograph “terror” against any political actor that is opposed to it so that it becomes easy to legitimize massive state violence against such political actors.

Modality, however, was employed to show the Israelis’ commitment to just war theory, to manifest the power of the Israeli politicians, and to present the Israeli leaders as leaders of high values. On the other side, regardless of their weakness, Hamas used modality markers to show their capabilities in achieving victory for the Palestinians. Therefore, modality has had ideological functions in the discourse of Gaza war.

The findings have confirmed the hypotheses of the study and the findings of Atawneh (2011) and El-Bilawi (2011). In other words, there have been ideological functions of the investigated linguistic elements (e.g., the legitimation or deligitimation of certain actions). This kind of analysis lays bare the discourse of politicians and empowers the audiences of the manipulation of linguistic elements. Hence, further studies have to be conducted to investigate the discourse of other political leaders so as to find out other strategies for manipulating linguistic elements to achieve political goals.

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher recommends the Ministry of Education, English teachers, and researchers to:

- 1- Teach the ideological functions of the linguistic elements in schools and universities.
- 2- Integrate the functions of the linguistic elements in the English textbooks, taking into consideration the different levels of the students.
- 3- Conduct special training workshops for English teachers in teaching the ideological functions.
- 4- Examine other linguistic elements to have a better understanding of these elements.

Bibliography

Books and Articles

- Adetunji, A. (2005). Inclusion and Exclusion in Political Discourse: *Deixis in Olusegun Obasanjo's Speeches*. *Journal of Language and Linguistics*. Vol: 5.
- Atawneh, A. (1991). Politeness Theory and the Directive Speech Act in Arabic-English Bilinguals. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Linguistics Department, State University of New York at Stony Brook.
- Atawneh, A. (2011). The Political Discourse of the Israeli Occupation: The Spirit of Orientalism. In Nasser, I, Berlin, N & Wong, S (Eds.), *Examining Education, Media, and Dialogue under Occupation* (pp.110-129). Techset Composition Ltd., Salisbury, UK.
- Brown R. and Gilman, A. (1989). Politeness Theory and Shakespeare's Four Major Tragedies. *Language and Society*, 18, 159-212.
- Brown R. and Gilman, A. (1960). The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity. In Sebeok, T. A. (ed.) 1960 *Style in Language* Cambridge: MIT press. 253-76.
- Campell, S. (1990). A lesson in Politeness non-compliance: Gawain's Conversational Strategies in Fitt 3 of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. *Language Quarterly*, 31, (1): 17-30.
- Chomsky, N & Pappé, I. (2010). *Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on Israel's War against the Palestinians*. Haymarket Books; Original edition.
- Cordesman, A & Burke, A. (2009). *The "GAZA WAR": A Strategic Analysis*. Center for Strategic & International Studies.

- Darcy, S & Reynolds, J (2010). An Enduring Occupation: The Status of the Gaza Strip from the Perspective of International Humanitarian Law. *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 15.2: 211-243.
- Coady, C.J.A (2009). *Messy and Morality: The Challenge of Politics*. New York. Oxford University Press.
- Eckersley, C & Eckersley, J. (1960). *A comprehensive English Grammar for Foreign Students*. Longman Group UK Limited, London and New York.
- El-Bilawi, N. (2011). The War on Gaza: American and Egyptian Media Framing. In Nasser, I, Berlin, N & Wong, S (Eds.), *Examining Education, Media, and Dialogue under Occupation* (pp.129-149). Techset Composition Ltd., Salisbury, UK.
- Fairclough, N. (1989): *Language and Power*. Essex :Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Harlow: Longman Group UK Limited.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and Power* (2nd edition). London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, London: Routledge.
- Ferrarotti, F. (2009). The News Presenter and the Television Audience: A comparative Perspective of the Use of *We* and *You*. In Haarman, L & Lombardo, L (Eds.), *Evaluation and Stance in War News: A Linguistic Analysis of American, British and Italian Television News Reporting of the 2003 Iraqi War* (pp. 303-328). Continuum International Publishing Group, New York.

- Haliday. M. (1994). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 2nd Edition. London: Edward Arnold.
- Keen, S. (1986). *Faces of the Enemy: Reflections of the Hostile Imagination*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.
- Kramarae, C, Muriel, S & M.O'Barr, W. (1984). *Language and Power*. Sage Publications, London.
- Levinson, S. (1983). *Pragmatics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McGee, M. (1980). The 'Ideograph': A Link between Rhetoric and Ideology. *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 66.1: 1-16.
- Merskin, D. (2004). The Construction of Arabs as Enemies: Post-September 11 Discourse of George W. Bush. *Mass Communication & Society*. Volume 7(2), 157–175.
- Moseley. A. (2009). Just War Theory. Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Retrieved June 19, 2011 from the World Wide Web: < <http://www.iep.utm.edu/justwar>>
- Murcia.M, & Freeman. D. (1999). *The Grammar Book*. International Thomson Publishing. New York.
- Orend.B. (2004). Kant's Ethics of War and Peace. *Journal of Military Ethics* 3 (2):161-177.
- Pisarek, W. (1983). 'Reality' East and West. In H. Davis & P. Walton (Eds.), *Language, Image, Media*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Pollak, C. (2011). Ideographic Analysis of Israel Prime Minister Rhetoric during the 2008-09 Armed Conflict with Hamas in Gaza. *Dietrich College Honors Theses*. Paper 140.

- Quirk, R. Greenbaum, S. Leech, G. Svartvick, J. (1985). *A comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. Longman Group UK Limited. London and New York.
- Sikka, T. (2006). The New Imperialism: Using Critical Discourse Analysis and Articulation Theory to Study George W. Bush's Freedom Doctrine, *Global Change. Peace & Security*, 18: 2, 101-114.
- Spillmann, K. R. & Spillmann, K. (1997). Some Sociobiological and Psychological Aspects of "Images of the Enemy." In R. Fiebig-von Has & U. Lehmkuhl (Eds.), *Enemy Images in American History* (pp.43–64). Providence, RI: Berghahn.
- The Harvard Law Review Association. (2006). War, Schemas, and Legitimation: Analyzing the National Discourse about War. *Harvard Law Review*. Vol. 119, No. 7, pp. 2099-2120.
- Thorne, S. (2009) . *The Language of War: Intertext*. Published by Routledge, London and New York.
- Valenzano, J. (2006). Freedom and Terror: President George W. Bush's Ideograph Use During his First Term. Ph.D. dissertation, Georgia State University, United States: Georgia. Retrieved November 28, 2010, from Dissertations & Theses: Full Text.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2000). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary Approach*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2003) .Critical Discourse Analysis. In Schiffrin, D, Deborah, T & Hamilton, H (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Blackwell Publishing.

- Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). The Representation of Social Actors. In C. R. Caldas-Coulthard & M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Texts and Practices – Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Verschueren, J. (1999). *Understanding Pragmatics*. London: Arnold.
- Walts, C. (2006). Ideographs and the War on Terror: A criticism of George W. Bush's Post-9/11 Discourse. Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, United States - Illinois. Retrieved November 28, 2010, from Dissertations & Theses: Full Text.
- Wrong, Dennis H. (1979). *Power: its Forms, Bases, and Uses*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Zaher, A. (2009). A critical Discourse Analysis of News Reports on the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict in Selected Arab and Western Newspapers. PhD. Nottingham Trent University.

Media Sources

Al-Ayyam Newspaper. Retrieved June 19, 2011 from the World Wide Web: <

<http://www.al-ayyam.com>>

Aljazeera English. Middle East News. Web. Retrieved June 19, 2012 from the

World Wide Web: <<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/>>

Al-Quds Newspaper. Retrieved June 19, 2011 from the World Wide Web:<

www.alquds.com>

BBC. Gaza Conflict: Reaction in quotes. January 4, 2009. Retrieved November 10

2011 from the World Wide Web: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7810123.stm>>

BBC. Israel troops admit Gaza abuses. March 19, 2009. Retrieved November 10,

2011 from the World Wide Web: < <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7810123.stm>>.

Foxnews.com. Retrieved November 11, 2011 from the World Wide Web:

<<http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,473145,00.html>>

Guardian Newspaper. 29 December 2009. Retrieved November 10, 2011 from the

World Wide Web: <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/dec/29/barack-obama-israel-gaza>>

Haaretz Newspaper. Retrieved November 2, 2011 from the World Wide Web: <

<http://www.haaretz.com>>

If Americans Knew. Retrieved September 2, 2011 from the World Wide Web:

<http://www.ifamericansknew.org/cur_sit/dec08.html>

Journal Citation Reports (Overview). Thomson Reuters. 2010. Retrieved June 25,

2012 from the World Wide Web:

<http://thomsonreuters.com/products_services/science/science_products/a-z/journal_citation_reports/>

Just War Theory. Retrieved April 18, 2012 from the World Wide Web: <
<http://justwartheory.com>>

NBC's Meet The Press. January 4, 2009. Retrieved June 11, 2011 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7a8c84217-0>. The transcription of the interview is found on the website: clips and comment; <http://www.clipsandcomment.com/2008/12/28/transcript-israeli-foreign-minister-tzipi-livni-on-meet-the-press-december-28-2008/>

Prime Minister's Office. Retrieved May 27, 2012 from the World Wide Web: <
<http://www.pmo.gov.il>>

Reuters. World News Headlines. Reuters Archives. Retrieved April 7, 2012 from the World Wide Web:
<http://uk.reuters.com/news/archive/worldNews?date=12282008>

Sderot Media. Retrieved September 2, 2011 from the World Wide Web:
<www.SderotMedia.com>

The Jerusalem Post. The Jerusalem Post Archives. Retrieved June 4, 2011 from the World Wide Web: <<http://www.jpost.com/Cooperations/Archives/>>

YouTube. Ismail Haniya Interview on 31 December 2008 (with English translation). Retrieved June 10, 2011 from the World Wide Web:

URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sQGTaohlomM>

YouTube. Meshaal's Speech. Retrieved June, 10, 2011 from the World Wide Web:
< <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g5Cs6YrvOok&feature=related>>

Appendices

Haniyeh's Speech

People of Palestine, to all of you, to all of those who stand with us, you who are standing with perseverance, you who stand firm, we tell our people that we are close to victory, we are closer to victory and this war is the war of divisions and this is a war of destiny and this is a turning point between two situations; the situation in Gaza before the war is different than the situation after the war. Allah will give us victory; victory of our people in this war. Allah will give victory to our Ummah; the Ummah which stood and supported this people and the Gaza Strip, the strip of honor. The signals of victory have begun to show themselves although Gaza is suffering a lot. Victory is coming because this people has stood firmly and because this resistance has stood and has maintained and has defended and has also lived up to the expectations of the people of Palestine and the Ummah. We will have victory because the occupation will fail in achieving any of its goals in this crazy war on the Palestinian people.

I pay tribute to all our heroic martyrs

I pay tribute to all our wounded to all prisoners and I also like to pay tribute to all of those teams; the government teams, the medical teams, the ambulances, the doctors, the nurses, the services, and here I'd like also to speak about those medical teams who also fell as martyrs while they were performing the national duty towards the Palestinian people. The Israeli warplanes even targeted them and targeted the ambulances.

I pay tribute to all the martyrs

I pay tribute to all our wounded

I pay tribute to all the security services, the police, the government, the medical teams who are working on the difficult circumstances and who proved their responsibility and capability of withstanding these difficult circumstances and I thank once again all our Arab brothers, all the Arab and the Islamic countries, I thank all people everywhere who are supplying us all what we need and I tell you people in Gaza, I tell you people of the world we need more and more we are in dire need of this and the march is a long march and we will stay standing firmly on our own two feet and we will stay with our heads hung high and we will be victorious with Allah's help.

Peace be upon the people of Gaza

Meshaal's Speech

The Zionists wanted to impose a humiliating defeat on us because the only obstacle to confront them is resistance, especially in the Gaza Strip.

Perhaps the Zionists, because of the difference between the resistance in Lebanon and Gaza, thought that in comparison with Hezbollah, we were weak and they could regain the reputation of their army following its defeat in Lebanon. They tried to use the territories of Gaza to show their military might. On the other hand, the resistance on the land of Gaza is fine; still and will remain and will win. It is true that resistance in the Gaza Strip is not as powerful as that in Lebanon, but the mercy of Allah will empower us.

So this is a battle of demonstrating military strength, a fight or war to impose a defeat on our people. The Zionists thought that we were the weakest. However, the Zionists were surprised by the resistance.

All our supporters in the Arab and Islamic world as well as the West should be sure that the resistance in Gaza is in its best situation.

The resistance was able to absorb the strikes of the enemy and then take the initiative and day by day, we are seeing new surprises by the Palestinian resistance.

Just less than two hours ago we struck the airbase of Balnakhim which is 50 kilometers away from the Gaza Strip

The enemy had assigned aims for itself to achieve. These aims are now lessening with the passing of time. Israel wanted to destroy Gaza, wanted to end Hamas' control of Gaza as it said, the enemy wanted to destroy the resistance in Gaza, wanted to stop the rockets from Gaza.

But what are the Israelis left with today? They are now focusing and targeting north Gaza and are demolishing peoples' houses over their heads while trying to enter north Gaza and stop the rockets. However, the heroic resistance has not allowed them to make progress. In the south, they are trying to stop weapons reaching Hamas. They are trying to impose new realities whereby with the new situation they can negotiate for what better suits them, for instance in the Security Council.

They are trying to send a message to the Israeli population that they are victorious; that they have imposed new realities, in order to cover up their defeats in these 15 days. But very frankly the enemy has achieved nothing.

Let us make calculations. What has the enemy achieved? I can say with all confidence according to facts on the ground that from a military perspective the enemy has failed completely. Have they stopped rockets being launched? Now they are talking about ways to stop the rockets. They want to impose new facts on southern Gaza so they can guarantee their security as they allege. But they have not attained any of their aims. So what have they achieved?

The enemy has succeeded in one thing. In addition, to covering up for their losses, Israelis do not confess to their casualties and deaths among their soldiers. They prevent the media from entering into Gaza. Israel tries to cover up these losses by talking about friendly fire and road accidents. But the truth will come out and the Zionists will discover how they have lost their magnitude in Gaza. They also try to trick the world and show that they have gone deep into Gaza by fabricated TV footage. They depict by means of false pictures that they have entered deep into Gaza.

So what has the enemy succeeded in? The enemy has succeeded in committing murders. Murders against the women and children of Gaza. Israel has grouped people in houses and then destroyed the houses. They kidnap people and then execute them in cold blood.

The enemy has succeeded in bringing about a new Holocaust on Gaza.

Let me now speak to Israelis and Zionists. What have you achieved in this war that you supported? You supported your leaders in going ahead with this war, but what have you achieved besides killing innocent children, breaking skulls and creating an ocean of blood in Gaza?

What have you achieved except a Holocaust that your leaders want to use to win the next elections in February? Palestinian blood is now a means for political achievements in your elections.

You complain about the Holocaust that was committed against you, but you today are now committing an even harsher Holocaust. The Palestinians can now make a museum of your Holocaust in Gaza...

What prevented the US from allowing Resolution 1860 being passed a week or two weeks ago? They wanted to give Israel a chance to kill more Palestinians and claim victory over Gaza. But when the resistance did not back down and Israel failed and when the magnitude of these massacres were uncovered and the USA and those who collaborated in this military campaign witnessed the dissent and intifada among the Muslim masses, which carries with it real danger, at that point they let the resolution pass.

But they took the teeth out of (UN Security Council Resolution) 1860. The resolution is a non-binding cease-fire with no date specified for the cease-fire.

The question now is about who should implement the resolution. Those who started the military campaign in the first place, the Zionists, should implement it and immediately pull out of Gaza. This is logic.

Concerning us, we want the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Gaza and the lifting of the unjust siege on Gaza that has led to the current situation.

Our other request is the opening of all border crossings including the Rafah border crossing.

We, with an open mind, will deal with any initiatives and decisions based on the basis of the legitimate demands of our people and we do not accept any negotiations to search for truce under fire, the right of our people to live without borders and crossing like the nations of the world must be recognized. And then people discuss in the issue of truce as we did in the past.

Therefore, we will not accept any negotiations for a truce in the light of and under the pressure of a military campaign and siege.

We are the victim we were invaded we are the people to whom all these massacres were committed. We demand:

First: To stop the aggression immediately; this is not an equal battle.

Let the military campaign stop, let the Israelis withdraw, and let the rights of our people be admitted to, let them recognize our rights to live without a siege and closed border crossings, just like other humans, then we are ready to discuss a truce, just like we did before.

We will not accept a permanent truce, because it will take the right of resistance from the Palestinian people. The resistance is against occupation and military campaigns and therefore as long as occupation exists, resistance will too...

We will also not accept the interference of international forces because international forces will come only to protect Israel's security and any international force imposed will be considered as occupiers.

We will not accept any talks about strengthening the 'choke hold' on the resistance concerning its weapons. Some are speaking about the tunnels as if Gaza is a super power with advanced weapons, while we are people with very limited capabilities to defend our territories and ourselves. Nobody has the right to take our legitimate right for defense and resistance. The US, as if the whole of the Israeli arsenal does not exist, sends hundreds of tons of explosives and artillery shells to Israel.

In this context, we still sent our delegation to Cairo to talk about Egypt's proposal and other political plans. The November 2005 Rafah crossing agreement, must be reconsidered because this agreement really promoted the blockade on Gaza and we proposed different means and methods.

I call on Mr. Mahmoud Abbas - who called for national unity in the face of Israel's attacks - to declare to the world that we must agree to a Palestinian partnership between the Palestinian Authority and Hamas in Gaza, so that we can reach a firm arrangement in Rafah. This is appropriate choice for you. Anything besides this has no credibility when it comes to national unity.

We supported national unity from day one -- National unity based upon confronting the military campaign, but this needs honesty and credibility. All political detainees must be freed and the Palestinians in the West Bank must be free to hold protests without being arrested. We saw them arrested of course yesterday. We also call on Mahmoud Abbas to stop cooperating with the enemy and to stop negotiations with the Israelis. There is no future for these negotiations...

And to the Arab countries, by God you abandoned and degraded us. But if you made

mistakes in the past go ahead and correct your mistakes before it is too late... I call on Arab countries not to welcome any Israeli official in their capitals. I call on our nation to remain in one line in support of the just battle of the Palestinian people. This war is not a war on Hamas as the Zionist enemy tries to portray, but is a war on all the Palestinian people, the Palestinian issue and the whole nation.

The Arab leaders must coordinate and be aligned with the will of their people. Moreover, I call on Arab countries that have relations with Israel to tell the Israelis either that they should stop their war, or that the Arab countries will stop their relations.

After this resolution, the Muslim Ummah should not calm down and assume the atrocities are over. Resolution 1860 has not brought about any changes on the ground. Israel refuses the resolution and the battle in Gaza is in its most intense phase. What we need is more stern resistance in Gaza and we need more fierce protests in the Arab and Islamic world and the international community to achieve victory for the people of Gaza. We need a third 'Intifada' (uprising) in the West Bank and a revolution in the Arab, Islamic world until the enemy withdraws from Gaza, the siege is lifted and the border crossings are opened.

A very important point is that the Muslim world should stand by us. In spite of all these massacres committed by Israel, some say that we are the problem and the massacres are our fault. These are shameful words. What provided the atmosphere for the Zionists to boost their reputation (among their people) and to increase our wounds and impose new circumstances, for example the separation wall, settlement activities and so on, all happened at the time of negotiations.

Concerning our casualties and wounded, resistance cannot liberate without martyrs and casualties. It is better to achieve victory through martyrs and wounded, instead of having casualties without resistance and victory.

Some express fear that after all the sacrifices, the leadership of the resistance may collapse or make a settlement for example. On the contrary, the blood of our women and children and people will increase our cohesion and determination to achieve our aims. It is unjust that after all these massacres to just go and say let's make a truce. On

the contrary, the price of this bloodshed is freedom and to decide our own destiny and to end the occupation and siege.

Olmert's Speech

Citizens of Israel,

Exactly three weeks ago as the Sabbath ended, we sat here before you – my friend Ehud Barak, the Vice Prime Minister Tzipi Livni and myself – and detailed the considerations and goals which guided us in launching a military operation in the Gaza Strip.

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 badly stricken, both in terms of its military capabilities and in the infrastructure of its regime. Its leaders are in hiding. 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. The scope of missile fire directed at the State of Israel has been reduced. The areas from which most of the missiles were launched are under the control of IDF forces. The estimate of all the security services is that the Hamas's capabilities have been struck a heavy blow which will harm its ability to rule and its military capabilities for some time.
- The IDF and the General Security Services have succeeded in conducting an outstanding operation, utilizing all the elements of Israel's force – on land, at sea and in the air. The military operation was characterized by determination, sophistication, courage and an impressive ability in intelligence and operations, which led to significant and numerous achievements. The current campaign proved again Israel's force and strengthened its deterrence capability vis-à-vis those who threaten us.
- The reserves soldiers, who are the foundation for the IDF's strength, proved that the spirit of volunteerism and a willingness to sacrifice still very much exist. These forces were made ready in a thorough manner, equipped with all they needed and thus could demonstrate their professionalism and fierceness of spirit.
- During all the days of fighting, the Israeli home front demonstrated its strength, despite hundreds of rockets and mortar shells indiscriminately fired at a population which numbers one million residents; it was the home front that created an unshakable foundation which strengthened us and gave us the ability to continue fighting. Two years of preparation on the home front proved that we learned our lessons and were properly organized. The Government and the heads of the regional local authorities under attack demonstrated the patience, endurance and that same strong spirit which allowed the political echelon to make the right decisions, knowing that the home front could withstand the consequences of those decisions.
- As a decision-making body, the Government of Israel demonstrated unity with regard to goals, and acted professionally and in coordination to achieve those goals. The decisions were all made in a responsible and educated manner, following clarification and in-depth discussions. As an executive branch, the Government met the demands and needs of the population and the fighting forces.
- Alongside the successes, we must also remember the fallen and those who sacrificed their lives to achieve a better reality in the South. The campaign claimed the lives of three residents of the South and ten of our soldiers. Tonight our hearts are with their families. We send our wishes for a speedy recovery to the residents of the South and

to the IDF soldiers injured during the operation.

- Today, and in large part due to the success of the military operation, the entire international community is ready to mobilize in order to achieve maximum stability, and knows that, for this to occur, the process of Hamas's strengthening must stop. To this end, we reached a number of understandings – the importance of which cannot be underestimated – which will ensure that the strengthening of Hamas will decrease. We formulated understandings with the Egyptian government with regard to a number of central issues, the realization of which will bring about a significant reduction in weapons smuggling from Iran and Syria to the Gaza Strip.
- On Friday we signed a memorandum of understanding with the American government, in the framework of which the United States will mobilize to take the necessary steps, together with the other members of the international community, to prevent weapons smuggling by terrorists in Gaza. I wish to thank and express my great appreciation to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Vice Prime Minister for her efforts to reach this agreement, for her contribution to the diplomatic steps and for the widespread diplomatic effort she made over the past several weeks, which were an important contribution to the international backing given to the Israeli effort against the terrorist organizations headed by Hamas.
- Today I received a letter from the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Gordon Brown, the Prime Minister of Italy, Silvio Berlusconi, the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel and the President of France, Nicolas Sarkozy, in which all four expressed their profound commitment to assisting in any way in order to ensure that weapons will not succeed in reaching the murderous terrorist organizations in Gaza.

I have no doubt that were it not for the determined and successful military action, we would not have reached diplomatic understandings, which together create a full picture of impressive accomplishment.

Citizens of Israel,

The Government decided to launch the operation in Gaza only after long thought and great consideration, and only after all attempts through other means to stop the firing and other acts of terror by Hamas failed. Israel, which withdrew from the Gaza Strip to the last millimeter at the end of 2005 – with no intention of returning – found itself under a barrage of missiles. Hamas violently took control of the Gaza Strip and began attacking the communities in the South more intensely. Hamas's methods are incomprehensible. It placed its military system in crowded residential neighborhoods, operated among a civilian population which served as a human shield and operated under the aegis of mosques, schools and hospitals, while making the Palestinian population a hostage to its terrorist activities, with the understanding that Israel – as a country with supreme values – would not act. The external Hamas leadership, which lives in comfort and quiet, continued to set extremist policies while ignoring the population's ongoing suffering and out of a conspicuous unwillingness to ease its situation.

Hamas in Gaza was built by Iran as a foundation for power, and is backed through funding, through training and through the provision of advanced weapons. Iran, which strives for regional hegemony, tried to replicate the methods used by Hizbullah in Lebanon in the Gaza Strip as well. Iran and Hamas mistook the restraint Israel exercised as weakness. They were mistaken. They were surprised.

The State of Israel has proven to them that restraint is an expression of strength which was exercised in a determined and sophisticated manner when that which we had avoided became unavoidable.

During the operation, the State of Israel demonstrated great sensitivity in exercising its force in order to avoid, as much as possible, harming the civilian population not involved in terror. In cases where there was any doubt that striking at terrorists would lead to harming an innocent civilian population – we abstained from acting. There are not many countries which would act thusly.

We have no disagreement with the residents of Gaza. We consider the Gaza Strip a part of the future Palestinian state with which we hope to live a life of good neighborliness, and we wish for the day when the vision of two states is realized.

During the operation, we made widespread and concerted efforts to see to the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian population. We allowed for the transfer of equipment, food and medicine to prevent a humanitarian crisis. In addition, I appointed Minister Isaac Herzog, the Minister of Social Welfare and Social Affairs, to head up this effort, and tonight the Cabinet instructed him to invest all his efforts in preparing a comprehensive plan so that in the next few days, we will be able to provide an appropriate and comprehensive answer to the civilian population's needs in the Gaza Strip. I wish to express my great appreciation to the international organizations which acted and continue to act tirelessly to assist us in providing the Palestinian population with appropriate living conditions. Israel will continue to cooperate with them, especially in the coming days and weeks on behalf of the Gazan population.

Citizens of Israel,

Today, before the Government meeting, I spoke with the President of Egypt, Hosni Mubarak, who presented Egypt's initiative to me, along with his request for a ceasefire. I thanked the President for Egypt's commitment to finding a solution to this crisis and for the important role it plays in the Middle East. I presented the President's statement to the Cabinet, along with the totality of our achievements in the operation, as well as the completion of the goals. The Cabinet decided to accept my proposal to declare a ceasefire.

Beginning at 2:00 a.m., Israel will cease its actions against the terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip and will remain deployed in the Gaza Strip and its environs.

It must be remembered that Hamas is not part of the arrangements we came to. These are agreements involving many countries, and a terrorist organization like Hamas is not and need not be a part of them. If our enemies decide that the blows they have already suffered are not enough and they wish to continue fighting, Israel will be ready for that scenario and will feel free to continue responding with force.

Hamas was surprised a number of times during the past several weeks. It did not predict the State of Israel's determination or the seriousness of its intentions to bring about a change in the reality in the region. Hamas's leaders did not believe that the State of Israel would launch a military operation on such a scale on the eve of elections; it did not predict the force of the military attack and moreover – it did not

predict the outcome.

Hamas still does not fully appreciate the difficult blow it received. If Hamas decides to continue its wild terrorist attacks, it may find itself surprised again by the State of Israel's determination. I do not suggest that it or any other terrorist organization test us.

This statement tonight would be incomplete if I did not mention the kidnapped soldier, Gilad Schalit. One hundred meters from here, there is a demonstration for his release, and I respect each and every one of the participants. The intensive efforts to secure Gilad's release began long before the operation, continued during it and will continue after as well. The Government of Israel is working on many levels to bring him home, and during the operation we carried out various actions to bring us closer to this goal. Due to the sensitivity of the matter, I will not go into detail. I will only say that Gilad is at the top of our agenda, and we do not need any prodding or reminding in this matter. I am hopeful tonight as well that we will soon see him in his family's embrace.

On a personal note:

For weeks I have been watching the people of Israel day and night as we make the unprecedented effort to fight for and realize our right of self-defense. I saw the brave soldiers, our dear and beloved sons; I saw their commanders and the spirit which buoyed them; I saw the residents of the South, their fierce spirit; and the leadership of the mayors who took care to provide for the needs of their residents; I also saw the actions of the Home Front Command, which quietly and efficiently coordinated the assistance campaign for the southern region; and I heard the bereaved families.

Dear families, the things you said, the pain you expressed, the fierce spirit you demonstrated – these are the foundation for the people of Israel's strength. On behalf of the entire nation, on behalf of the Government of Israel, I share your profound pain and thank you for the encouragement, the strength and the inspiration your strong stance has granted the entire nation.

I also wish to say something to the people of Gaza: even before the military operation began, and during it, I appealed to you. We do not hate you; we did not want and do not want to harm you. We wanted to defend our children, their parents, their families. We feel the pain of every Palestinian child and family member who fell victim to the cruel reality created by Hamas which transformed you into victims.

Your suffering is terrible. Your cries of pain touch each of our hearts. On behalf of the Government of Israel, I wish to convey my regret for the harming of uninvolved civilians, for the pain we caused them, for the suffering they and their families suffered as a result of the intolerable situation created by Hamas.

The understandings we reached with Egypt, the international backing of the United States and the European countries – all these do not ensure that the firing by Hamas will stop. If it completely stops – the IDF will consider withdrawing from Gaza at a time which it deems right. If not, the IDF will continue to act in defense of our residents.

This is the time to convey our appreciation and gratitude, first and foremost to you, Mr. Minister of Defense, for your work, for the tremendous effort you made, for your skill, professionalism and the understanding you demonstrated throughout the operation – thank you very much. I wish to thank the soldiers of the IDF, their commanders, the Head of the Southern Command Yoav Galant, and the Chief of General Staff Gabi Ashkenazi; to the General Security Services, its fighters and its head, Yuval Diskin; to the Mossad and its hidden fighters, headed by Meir Dagan; to the Israel Police and the emergency services, Magan David Adom and the Fire Department.

Blessed is the nation with such an army and such security and rescue services.

I wish to express my hope that tonight the first step towards a different reality, one of security and quiet for the residents of Israel, will be taken. From the bottom of my heart, I thank the people of Israel, its fighters and their commanders for the fierceness of spirit and the social solidarity they demonstrated over these past weeks.

This is the secret of our strength – it is the foundation for our power and it is the hope of our future.

Thank you.

Olmert's Press Releases

1. PM Olmert's Remarks at the Press Briefing on the Operation in the Gaza Strip

27/12/2008

Ladies and Gentlemen,

For the last seven years, the Hamas and other terrorist organizations, were attacking innocent Israelis in the south part of the country and threatened the lives of many thousands of Israelis that wanted to live peacefully in their homes and to carry on their lives in a comfortable and normal way. Israel did everything in its power to try to cooperate with the principles of a ceasefire in order to bring relaxation to this part. Unfortunately, the efforts that we made were met by continuous attacks and violations of the basic understandings that were reached by the assistance of Egypt. No country in the world can accept or acquiesce with this approach. In the last few days, it became clear that Hamas is prepared to carry on the attacks and to increase the shooting of Kassam rockets and mortar shells against Israelis in the south part of the country.

Everyone who heard the leaders of the Hamas in the last few days can easily understand easily that they are not looking for peace, they are not looking for relaxation, they are not looking for ceasefire, they are looking for a country to continue their attacks and to try and do everything in order to upset the lives of so many innocent Israelis in our part of the country. In the last few days the Cabinet approved the operation and on Friday evening I discussed the situation with the Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Miss Livni, and with the Minister of Defense and with the commanders of the army and the security forces, and we decided to move forward.

The operation in Gaza intends primarily to change the situation in the south part or our country. It may take some time and all of us are prepared to carry the burden and the pains that are an inseparable part of this situation. Already today, we lost one Israeli citizen in Netivot, Beber Vaknin, of blessed memory, and a few Israelis were injured and of course I offer my sympathies to the families of those who suffered from these attacks. We did everything in order to make sure that Israelis in the south part of the country will be protected under the circumstances. Its' not going to be easy. It's not going to last just a few days. It may continue and one thing must be clear. We are not fighting against the people of Gaza. I take this opportunity to appeal to the people of Gaza. As I have said several times in the past, you, the citizens of Gaza are not our enemies. Hamas, Jihad, the other terrorist organizations, are your enemies as they are our enemies. They brought disaster on you and they try to bring disaster to the people of Israel. And it is our common goal to make every possible effort to stop them, so that we will be able to establish an entirely different type of relationship with us and them.

The efforts that we made today were focused entirely on military targets. We tried to avoid and I think quite successfully, to hit any uninvolved people. We attacked only targets that are part of the Hamas organizations where they manufacture their

Kassem Rockets and the mortar shells and the headquarters and the command positions of this organization and other organizations. We'll continue to make an effort to avoid any unnecessary inconveniences to the people of Gaza. I promise you on behalf of the Government of Israel that we will make every possible effort to avoid any humanitarian crisis in Gaza. The people of Gaza do not deserve to suffer because of the killers and murderers of the terrorist organizations. I am certain that the Israeli public is united behind the goals of this operation. I was encouraged today by the announcement made by the head of the opposition, Mr. Netanyahu, who supported the attack initiative of Israel and by the leaders of other major parties and of other prominent figures from the State of Israel.

I want to take this opportunity to thank the Chief of Staff of the Israeli army, Lt. Gen. Gabi Ashkenazi, and his courageous soldiers, and the Head of the Israeli General Security Services, Mr. Diskin and his fighters for their very courageous operations. And finally I want to thank my colleagues, the Vice Prime Minister, Ms. Livni, and Minister of Defense, Mr. Barak, for the very good operation that they have managed together with the Cabinet and myself to carry on in order to achieve our goals.

Thank you very much.

2. Security Cabinet Decision on the Continuation of IDF Operations in the Gaza Strip

03/01/2009

The Ministerial Committee on National Security Affairs (the Security Cabinet) met yesterday (Friday), 3.1.09, in order to discuss the continuation of IDF operations in the Gaza Strip.

In continuation of the Ministerial Committee's 24.12.08 decision, in the framework of which approval was given to the operational methods that were recommended by the IDF and security establishment vis-à-vis action against Hamas and the other terrorist organizations in the Gaza, the Committee decided to instruct the IDF to continue operations and proceed to the stage that includes a ground entry into the Gaza Strip.

The goal of the operation is to continue advancing the goals that the Government has set for the operation as a whole, including striking hard at Hamas's terrorism infrastructure and changing the security reality for residents of the south. IDF forces plan – inter alia – to take control of the launch areas from which most of the missiles that have hit Sderot, Ashkelon and Ashdod in recent weeks and months have been fired from.

The Committee decided that the timing of the plan's implementation would be determined by the security establishment in accordance with its operational judgment; this was determined for this evening (Saturday), 3.1.09.

The Ministerial Committee further instructed the IDF to prepare for additional stages of the operation and to maintain alert in other areas, and, to these ends, to mobilize the necessary reserve forces – tens of thousands of soldiers.

Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee Chairman Tzahi Hanegbi and Opposition Chairman MK Benjamin Netanyahu have been informed of the foregoing.

3. PM Olmert's Remarks at the Start of the Weekly Cabinet Meeting

04/01/2009

Following are excerpts from Prime Minister Ehud Olmert's remarks at the start of the weekly Cabinet meeting today:

"Last Friday afternoon, 2.1.09, I convened the Security Cabinet in order to decide regarding the continuation of IDF operations in the south.

During the week that preceded the Cabinet meeting, I met repeatedly with Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni, Defense Minister Ehud Barak and the heads of the security services, including IDF Chief-of-Staff Lt.-Gen. Gaby Ashkenazi, ISA Director Yuval Diskin, Mossad Director Meir Dagan and National Security Council Chairman Danny Arditti. We analyzed the various measures regarding the continuation of the operation and ways to achieve the goals that we set for ourselves.

At the end of the day, it was around 04:00, we reached the conclusion that – following the recommendation of IDF Chief-of-Staff Lt.-Gen. Ashkenazi and his senior commanders, which received the full backing of the security services, including ISA Director Diskin and Mossad Director Dagan – that there was no alternative to a ground action in the Gaza Strip in order to try and reach the goals of the operation.

The ground action that we began last night, as part of the overall operation, is designed to establish our aspiration to change the security reality in the south. IDF forces have gone to strike at the military infrastructure that Hamas has established and to take control of the areas from which most of the missiles have been fired at Sderot, Ashkelon, and Ashdod in recent weeks and months have been launched from. I asked the security establishment to tell me how many launches have been directed at our southern communities from the areas that the IDF is now in. The answer is astounding: The vast majority of launches were from those areas – 220 alone in the week since the operation began.

In a responsible and determined country, it cannot be that the home front will be subject to attack and a daring, strong and well-trained military does not defend it. Last Friday, we decided in accordance with a proposal that I submitted along with Foreign Minister Livni and Defense Minister Barak, as per the recommendation of IDF Chief-of-Staff Lt.-Gen. Ashkenazi and the security services, to send our boys to defend their parents, brothers, sisters and neighbors that they left at home. We did not reach this conclusion lightly. For many months, we gave the calm a chance in the hope of avoiding a wide-ranging military operation. Our hopes were dashed.

I would like to dedicate a few words to the parents and family members of the IDF soldiers and security service personnel active in the Gaza Strip. I have thought about you a lot since the operation began, especially since the decision about a ground operation approached. I asked myself and my ministerial colleagues if there was some other step, outlet or effort that we had not yet tried before sending our boys into a place fraught with such risks – from which some of them may not

return. This morning, I can look each one of you in the eyes and say that the Government did its utmost before deciding on the operation.

This operation was unavoidable.

Parallel to the military operation, a diplomatic campaign is also being waged. In recent days, I have been in continuous contact with most leaders of the free world. I briefed them on Israel's position and goals and I spoke with them about the unavoidable constraints that caused the State of Israel to reach the conclusion that there was no alternative to the use of force in order to bring about a change in the situation. The diplomatic arena is not simple – even our best friends are worried and concerned, but the vast majority of them understand and are supportive.

I am greatly encouraged by the position of US President George Bush, who told me that we must ensure that Hamas not only stops firing but is also unable to do so in the future.

Israel is not at war with the Palestinian people in Gaza. They are not our enemies – they are also victims of violent and murderous repression by those same terrorist organizations. To them I say, on behalf of all of Israel, that we will not allow a humanitarian crisis to be created in the Gaza Strip. We will help supply food and medicines like any enlightened and moral country must do.

Israel has no interest in opening additional fronts – neither in the east or the north – apart from that in the south. However, caution is necessary and, therefore, I have instructed the security establishment to be on the highest alert and to be prepared for any development, lest anyone think this is his opportunity to exploit Israel's focus on the southern front in order to try and change the stable reality that has been created in the wake of past events.

I appeal to the citizens of Israel. These are not quiet or simple times. Our boys are on the battlefield. Let us be worthy of their courage and sacrifice. Let us maintain our composure. As a society, we will comport ourselves with the responsibility and consideration that we know is called for in moments of decisive national importance. My heart and that of the entire nation is with our fighters. We rely on GOC Southern Command Maj.-Gen. Yoav Galant and his soldiers and commanders on the battlefield to carry out their mission. The Cabinet specially commends IDF Chief-of-Staff Lt.-Gen. Ashkenazi and ISA Director Diskin for preparing and training our forces, gathering intelligence and precisely carrying out their missions.

We, in the political leadership, will try to give the public reliable and responsible real-time information. We will lay aside our rivalries, disagreements and struggles. Today, more than any other day, the nation of Israel is united." US President Barack Obama this afternoon spoke with Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, who commended him on his inauguration yesterday, wished him success and said that both he and Israeli people found the ceremony very moving.

Prime Minister Olmert updated US President Obama on the situation in the Gaza Strip and said that he hopes that the efforts of Israel, Egypt, the US and the

European countries to prevent the smuggling of weapons into Gaza would succeed so that it would be possible to stabilize the ceasefire and advance the diplomatic process between Israel and the Palestinian Authority in the future.

Prime Minister Olmert said that Israel would invest effort in supplying the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian population in the Gaza Strip and would work to improve the Palestinian economic situation in Judea and Samaria.

4. PM Olmert's Remarks at the Start of the Weekly Cabinet Meeting

11/01/2009

Following are Prime Minister Ehud Olmert's remarks at the start of the weekly Cabinet meeting today:

"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. 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. 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.

We knew in advance that this struggle would be neither easy nor simple. We did not delude ourselves that what seemed natural, clear and self-evident for any other country, would be received with a proper measure of agreement given that the State of Israel is involved. This did not impair, and does not impair, our determination to defend our residents. 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. No decision, present or future, will deny us our basic right to defend the residents of Israel.

I must note that UN Security Council Resolution #1860 also sharply rules out continued attacks directed against civilians and does not forbid urgent action against them.

Until now, we have made impressive achievements in the operation being conducted against the terrorist organizations in Gaza. They are the result of the courage, determination and sacrifice of IDF fighters and commanders, from IDF Chief-of-Staff Lt.-Gen. Gaby Ashkenazi to the soldiers now fighting terrorists somewhere in the Gaza Strip. To this must be added the exemplary and decisive contribution of the anonymous fighters of the ISA and ISA Director Yuval Diskin.

This is the time to translate our accomplishments into attaining our goals. Israel is nearing the goals that it set for itself; however, further patience, determination and effort are necessary in order to achieve those goals in a way that will change the security reality in the south, so that our citizens will be able to feel long-term security and stability. We must not, at the last minute, lose what has been achieved in an unprecedented national effort that restored the spirit of unity to the nation. The Israeli public, especially the residents of the south, have the requisite patience and willingness – so does the Government!"

Prime Minister Ehud Olmert today in coordination with the Ministerial Committee on National Security Affairs, decided to appoint Social Welfare and Social Services Minister Isaac Herzog to coordinate between the various Government bodies

regarding the humanitarian assistance to the civilian population in the Gaza Strip. The decision was made in order to increase the humanitarian efforts in the Gaza Strip and against the background of requests by bodies and countries around the world that have expressed their concern over the developing humanitarian situation in the Strip. Minister Herzog will, inter alia, coordinate aid operations with the relevant international organizations, and deal with the information campaign related to the humanitarian issue.

5. Statement by Prime Minister Ehud Olmert to the Foreign Press

17/01/2009

In honor of the networks and journalists which came from overseas and the world, the stations and networks and magazines and newspapers from across the world: The Israeli cabinet decided tonight to approve the request made by the Egyptian government represented by President Hosni Mubarak, to hold the fire by the State of Israel as part of the bilateral understanding between Israel and Egypt that will act together in order to prevent the continued smuggling of arms across the border into the Gaza area. This is a major step forward and I want to take this opportunity to first thank President Mubarak for his leadership and his understanding of the situation and also to thank the President of the United States, George W. Bush, the Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, for their endless efforts throughout the last three weeks in order to protect the right of Israel for self-defense against terrorist activities and at the same time to help create the necessary international environment that will bring an end to hostilities while guaranteeing the right of Israel to defend itself against any aggression perpetrated by terrorist organizations from whichever direction.

At the end of the term of President Bush and his administration, this is a very good opportunity for the people of Israel, for the State of Israel, and for the Government of Israel and myself, to thank President Bush for his friendship and support, for his steadfast support, for the State of Israel in crucial moments which were essential for the security and well-being for the people of Israel. I also want to thank Secretary Condoleezza Rice for her friendship and support in those crucial moments and continued interest in the important issues which Israel were confronted with. I also want to thank the leaders of Europe, President Sarkozy, Prime Minister Brown, Chancellor Angela Merkel, Prime Minister Berlusconi, and many other prime ministers including of course the Czech Prime Minister who is now the President of the European Union, and many others, who spoke with us, showed interest, understood the motivation of the State of Israel and supported the right of Israel for self-defense while showing a genuine interest in the humanitarian conditions that were created in Gaza throughout that period.

I also want to thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Ban Ki-moon, who visited with us and understood the constraints with which we had to deal and at the same time supported the efforts that were made in order to bring and end to the hostilities so that the people of Gaza will be able to deal with the necessary humanitarian conditions that were created as part of these efforts.

I want to make a special appeal to the people of Gaza. Time and again, I talk to you and I appeal to you and I try to explain to you that Israel is not your enemy. Hamas is your real enemy. Hamas is our enemy. Hamas is your enemy and so are the other terrorist organizations. We genuinely never wanted to cause any discomfort, to attack any uninvolved civilian in Gaza. We regret very much the fact that there were so many, who in spite of the genuine efforts made by the Israeli army, suffered from this confrontation and I want to apologize on behalf of the Government of Israel for everyone who was unjustly affected in Gaza by this operation. I believe that there will be an international effort to help recuperate Gaza and the Government of Israel will make every possible effort in order to help

the humanitarian organization together with us in order to improve the situation and to remove the suffering from the daily routine of the Palestinians who are captive of terrorist organizations that were using them in order to try and achieve their conditions.

The ultimate goal of this government, and I share it entirely with my friend and colleague, the Defense Minister of Israel as well as with the Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ms. Livni, is to achieve peace with the Arab countries; first and foremost, with the Palestinians, and hopefully in the future with others. This is our desire; this was the focus of the efforts that this government made for a lot of time. We hope that we will continue to negotiate with the Palestinian authority in order to bring peace to this area and it will start with the peace on the basis of the vision of President Bush of a two-state solution: a homeland for the Palestinian people in a Palestinian State and a homeland of the Jewish people in the State of Israel. This is the goal, this is the spirit, this is the idea, this is what we want to achieve and I hope that tonight we are making a first important step in trying to change the security situation in the south part of the State of Israel in order to advance the chances that ultimately will bring peace to our area.

At this time, I sympathize with the families of the Israeli soldiers that were lost in this battle as well as the civilians in many cities in Israel which were hit by the terrorists. I want to thank the Israeli army and the security services for their courage, their sensitivity and their determination in fighting for the right cause of the State of Israel for its right of self-defense and I want to thank my two major colleagues: the Minister of Defense, Ehud Barak for his courage, his knowledge and his understanding of the military and political picture as well as to the Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ms. Tzipi Livni, whose endless efforts were so helpful in order to organize the international community in order to understand the needs and the problems in which we had to cope. Thank you all very much.

6. Joint Statements by the PM and the European Leaders

18/01/2009

Statement by Prime Minister Ehud Olmert

Honorable President of the European Council, Prime Minister of the Czech Republic, my friend Mr. Mirek Topolánek,
Honorable President of France, my friend Mr. Nicholas Sarkozy,
Honorable Chancellor of Germany, my friend Ms. Angela Merkel,
Honorable Prime Minister of Great Britain, my friend Mr. Gordon Brown,
Honorable Prime Minister of Italy, my friend Mr. Silvio Berlusconi,
Honorable Prime Minister of Spain, my friend Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero,
Distinguished Guests,

I wish to express my personal appreciation and the appreciation of the people of Israel to you, leaders of the European countries, for demonstrating your impressive support for the State of Israel and your concern for its safety. The united front which you represent and your uncompromising stand with regard to the security of the State of Israel warms our hearts and strengthens us at this sensitive time.

Distinguished Guests,

More than three weeks ago, the Government of Israel decided to launch a military operation in order to thoroughly change the reality in the southern communities with regard to security. The reality in which the residents of Sderot, the Gaza Envelope and other communities lived for many years was an impossible one – intolerable for our citizens and impossible for us all as a nation. No sovereign nation would allow its civilians to be harmed; no enlightened regime suffers indiscriminate fire directed at its residents.

I take this opportunity to express my condolences to the bereaved families who lost their sons in battle, and to the families of the victims of terror whose pain is an inseparable part of all our personal and national agendas. Their courage and bravery are a source of inspiration and pride.

Today, after three weeks in which the IDF and security services conducted an outstanding military operation and struck a serious blow to the Hamas organization, and after we realized the goals we determined as we launched the campaign – we decided on a ceasefire. We did so to comply with the request of the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak.

I would like to add that if the ceasefire is stable, especially in light of the statements we heard today, the State of Israel has no intention of staying in the Gaza Strip. We are interested in withdrawing from the Gaza Strip as quickly as possible the moment we are assured that the ceasefire is being respected and is stable, and that there is no threat to the security of Southern Israel. Our intention is not to conquer or control Gaza. We do not wish to remain in Gaza. We intend to withdraw as soon as possible.

You all just arrived here from Egypt where you expressed your support of the Egyptian president's sincere efforts and commitment to advance a solution and assist in achieving a long-lasting and stable ceasefire.

Today it is clear to everyone that in order to achieve a stable ceasefire, Hamas must be prevented from building up its military capabilities through massive weapons smuggling from Iran and Syria to the Gaza Strip.

My friends, leaders of Europe,

In the letter I received from you yesterday: Prime Minister of Great Britain Gordon Brown, Prime Minister of Italy Silvio Berlusconi, Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel and President of France Nicolas Sarkozy – and I am certain this letter also represents the positions of the other leaders here today, as well of those of the European Union countries – you expressed profound commitment to assisting in every way possible in order to ensure that weapons will not succeed in reaching the murderous organizations in Gaza.

Now we must translate that commitment, together with Egypt and the United States, with whom we signed a memorandum of understanding on this matter, into actions which will prevent the terrorist organization, Hamas, from rearmament. This is in the supreme interest of all those who fight the forces of evil. It is also in the interest of all those who believe wholeheartedly in and wish to advance the peace process between ourselves and the Palestinians.

It is no secret that my Government, with the full participation of the Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tzipi Livni, and the Minister of Defense, Ehud Barak, together with all our friends, placed the matter of negotiations with the Palestinians at the top of our agenda alongside our concern for the security of Israel. We hope that stability in Gaza, the ceasefire and the undermining of the Hamas regime that is the inevitable result of the strengthening of President Abu Mazen, will allow us to advance the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians as rapidly as possible. We will all make every effort as we have over the past two years to do so.

For our part, out of the most basic human values, we have done and will continue to do all that is necessary to prevent a humanitarian crisis in the Gaza Strip and so that we can help the innocent civilians who fell victim to the terrorist organization.

We are interested in working in conjunction with you in order to create better conditions for a peaceful and better life for the Palestinian population in the Gaza Strip. Through a joint, educated effort which will lessen the Hamas's dominance, I believe we will succeed.

I would like to take advantage of this opportunity to reiterate the pain of the State of Israel and its sorrow and that of its soldiers for the loss of civilian life among the citizens of Gaza who were not involved in terror and served as hostages for the murders of Hamas. We did not fight against them; we did not wish to harm them or their children or their parents or their siblings. On behalf of the State and Government of Israel, I convey our profound regret for these victims.

In conclusion, I must mention our kidnapped soldier, Gilad Schalit, who is also a French citizen. We will continue working – together with you and with your help – to do all that is necessary to bring about his longed-for release.

My friends,

Our personal friendships may at times exceed that which is accepted in the recognized diplomatic protocol, but they are friendships which are beyond price. I feel a pleasant obligation to thank each and every one of you, both for your personal friendship and for your friendship towards the people and State of Israel.

Thank you very much.