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NEWSPAPER IDEOLOGY: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF AN EVENT PUBLISHED IN SIX LEBANESE NEWSPAPERS

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NEWSPAPER IDEOLOGY: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF AN EVENT PUBLISHED IN SIX LEBANESE NEWSPAPERS

by

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A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Translation

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February 2011

ABSTRACT

This research focuses on the analysis of ideology and language in six Lebanese newspapers, and tries to establish if, and to what extent, the ideology behind the text limits the freedom of expression of the newspaper in question. The Lebanese press is a good example because events are published in three languages and each plays a major role in the country.

In order to achieve the aim of this research, an event that is reported in various political newspapers is analysed in order to register the different attitudes of the Lebanese political press according to the ideology of the particular newspaper. Lebanese journalists visited the Maronite Patriarch after the 2006 July war between Hezbollah and Israel, and the discourse of this event in the political press reflects the conflict of attitudes among the different parties or groups inside Lebanon towards this war.

Discourse analysis is applied in this research by analysing the data in accordance with its principles. This research evaluates the transitivity of the sentences, the active and passive voice used in the articles, the modality with the help of modal auxiliary verbs, disjuncts or modal adjectives. It also analyses the headlines and the representation of the article in each newspaper. In this research, the discourse used in each newspaper is to be analysed and criticised relying on Halliday, Fowler, Nordlund, Thompson, Fairclough and Reah.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Arts in Translation Studies, in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

_____

Nada Ghannam

Signed at _____this _____day of _____2011

DEDICATION

I thank Dr. Judith Inggs, my supervisor, for all the help in the writing of this project.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim

This study focuses on an analysis of how six different Lebanese newspapers expressed the opinion of the Maronite Patriarch on the war which broke out between Hezbollah and Israel in July 2006. The six Lebanese newspapers are the major[1] print media in that country. Their wide circulation in Lebanon and the Arabic world distinguishes them from other publications, and their impact on the readership is high, which means that they have a considerable influence. *An-Nahar* and *Al-Akhbar* are the daily print media published in Arabic which is the main language in Lebanon and its surroundings. *L'Orient-le-Jour* (daily) and *La Revue du Liban* (weekly) are the French print media and the *Daily Star* (daily) and the *Monday Morning* (weekly) are the English political newspapers.

On 12 July 2006 Israel initiated a 34-day attack on Lebanon with massive air strikes destroying large parts of the Lebanese civilian infrastructure, demolishing villages, bridges, factories and civilian homes. This attack represented Israeli retaliation for the surprise raid that Hezbollah[2] conducted on the northern Israeli border. Three Israeli soldiers were killed, two wounded and two were captured and taken to Lebanon. The July 2006 war provoked varying reactions from foreign powers, the Lebanese people and their key leaders. There were mixed responses concerning who had gained or lost the most in the war. Iran and Syria declared victory for Hezbollah while the Israeli and United States administrations stated that Hezbollah had lost the conflict. On 27 August, Hezbollah's Secretary General Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah apologised

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[1] According to the sites http://www.pressreference.com/Ky-Ma/Lebanon.html, and http://menassat.com/?q=en/media-landscape/1154-state-media, the Arabic newspapers mentioned above have the highest reader numbers, Arabic being the first official language in Lebanon. As the French language is the second official language used in that country, French newspapers are also influential.

[2] Hezbollah is a Lebanese political party and militia group inspired by the Islamic Revolution of Iran; it is the only party which still has arms, to protect the southern border of Lebanon from the Israelis.

live on New TV[3] station to the Lebanese people for the incident that had sparked the war, saying: "If there was even a one percent chance that the capturing operation would have led to the situation that happened, would you have done it? I would say no, absolutely no"[4] (Nasrallah, in Noe 2007: 394).

The Lebanese print media covered this event in different ways, publishing the views of various leaders. This study focuses on the opinion of the head of the Maronite Church in Lebanon as reported in the media. Cardinal Mar Nasrallah Boutros Sfeir[5] criticised and publicly condemned the unexpected war which created a major conflict among the Lebanese themselves. This study focuses on the approach used by each newspaper in covering his attitude and concern regarding the July war between Hezbollah and Israel. The Patriarch had made comments previously about why Hezbollah should not continue to be armed. He has often restated his misgivings concerning the fact that certain movements, such as Hezbollah, possess arms while others do not: in his view this represents "a situation of inequality that is contrary to the constitution"[6].

The aim of this study is to investigate how the six newspapers with different and sometimes opposing ideologies used language differently when reporting and interpreting the same event. The study therefore focuses on the discourse of this event in the print media, an event which reflects conflicting attitudes among the different parties or groups in Lebanon regarding the July 2006 war. The focus is on the identification of the Lebanese press' different approaches, which are based on their political ideologies as reflected in the discourse of each newspaper. As there are always different ways of saying the same thing and differences in expression that

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[3] Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah was interviewed on New TV station for the first time after the 34-day war with Israel.

[4] Noe, Nicholas, 2007.Voice of Hezbollah, the statements of Sayyed Nasrallah. Verso. p 394

[5] Patriarch Sfeir is the head of the largest Christian body in Lebanon and plays a major role in the Muslim and Christian communities. Readers will often listen to or read his opinions concerning a particular event.

[6] http://209.157.64.200/focus/f-news/1660915/posts

signify ideological differences, the language used in newspapers can potentially be used to influence and manipulate readers.

In this study, aspects of critical discourse analysis are applied in order to analyse the language and political ideology of each newspaper. The issues analysed include:

1. How did the six Lebanese newspapers under scrutiny treat the opinion of the Patriarch towards the July war between Hezbollah and Israel? Can this event show that newspapers can be used as a case study for examining how print media relates to politics in the event of war?
2. What does the reporting reveal about the ideological attitudes of each newspaper? Are these ideological persuasions overt or are they conveyed only in the discourse used in the reporting?

1.2 RATIONALE

Language is a powerful tool especially when used consciously and deliberately. It can be used in many different ways in order to reinforce and manipulate a message. The print media is a linguistic medium, and one of the most important vehicles for the exchange of ideas. At the same time, the publication of newspapers is considered to be an "industry and a business like any other business that should be profitable" (Fowler, 1991:20). Thus it is important to be aware of the fact that the output of the print media is related "to the need to make a profit; to have external relations with other industries, with financial institutions and with official agencies" (Fowler, 1991:20). All these factors will have an effect on the news published and the representation of that news. Most newspapers are owned by people or companies which are commercial enterprises (Fowler, 1991:121), which means that printed media can be influenced by the owner or by the advertisers in its representation of events, thus potentially compromising its freedom of expression.

1.3 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

As stated above, the aim and the focus of this research is the analysis of the language used in the six Lebanese newspapers. This research seeks to establish if, and to what extent, the ideology behind the text affects the freedom of expression of the

newspaper in question. The objective of the project is not to evaluate the quality of the newspaper reporting in Lebanon, but rather to investigate how language is used to project the ideology of each newspaper. In this study the techniques employed by Lebanese newspapers are analysed to show how the interpretation of the July war by the print media is determined by ideological criteria. Such techniques may take the form of punctuation, choice of terms, use of inverted commas and the capitalisation of a term to attach a certain status to it, and the space reserved for such an event in each newspaper, all of which may be related to the newspaper's ideology.

In different terms, this study examines the macro-structural level of each article in the six different newspapers by evaluating the presentation of the article and its content, studying the over-lexicalisation and omissions and the sequence of quotations.
The micro-structural level covers the analysis of the articles that is carried out using the critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough (1989) and Fowler's approach (1991). In other words, a discourse analysis is completed in order to distinguish the ideology of each newspaper hidden behind the characteristic of the language.
For the headlines, Reah's model (1998) is used analysing the phonology, the visual function and the lexical words of the headline. This research is supplemented by syntactic manipulation in order to study grammatical categories such as *modality*, *transitivity*, *active and passive voice*, *direct and indirect discourse* and *nominalisation*. It outlines the relational values, *lexicalisation* and *relexicalisation*, the *metaphors* and the experiential values in grammatical features based on Fairclough's model.

The study covers the three main languages used by the print media in Lebanon, each of which plays an important role in the country. Arabic is the official language and the majority of the Lebanese population read and speak Arabic. Readers of the French print media differ from the general Arabic readers; therefore the ideology hidden behind these newspapers may be entirely different from the Arabic print media. English is the third language used in the country and has a more limited, select readership.

This study is one of the first academic studies analysing the ideology of newspapers in Lebanon in relation to the language used and the way in which language is used. It is a case study focusing on a specific area outside the African continent, an area which was chosen because it is in the centre of a region which experiences conflict on a regular basis, and is therefore particularly suited to research of this nature.

The Lebanese context is summarised in Chapter 2 which also includes a review of the Lebanese press and the six Lebanese newspapers where the articles have been published. Chapter 3 examines the connection between ideology, language and power in newspapers based on critical discourse analysis. Chapter 4 studies the articles published in the six Lebanese newspapers and analyses the use of language in each article separately. Then chapter 5 draws conclusions derived from the analysis of the articles.

CHAPTER 2: The Lebanese Context and Press[7]

2.1. The Lebanese Context

Lebanon is a Middle Eastern country, with Beirut as its capital. Syria lies to the east and north, and Israel to the south, with the Sea to the west. Lebanon has a heterogeneous society comprising different linguistic and ethnic groups. Arabic is the official language, but many people also speak French and English. The main religious group is Muslim, with a Christian minority. Of the latter, there are several groups, Maronites, Christians, Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics. The majority Muslim group is the Shiite, followed by the Sunnis, whereas the Druze constitutes only a small proportion of the population. The constitution of Modern Lebanon, dating from 1926, provided for a balance of power between these different groups. The constitution provided a parliament, a president and a cabinet. The president is elected, with a parliament headed by a president and a cabinet. The parliament is an elected assembly, with a Shiite speaker. The President of the republic is required to be a Christian (in practice, a Maronite), and the prime minister a Sunni Muslim.

The first Arab-Israeli war took place in 1948. At that time thousands of Palestinians fled to Lebanon, where they have remained as Israel has not permitted them to return home. Since Lebanon has a greater degree of political freedom than other Arab countries, the Palestinians were able to consolidate their existence and created a form of military state within Lebanon. In the subsequent Six-Day War between Israel and other Arab countries in 1967, leaders attempted to keep Lebanon neutral, in order to maintain the economic boom that characterised the 1960s. However, the war resulted in further Palestinian refugees fleeing to Lebanon, creating refugee camps in Lebanon. The Syrian-Palestinian guerrilla Al-Saheka and PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) militia took control of these camps and other areas of Lebanon. From there, with the support of some Muslim groups in Lebanon they mounted a number of raids on Israel. In 1969 an agreement was reached (the 1969 Arab-Cairo agreement) which acknowledged the right of the Palestinian armed forces to be present on

[7] The references used for the History in Lebanon are:
http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon/214450/History#ref=ref386501
and Traboulsi, Fawwaz. 2007. *A History of Modern Lebanon.* London: Pluto Press

Lebanese territory. Before the 1975 war[8] between the Maronite community and the Palestinian militias supported by the Muslim communities, the Shiites were pushed to act as a result of the living conditions and political restrictions of the members of their community. When the 1975 war erupted, the Shiite militia supported the Palestinians against the Christians. The ensuing chaos led to Syrian troops intervening in the fighting and taking control of Lebanon. Attacks from the Palestinian militia against Northern Israel continued, with Syrian support. The effects of Israeli responses to these attacks had a considerable and severe effect on civilians. In June 1982 these responses led to an invasion of Southern Lebanon by the Israelis, who got as far as Beirut. The international community then intervened, with troops from the USA and Western Europe being deployed in the capital. PLO, Syrian and Israeli forces were asked to leave Beirut in terms of an international agreement. This agreement was disrupted in September of the same year when the Lebanese president-elect Bashir Gemayel was assassinated. The next year brought suicide-bomb attacks on the peacekeeping forces, resulting in 300 deaths. Eventually, these forces left Lebanon leaving the country in a state of a 'war society' until 1989, in which there was considerable smuggling of arms and drugs, and the economy experienced high inflation.

In 1988, as the Lebanese parliament could not come to an agreement on a new president, Amine Gemayel, the incumbent Lebanese president acted within the terms of the constitution to appoint the Lebanese Army Commander, General Michel Aoun, as Prime Minister of an interim government. This was despite the fact that the existing Prime Minister, Salim el-Hoss[9], had a claim to the position. Michel Aoun managed to win popular support by giving the Lebanese army control over the militia, working to reorganise governmental departments and attempting to introduce reforms. It was at this time that the Lebanese Government instigated a war of liberation against the Syrian army.

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[8]. This war lasted fifteen years, ending with the Ta'ef agreement.

[9] Salim el Hoss is a Sunni Lebanese politician, a Member of Parliament representing his hometown Beirut. He served as Prime Minister of Lebanon three times, the first time was between 1976 and 1980, then between 1987 and 1990 and his last term was between December 1998 and October 2000.

The Lebanese parliament then met in Ta'ef and agreed on reforms to the constitution. On 5 November 1989, Rene Mouawad was elected as the new president, only to be assassinated on 22 November 1989. The reasons for his assassination have never been identified, but immediately after the assassination Elias Hrawi was elected. The Prime Minister, General Aoun, did not sanction the Ta'ef agreement or the elections, as he was not convinced that Syria would stop interfering in Lebanon. Just under a year later, in October 1990, Syria launched aerial and ground attacks, and managed to occupy the presidential palace and the Ministry of Defence. Aoun was forced into exile.

The Second Republic[10] of Lebanon remained under the influence of Syria and Israel. The existing Syrian status quo led to what became known as the "Ta'ef Agreement" (also known as the National Reconciliation Accord), which was negotiated in Saudi Arabia, and which called for reforms, reconstruction and the disarming of militia groups in Lebanon. However, it did not provide for the withdrawal of Syrian troops. Syria reinforced its presence in Lebanon and occupied the majority of Lebanese territory, including Beirut, the airport, harbours and other major cities. All Lebanese militias were disarmed except for Hezbollah, Amal and the radical Palestinian militias. The intellectual Lebanese community, unhappy at this extensive Syrian involvement, eventually took part in a movement for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 520 which called for Syria to withdraw from Lebanon.

In May 2000, Israel withdrew from South Lebanon in accordance with UN resolution 425. Hezbollah refused to disarm after the Israeli withdrawal, taking over the territory that had been vacated, and the Lebanese army was not able to be active in that area. Voices calling for a Syrian withdrawal increased during this period.

Hezbollah had been formed in response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, and had emerged as a militia to resist the Israeli occupation. Its name means "Party of God", and consists of several thousand Shiite militants, and seeks to create a Muslim fundamentalist state in Lebanon, modelled on Iran (Noe, 2007:4). Its primary aim is

[10] On 21 September 1991, the Lebanese parliament voted for a new constitution to incorporate the new legislation reforms agreed to in the Ta'ef Agreement, which led to the Second Republic of Lebanon.

the destruction of the state of Israel. Their struggle will, according to them, end only with "ending Israel as a state" (Noe, 2007: 63). Between 1982 and 2005, Hezbollah carried out around 200 terrorist attacks that killed many hundreds of people. It also kidnapped a number of westerners, also attacking the US embassy and the French multinational force headquarters. In 1992 they were accused of an attack on the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires and the bombing of a Jewish community centre in Argentina in 1994. Hezbollah won 8 new parliamentary seats in the Lebanese 2005 elections, giving it a total of 23 seats in the 128-member parliament, with some of its members serving as ministers. This "participation represented an opportunity to defend its armed wing against proponents of Resolution 1559 and resist the growing influence of the West in Lebanese affairs, which is regarded as a threat to its interests" (Blandford, 2006:191).

In August 2001, the Lebanese Maronite-Catholic Patriarch Nasrallah Boutros Sfeir promoted reconciliation between the Druze and Christian former militias that had fought against each other during the 1975 war in Lebanon. This reconciliation did not meet with the approval of the Lebanese government, which saw it as a threat to the influence of the Syrian regime in Lebanon. Hundreds of Lebanese opposition activists and leaders were arrested, or abducted and detained without charges. Around a hundred were tried by martial courts and some spent years in jail. Scenes of protests and attacks on protesting Lebanese students came to be known as "Events of August 7th."

Local and international groups continued to apply pressure on the Syrian regime. Although some steps were taken to improve its image, they did not convince either the local groups or international organisations and governments, who could not see that Syria was having any positive influence in Lebanon. Syrian control of Lebanon was particularly obvious when the Syrian government wanted to renew the expired term of the president in Lebanon, Emile Lahoud, who had been elected in 1998[11]. In order to do this they had to get the Lebanese constitution amended, as it previously

[11] Emile Lahoud was the commander-in-chief of the army between 1989 and 1998; he was elected the president of Lebanon in 1998. In 2004, his mandate was extended for an additional three years until 2007.

prohibited the re-election of presidents. Despite opposition from the UN Security Council Resolution 1559 calling for free and fair elections in Lebanon, and for the disbanding of all militias in the country, the Syrian regime succeeded in forcing the Lebanese parliament to extend the presidential term by another three years.

By the end of 2004, many political leaders were united in their opposition to the occupation, including some leaders who had been allies of the Syrian regime, such as prominent Muslim-Sunni leader, Rafik Hariri, and Druze leader, Walid Joumblat. The Lebanese opposition built up a broad Christian-Muslim opposition grouping in order to take part in the elections due to take place in May 2005. However, conflict continued with regard to the UN Resolution, with Syrian, Hezbollah and the radical militias firmly against its implementation. Those Lebanese who supported resolution faced physical and mental persecution as a result. Exiled Premier General Michel Aoun was unable to return to Lebanon as there was a good chance he would be arrested, and Samir Geagea, the leader of the Christian Lebanese Forces had been imprisoned in Lebanon since 1994. A car bomb had almost killed Joumblat's first aide, Marwan Hamade, in October 2004; on February 14, 2004, a second car bomb succeeded in assassinating the former premier, Rafik Hariri[12] and sixteen others in Beirut.

After Hariri's assassination, there was an urgent meeting of the opposition which accused the pro-Syrian government and Syria itself of having orchestrated the assassination. Again there was a call for a Syrian withdrawal, and for the government to step down. On February 18, 2005, the "Independence Peaceful Uprising" was launched, during which Lebanese both inside the country and abroad held mass rallies, which continued until the government acquiesced to the requests on February 28, 2005. A week later the Syrian president announced a Syrian withdrawal, but gave no date, declaring that Resolution 1559 had now been implemented. Partial withdrawals began, but on March 14 a massive demonstration by over a million people brought about what is known as the March 14 Alliance. This alliance was formed by a coalition of various parties in Lebanon, headed by Saad Hariri, the

[12] Rafik Hariri was the Prime Minister of Lebanon from 1992 to 1998 and from 2000 until his resignation in October 2004.

younger son of Rafik Hariri. After the 2005 elections, this alliance formed the dominant group in parliament. At the same time, a pro-Syrian March 8 Alliance had also been formed, named as a result of a mass demonstration in Beirut by pro-Syrian supporters. Hezbollah is the main party in this coalition; its Secretary General, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, apologised for the "insults heaped on Syria" and said: "You are present in the souls, in the hearts, in the minds, in the past, in the present and future, and no one can drive out Syria from Lebanon, or Lebanon's mind, or Lebanon's heart or Lebanon's future" (Blandford, 2006:160).

Nevertheless, by the end of March 2005, the Syrian government started pulling out their troops and removed its intelligence stations in Beirut and north Lebanon. However, even as these withdrawals were being celebrated by the Lebanese people, a number of bombs exploded around the country. Once more, the Syrian regime was held responsible for these attacks and any others threatening the safety of civilians.

On April 7 2005, the United Nations Security Council ordered an international investigation into Hariri's assassination in Resolution 1595. Under increasing pressure, Syria agreed on a final date of April 30 2005 to leave Lebanon, an agreement which they kept. The violence continued, however, with the slaying of Samir Kassir (2 June 2005), George Haoui (21 June 2005), Gebran Tueni (12 December 2005), Pierre Gemayel (21 November 2006) and many more members of the March 14 Alliance. The Lebanese authorities were "unable to catch the killers, despite technical assistance from European and US law enforcement agencies, but they did discover several arms caches, which not only suggested that the acts of violence resulted from a pre-planned and systematic campaign of terror, but also tellingly pointed to the involvement of individuals and groups associated with Lahoud and the Syrian regime" (Blandford, 2006:176).

Hezbollah continued its activities and in July 2006, mounted a surprise raid on a border post in northern Israel, killing three Israeli soldiers, wounding two and taking two captives to Lebanon. Another five Israeli soldiers died in a failed rescue attempt. The Israelis countered by launching air strikes and artillery fire, causing the destruction of Lebanese civilian infrastructure. *Associated Press* reported that "more than one thousand Lebanese civilians and combatants died during the summer war

between Israel's army and Hezbollah guerrillas" and estimated that the war displaced around 974,184 Lebanese (Noe, 2007:378). The United Nations Security Council approved Resolution 1701 which called for Hezbollah to be disarmed, for Israel to withdraw from Lebanon, and for Lebanese soldiers to be deployed together with an enlarged United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in Southern Lebanon.

The Maronite Patriarch, Patriarch of Antioch and the entire East, Cardinal Nasrallah Boutros Sfeir, had been a major critic of Syria, and had frequently requested the withdrawal of the Syrian army. He had also opposed the extension of President Lahoud's mandate under Syrian pressure in 2004. Moreover, he indirectly blamed Hezbollah for provoking the 2006 war. In an interview held in September 2006, he responded to questions put to him by a number of journalists in an interview. The day following the interview newspapers in Lebanon published the story, including many of the Patriarch's comments. These articles are those analysed in this study.

2.2. The Lebanese Press

The press and the media have a long tradition of more than 150 years in Lebanon. The first newspaper, "*Hadikat Al-Akhbar*" (The Garden of News), was published in Lebanon in 1858 under the management of Khalil El-Khouri. Three more papers debuted in 1860: "*Nafeer Souria*" (The Call of Syria) published by Butrus Al-Bustani in Lebanon, "*Aj-Jawa'ib*" (The Travelling News) published in Istanbul, and "*Barid Paris*" (Paris Mail) published in France. The Ottoman Empire persecuted journalists in Lebanon. Those that went into exile in Egypt established some of that country's major papers such as "*Al-Ahram*" and "*Al-Musawar*". Subsequent French rule brought with it even more oppressive press laws but the Lebanese press proved resilient. Publications had expanded to 271 papers by 1929 and most were pushing for national independence from foreign powers[13] .

Unfortunately, the first national Lebanese government to take power after independence implemented even more draconian press laws than the French. Again, the press held its ground and in 1952 a popular revolt against the government resulted

[13] http://www.pressreference.com/Ky-Ma/Lebanon.html

in moderated press laws. Legislation guaranteeing press freedom followed in 1962. Further challenges to the press ensued during the civil war of 1975-1991. At the return of peace in 1991, the Lebanese press comprised 105 licensed political publications: 53 dailies, 48 weeklies, and 4 monthly magazines. In addition, more than 300 non-political publications were in circulation. The Lebanese press was strong, irrepressible and constantly growing.

In a country where the average GDP was US$ 5000 and unemployment was at 18%, the most respected publications could command up to US$ 1.32. A high price considering that buying a daily six days a week adds up to about US$ 29 monthly, while subscribing to satellite television costs around US$10[14].

At the peak of the civil conflict, many publications folded. But even then 24 newspapers and other periodicals were still in regular circulation. Once the fighting abated, these were joined by others' rapid return to business. This bounce-back was possible because many papers were privately owned either by individuals or publishing houses. Nevertheless, profit margins were narrow and it was said that "while the Lebanese press may be healthy it is definitely not wealthy"[15].

The government moratorium on the issuing of new licences means that aspiring publishers must acquire an existing title. The resulting demand-driven market has caused the price of newspaper publishing licenses to skyrocket. Establishing a new title is consequently prohibitive for all but publishing houses – especially considering the small profit margin. A licence for a weekly can easily command roughly US$300,000-400,000, while the price for a daily is at least twice that. This government mandated financial barrier is strangling press freedom in Lebanon. The situation is compounded by the fact that most advertising dollars come from foreign corporations rather than local merchants who expect a certain spin to be put on stories in return for their support.

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[14] http://www.pressreference.com/Ky-Ma/Lebanon.html
[15] http://www.pressreference.com/Ky-Ma/Lebanon.html.

2.3 Press Laws

In line with media legislature in other Arab states, Lebanon's 1962 Press Law prohibits the publication of anything that "endangers national security, national unity, or state frontiers, or that insults high-ranking Lebanese officials or a foreign head of state". Article Nine defines journalism as "the free profession of publishing news publications" and describes a journalist as anyone whose main profession and income are from journalistic activities. The 1962 law also requires that Lebanese journalists are at least 21 years of age, hold a baccalaureate (the academic qualification required to pursue university studies) and have completed a four-year apprenticeship in the industry. The industry is further regulated by the Higher Press Council and other committees which decide on matters concerning journalists – including provisions for retirement[16].

Although the 1962 Press Law was rarely enforced in the period leading up to and during the 1975-1991 civil war, the government took a more active stance on compliance after 1991. Government's attempts to crack down by detaining and fining members of the press in 1994 failed in the face of significant opposition. Fines and other penalties, however, remain a notable curb on press freedom.

[16] http://www.humanrightslebanon.org/arabic/CulturalRights.html

2.4 Censorship

While the media is freer in Lebanon than in other countries in the region, the press still faces political and judicial obstacles. In principle, the Ministry of Information has the power to control and censor press and media materials. This legitimises the state's arbitrary prosecution of journalists who speak out against authorities. Because it is the government that decides on what constitutes criticism and what penalties should incur, the press cannot be considered free under such laws, which contravene the liberties enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers" (Article 19)[17]. Doubts about the independence of the Lebanese judiciary mean that self-censorship remains rife.

Although Lebanese print media are not affiliated with the government, their reports are often indicative of their local and foreign financiers' interests. Unflattering coverage of the head of state or foreign leaders is banned under "insult" laws and foreign print media is subject to government approval. Coercion of individual members of the press includes the case of a Lebanese-American journalist charged with "dealing with the enemy" after attending a Washington seminar at which an Israeli was also present. Her passport was cancelled and she was threatened with a jail term. A group of journalists covering an anti-Syria protest were assaulted by security agents. Legal action has been instituted for "defaming the army" and beatings meted out to photographers covering protests. December 2002 saw two journalists facing the death penalty for "contacts with the Israeli enemy"[18].

Political events in 2005, including the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik Hariri in February encouraged Lebanese media to challenge restrictions on censuring top leaders and the 1991 security agreement prohibiting any media activity critical of Syria. The media was instrumental in mobilising both pro- and anti-Syrian demonstrations, which accelerated the Syrian withdrawal. This loosening of the

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[17] http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=350&ana_page=94&year=2002
[18] www.freedomhouse.org

restraints proved temporary and was followed by new shows of force: in June 2005, a car bomb ended the life of anti-Syrian *An-Nahar* columnist Samir Qassir. A similar fate was planned for May Chidiac, a presenter of a political talk show vociferously opposed to Syrian involvement in Lebanon. She survived the explosion but lost an arm and a leg. Author of a book on Hariri, Ali Ramez Tohme was also fortunate enough to escape a hit.

2.5. The Lebanese Newspapers

The six Lebanese newspapers used in the study are summarised as follow:

1. An-Nahar (The Day)

Established in 1933 by Gebran Tueni, *An-Nahar* is a leading daily newspaper with a wide circulation and broad appeal in the Arab world. Due to its high journalistic standards, *An-Nahar* is considered a newspaper of record. Editorially it is an independent, moderate right-of-centre paper, claiming to represent the Greek Orthodox community. The paper has assumed the role of watchdog for public rights and is a quality source of professional reporting on conflicting views thanks to influential editors who are not beholden to the proprietor's opinions[19]. *An-Nahar* is banned in Syria because of its strong stance against the Syrian occupation of Lebanon. The founder's grandson Gebran Tueni Junior who took over editorial duties from his father later won a seat in parliament in 2005 but was assassinated on 12 December of the same year in a car-bomb explosion.

2. Al-Akhbar (The News)

Al-Akhbar is a leftist daily Lebanese newspaper. A new version came into being in 2006 during the Israeli war against Lebanon. Its affiliations with Hezbollah and Iran mean criticism of the latter is often suppressed. Censure is however frequently directed at the regimes of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. A large number of writers contribute to leading national and Arab newspapers.

In August 2009, the newspaper signed a partnership with the Arabic version of *Le Monde Diplomatique* which is an international newspaper printed in 25 languages.

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[19] www.pressreference.com/Ky-Ma/Lebanon.html

3. The Daily Star

Founded in June 1952, *The Daily Star* circulated initially in Lebanon and then rapidly spread to cover most of the Arab world. Founder Kamal Mrowa's vision extended beyond the publishing news for the Arabic world to introducing the region to non-Arabic readers. *The Daily Star* was the leading English language newspaper in the Middle East throughout the 60s. The outbreak of the 1975 war forced this newspaper to suspend publication. In November 1983, the Mrowa's grandsons re-launched the newspaper but it suffered a devastating blow when war broke out again in 1984. In 1996 the newspaper started its presses this time using state-of-the-art technology – the first of its kind in the Middle East. *The Daily Star* signed an exclusive marketing representation, printing and distribution agreement with the *International Herald Tribune* in 2000. Under this agreement *The Daily Star* represents the IHT in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Yemen and Iraq.

4. L'Orient Le Jour

This newspaper was established on 1 September 1970 as an independent daily newspaper in French. It covers local political issues as well as Arab and international affairs, sports, culture, economics, finance and other fields such as cinema, television, etc. *L'Orient Le Jour* is the only French language daily in Lebanon and in the Middle East (excluding Egypt). In terms of commercial publicity and distribution, it ranks third place among local newspapers. Lebanese readers respect it for its credibility, objectivity and independence.

5. Monday Morning Magazine

This is a Lebanon-based English weekly magazine. It is owned by "*dar alf leila wa leila*"[20] (the house of a thousand and one nights), one of the principal publishing houses in the Arab world. Issues are sold worldwide and are not prohibited anywhere. Its popularity is due to the fact that it places great emphasis on political matters. Head

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[20] *Dar Alf Leila wa Leila* is the principal publishing house in the Arab world, the only one to issue publications in Arabic, French, and English

of the Lebanese Journalists' Syndicate Melhem Karam was editor-in-chief until he died in May 2010[21] .

6. La Revue Du Liban

French weekly *La Revue du Liban* was first published in 1928 and celebrated 80 years of business in 1998. It is distributed in more than 30 countries including France and Tunisia and was one of the first publications to go online in 1996. Mr. Melhem Karam was also editor-in-chief since *La Revue du Liban* is also part of the "*Dar Alf Leila wa Leila*" (the house of a thousand and one nights) portfolio.

2.6 The Event

On Thursday 14 September 2006, Patriarch Cardinal Sfeir met with the head of the Lebanese Journalists' Syndicate Mr. Melhem Karam, who was accompanied by a delegation of the Executive Association Council. During this visit, a dialogue started between the Patriarch and the delegation about the situation in Lebanon, in particular the post-July-2006-war conditions. The following day, all newspapers published this event in Arabic, French and English.

Who is Mar Nasrallah Boutros Sfeir?

Born in Rayfoun, a village in Kesrouan, Mount of Lebanon on 15 May 1920, Cardinal Mar Nasrallah Boutros Sfeir is the Patriarch of Lebanon's largest Christian body. He was elected Patriarch of Antioch for the Maronites and entire Levant on 27 April 1987. Pope John Paul II made him a cardinal on 26 November 1994. Sfeir is fluent in several languages including Syriac, Aramaic, French, Italian, Latin and English as well as his native Arabic in which he is competent in both classical and Lebanese dialects. Sfeir stayed out of politics during the first few years of his tenure as Patriarch but by 1989 that had changed.

The cardinal found himself both within the Syrian camp and outside it. He did not support Syria's role against General Michel Aoun, and in the spring of 1989, when Aoun launched a campaign to achieve control of militia-dominated areas, 23 Christian

[21] www.rdl.com.lb/always/dalwl/Dalwl1/profile.htm.

deputies of parliament met at the seat of the Maronite Church in Bkerke, under the auspices of Sfeir and called for a cease-fire. He backed the Ta'ef Agreement and the Syrian mandate over Lebanon to end the civil war. He declared that Aoun's refusal to accept the Ta'ef Agreement was illegal and unconstitutional. After the 2000 elections, the Maronite Council of Bishops issued a statement requesting that Syria recognize "the historical and geographical links between the two countries and the bonds of kinship, friendship and mutual interests between their two peoples"[22].

Bkerke declared that relations between Syria and Lebanon must be based on reciprocal respect for each other's sovereignty and independence. In this spirit, it called for Syria to begin a phased withdrawal of its troops from Lebanon. The statement sent shock waves through the Lebanese and Syrian political establishments. After the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, Syrian troops withdrew from Lebanon and the Patriarch advocated good political relations between the two countries. In July 2006, however, he accused Syria's secret services of remaining in Lebanon despite its army's departure. And during his visit to the United States over the same period, he reiterated his belief regarding Hezbollah's refusal to disarm that when some movements possess arms and others do not, there is "a situation of inequality that is contrary to the constitution"[23].

[22] http://www.meib.org/articles/0010_ldoc0920.htm.
[23] http://209.157.64.200/focus/f-news/1660915/posts.

In conclusion and at the time of the event, Lebanon was divided politically in two camps: the 14 March Alliance is a coalition composed of various political parties led by Saad Hariri, the son of late Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. This alliance formed the dominant group in parliament. The opposition is the 8 March Alliance, led by Hezbollah and backed by Syria and Iran. General Aoun, the leader of the Free Patriotic Movement, left the 14 March Alliance before the 2005 parliament elections and became part of the 8 March Alliance.

In July 2006, Israel launched the July war against Lebanon due to Hezbollah's activities mounting a surprise raid in the north of Israel, killing three Israeli soldiers and captivating two to Lebanon.
The Maronite Patriarch, Cardinal Nasrallah Boutros Sfeir, opposed the Syrian and Iranian interferences in the Lebanese matters and indirectly blamed Hezbollah for the July war during this interview with a number of Lebanese journalists when they visited him in September 2006.

Chapter 4 examines the differences of the language used in the six political newspapers when reporting the event while the next chapter sets out the methodological and theoretical framework of the study**.** Firstly, it provides the methodology to be used to determine and analyse the linguistic relations between language and ideology in the printed media, using the theory of Fowler. Secondly, the chapter determines and analyses the critical discourse analysis using Fairclough theories supplemented by Reah, in order to analyze grammatical categories such as modality, transitivity and headlines.

CHAPTER 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Language and ideology

This research seeks to examine and interpret differences and distinctions in language use in six political newspapers published in Lebanon. In recent years, there has been a substantial increase in the literature on the relationship between politics and mass media, mainly in discrete topic areas such as the impact of mass media on ideologies, economies and the transformation of politics as well as citizens' attitudes. This study compares and contrasts the role played by the media according to differences in cultural and political ideologies, starting out from the premise that linguistic choices in texts can carry ideological meaning.

Ideologies are closely linked to power and domination, and they are located in language. News is a representation of the world in language that is considered to be neutral and a mediator. Everything that is said or written is articulated from a particular ideological position:

> … there are always a different ways of saying the same thing and they are not random, accidental alternatives. Differences in expression carry ideological distinctions and thus differences in representation (Fowler 1991:4).

The press should ideally provide a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events presented in a context which gives them meaning. As newspapers are also carriers of public expression, the press should provide opportunities for comments and criticism. Newspapers have a responsibility to inform and enable people to make judgments about topical issues. That is why it is very important to have a press free of vested interests in order to allow readers to form their own opinions (Gerbner, 1977:79). Truth and accuracy are essential and impartiality is also important because the news reports should be separated from the writer's own opinion.

The press is more than a business; it has a duty to the public as a major source of information on the main issues of the day. The wishes of the readers also need to be

taken in to account. Newspapers should avoid bias, which is evident when there is a deliberate suppression or omission of important events or facts. Exaggerated and highly coloured presentations of facts can have a powerful influence over readers.

Language is a powerful tool which can be used to manipulate people. There are always different ways to say the same thing and differences in ideology may result in differences in expression. For that reason we find that newspapers often try to catch the interest of the readers by using journalistic techniques such as bold letters, pictures, and big headlines.

For the majority of people, reading the daily newspaper whether in print or online con stitutes their most substantial and significant consumption of printed discourse. For most, it is second only to television as a window on the world. These factors of quantity and of habit provide newspaper discourse with major ideological importance. (Fowler, 1991:121)

As a commodity the press is generally reliant on advertising, which often has a negative impact. Advertisers push for different editorial content to readers, and their demands can alienate readers. There is a belief that the press should provide editorial content of interest to the reader and not at the behest of advertisers whose influence is regarded as corrupt. The main source of revenue for newspapers comes from selling space to advertisers rather than newspapers to readers. In seeking to present their products in the most positive light, advertisers have a major influence on the content of newspapers. Publishers do not want the public or the reader to know that the substantial financial contribution advertisers make gives them a say over content. It may seem that the main economic purpose of newspapers is selling advertising space. That is the reason that it is essential for the press to have its own economic freedom, at least to some extent.

News is very important in daily life, and most of the knowledge of political developments worldwide originates in the newspapers' daily reports. Nevertheless, journalism is probably the domain most often accused of manipulating language. Obscuring the facts with linguistic and stylistic techniques is one of the methods that

can be used for not telling the whole truth, for manipulating or presenting false information.

In doing this, different choices are used to evoke different reactions from the reader. Style is the textual result of choices between different ways of saying more or less the same thing by using different words or different syntactic devices or structures. The study of news reports in the press is one of the major tasks of discourse-analytical media research. Linguists analyse how language can indicate underlying ideologies. Articles in newspapers can be interpreted and reshaped in different ways: "They can be summed up, simplified, polarised, intensified and personified. A transformation of the original account of the event in question is presented to the reader in such a way that it may affect his/her view of the world" (Nordlund, 2003:8).

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

It is regarded as impossible to maintain objectivity when the press is not economically free. According to Fowler, "the world of the press is not the real world, but a world skewed and judged" (1991:11). The exercise of power in our modern world is increasingly achieved through the ideological use of language.

This case study is grounded in Fowler's *Language in the News* (1991) and the study of the texts is carried out using the approach to language that is adopted in Fairclough's *Language and Power* which is called 'critical language study' or CLS for short:

> CLS analyses the social interactions in a way which focuses upon their linguistic elements and which sets out to show up their generally hidden determinants in the system of social relationships, as well as hidden effects they may have upon that system." (Fairclough, 1989:5)

What is the connection between language, ideology and power and how can it be examined by using a combination of CLS and critical discourse analysis? To examine this question Fairclough, in *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995) emphasises the relationship between text and language, genre and orders of discourse, society and culture:

> A range of properties of texts is regarded as potentially ideological, including features of vocabulary and metaphors, grammar, presuppositions and implicature, politeness conventions, speech-exchange, systems, generic structure and style. (Fairclough, 1995:2)

Fairclough sees critical discourse analysis as integrating text analysis, the analysis of processes of text production, consumption and distribution, and sociocultural analysis of the discursive event as a whole. According to Fairclough, social institutions contain different 'ideological-discursive formations' (IDFs) associated with different groups within an institution. Only one IDF can dominate and form a kind of 'speech community' with its own discourse norms but also embedded within and symbolised by its own 'ideological norms' (Fairclough, 1995:27).

This study is based on examining the articles in the six different newspapers by evaluating, for example, the transitivity of the sentences, and the active and passive voice used in the articles. Fowler "identifies a variety of grammatical means for conveying modal commitments, amongst which are included modal auxiliaries, modal adverbs (or sentence adverb), evaluative adjectives, generic sentences and verbs of knowledge" (1991:80). Nominalisation, according to Fowler, often permits "habits of concealment, particularly in the areas of power relations and writers' attitudes" (1991:80). Permutation, initialisation, innuendo and utterance context are analysed in the articles as well as metaphors and lexico-semantic manipulation (Nordlund, 2003:8). The transitivity system is relevant to critical discourse analysis because it helps in identifying the different ways meaning is represented in the clause.

3.3. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Discourse analysis is an active and dynamic discipline and it is to be applied in this research by selecting and collecting data and by analysing this data in accordance with its principles. Spoken or written discourse occurs in particular in social and political settings and is used and understood in different ways, in different social and cultural settings. This is especially important in the media.

Discourse analysis is a disciplinary approach to the study of discourse which views "language as a form of social practice" (Fairclough, 1989:20) and focuses on the ways in which social and political domination is reproduced by text and talk.

Discourses affect our views on all things. Fairclough's framework for discourse analysis situates discourse in a broader context of social relations. This framework brings together text analysis, the analysis of processes of text production and interpretation, and the social analysis of discourse events (Fairclough, 1992). He articulates a three-dimensional framework for studying discourse, "where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice" (Fairclough, 1995: 2). This makes it an appropriate tool for the analysis to be carried out here.

Fairclough considers that discourse is used to refer to written or spoken language use. He aims to "investigate it in a social-theoretically informed way, as a form of social practice" (Fairclough, 1995: 131). He considers text analysis as "being just one part of discourse analysis. Discourse, according to him, "involves social conditions which can be specified as social conditions of production and social conditions of interpretation" (Fairclough, 1989:25). The norms and values that motivate texts are often 'out of sight' rather than obviously and clearly stated. So the critical approach to discourse analysis aims to help reveal some of the hidden and 'often out of sight' values and positions, as discourses are "always socially, politically, racially and economically loaded" (Rogers, 2004:6).

Critical discourse analysis examines the use of discourse in relation to social and cultural issues and asks why the discourse is used in a particular way and what the implications are of this kind of use. Critical discourse analysis explores the connection between the use of language and the social and political contexts in which it occurs. It explores issues such as gender, ethnicity, cultural differences, and ideology and identifies how these are both constructed and reflected in texts. Critical discourse analysis considers 'language use which is always social and … both reflects and constructs the social world (Rogers, 2004:5). Thus this piece of research draws on approaches set out by Fowler, Halliday and Fairclough, and uses the elements set out below as a framework for analysis.

1. Headlines

The position of an article in a newspaper is based on the importance of the event and its structure also reflects a hierarchy of importance: the headline and the first paragraph are considered the gist or the most important parts. This study focuses on analysing the vocabulary and words used in headlines, the attention that they receive and their effectiveness. The analysis of headlines in this study is based on Reah's approach (1984). A reader can skim the headlines and have an outline of the news of the day and some idea of its relative impact and importance (Reah, 1998:14). Headlines limit the freedom of the writer through space, layout and size restrictions. The aim of the headline is to attract the reader's attention using a minimum number of words. Reah (1998) focuses on the words used in headlines and their meaning; intertextuality is important considering that 'any culture will have a range of familiar phrases and sayings'. Reah also studies the phonology, as a "special way of making a headline memorable is to use the reader's awareness of sound" (Reah, 1998:18). Words used may carry "particularly strong connotations that carry an emotional loading beyond their literal meaning" (Reah, 1998:18). Lexical words are more useful in headlines than grammatical words which may cause ambiguity in some cases. Headlines also have a visual function. A headline can sometimes occupy more space than the article itself, such as when the printing is larger and bold.

2. Syntactic Manipulation

Differences between discourse types are ideologically significant. A speaker expresses evaluations through drawing on classification schemes, which are in part systems of evaluation, and there are ideologically contrastive schemes embodying different values in different discourse types (Fairclough, 1989:119).

2.1 Modality

It is important to stress the contribution of modality, which "establishes the degree of authority of an utterance" (Kress & Hodge 1979:122). It refers to different ways of expressing attitudes such as *can, could, may, might, must, should, shall, would, will,* etc. By using these forms Reah claims that the use of modal auxiliary verbs and the choice of specific adverbs allow the newspaper to present opinions and speculations

that might be interpreted as actual facts by the readers. Modal verbs carry a range of meanings and it is a mistake to try to identify a fixed one-to-one relationship between verb and meaning; context is vital to meaning (Reah, 1998:91).

2.2 Transitivity

Fowler, Fairclough, Reah, Simpson and Halliday all stress the relevance of transitivity for critical discourse analysis because it assists in identifying the different nuances of meaning represented in the clause. Simpson emphasizes that "transitivity refers generally to how meaning is represented in the clause; it shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them" (1993:88).

Roger Fowler, referring to Halliday, describes transitivity as being the foundation of representation: it is the way the clause is used to analyse events and situations as being of certain types. And transitivity has the facility to analyse the same event in different ways, a facility which is of course of great interest in newspaper analysis (Fowler 1991:71).

Reah approaches the process differently in a more clarified transactive structure of the verb system. She divides verbs into two kinds: the actional verb and the relational. Actional verbs can be divided into transactive verbs that have an agent causing the action and a recipient affected by the action. Non-transactive verbs involve the agent only (Reah, 1998:78). Transitivity is the process of transforming sentences from active to passive structures.

2.3 Active and Passive Voice

The active or passive voice plays a major part in determining the role of the participant in an action. The role of a participant may be emphasised, minimised or omitted entirely" (Nordlund, 2003:9). The active voice is used when the writer wishes to focus on the agent. The passive voice creates a different effect; the agent becomes less prominent and the person or thing affected by the action is the focus. "Passive is a common structure in headlines, it saves space, it is chosen not only for brevity but also because of the official or bureaucratic nature of the events referred to" (Fowler,

1991:79). In newspapers, the actor may be deleted because "the paper is able to imply illegal conduct without actually making an accusation that could leave them vulnerable to legal action" (Reah, 1988:88). Another reason for deleting the actor "may be due to the fact that the actor actually is unknown" (Nordlund, 2003:100).

2.4 Nominalisation

The study of the articles in the Lebanese press also focuses on the process of nominalisation, which Fairclough considers as ideologically motivated. A nominalisation is a "process converted into noun. It is reduced in the sense that some meaning is missing" (Fairclough, 1989:124). Nominalisation is used to delete information from a sentence and is the process of exchanging a verb for a simple noun or phrase noun. Fowler claims that nominalisation permits "habits of concealment, particularly in the areas of power relations and writer attitudes" (Fowler, 1991:80).

3. Relational Values

Fairclough describes relational value as the way "a text's choice of wordings depends on, and helps create, social relationships between participants" (1989:116). A relational verb describes the relationship between someone and something or indicates quality between two nouns (Reah, 1998:78). Halliday says that "there are two parts to the 'being': something is being said to 'be' something else. In other words, a relation is being set up between two separate entities" (Halliday, 1995:119).

The level of formality of a text forms part of these relational values. According to Fairclough:

> One property of vocabulary which has to do with relational values is formality. … the formality of the situation demands formality of social relations, and this is evident in the vocabulary, which consistently opts for more formal choices as against less formal available alternatives, expressing politeness, concern from participants for each other's face, respect for status and positions. (Fairclough, 1989:117-118)

Fairclough (1989) focuses on three grammatical features of texts: the modes of sentence, modality and pronouns. He further focuses on three modes of sentence: the declarative mode, the grammatical question and the imperative mode.

The declarative mode of sentence is generally when there is a S followed by a V. The imperative mode is when the sentence does not have a S at all and starts with a V, for example: eat (V) your food (O). Fairclough notes that "Grammatical questions are more complicated because there are different types: first types begin with who? what? when? where? why? how? which?… the second type begins with a verb – can you assist me with my homework? And which often gets a yes or no answer" (Fairclough, 1989:125-126). The imperative mode is "when the speaker/writer is in the position of asking something of the addressee, while the addressee is a compliant actor in the position of a provider of information" (Fairclough, 1989:126).

4. Metaphors

Metaphor is a way of "representing one aspect of experience in terms of another, and is by no means restricted to the sort of discourse it tends to be stereotypically associated with… it is the relations between alternative metaphors which have different ideological attachments" (Fairclough, 1989:119). Newspapers use metaphors to make their texts more interesting and rich, and to inspire certain feelings in readers.

5. Experiential Values in Grammatical Features

Experiential value is "how ideological differences between texts in their representation of the world are coded in their vocabulary" (Fairclough, 1989:113). The most significant indication of ideology in a text is the wording or the vocabulary. For example "some words are ideologically contested" (Fairclough, 1989:114). Classification schemes may differ quantitatively, with a larger or smaller number of words. Sometimes over-wording – an unusually high degree of wording, often involving many words, which are near synonyms – is obvious in an article. Such over-wording shows a preoccupation with some aspect of reality – which may indicate that it is the focus of ideological struggle (Fairclough, 1989:115).

One way to detect the relational values of words is "to identify meaning relations in texts, and try and specify their ideological bases" (Fairclough, 1989:116). The meaning relations may be synonyms where words have the same meanings or code the same idea or hyponyms where the meaning of one word is included within the

meaning of another word, and antonyms, which indicate that the meaning of one word is incompatible with the meaning of another (Fairclough, 1989:116).

6. Sentence Links

The cohesion of a text is reflected in the links between clauses and sentences. Cohesive devices include the repetition of words or the use of related words. They may also involve connectors, which mark the relationship between sentences or clauses. "The grammatical cohesion identified in texts allows the ideological approaches of the texts to develop coherently" (Reah, 1998:102). Fairclough says that complex sentences are characterised by a coordination link where the "component simple sentences have equal weight", while a subordination link exists when there is "a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses". The main clause is often the more important and the complex clause may be presupposed, which means that it is already known by the reader. Fairclough notes that the link between sentences also involves reference – words which refer back to a previous sentence or idea, or concept, or to a future one, such as pronouns (it, she, he, this, that, the), (Fairclough, 1989:130).

In this research, the discourse used in each newspaper is analysed and criticised relying on Halliday, Fowler, Nordlund, Thompson, Fairclough and Reah, as outlined above. The next chapter presents the analyses of each of the articles.

Chapter 4: Analysis of the Six Articles

4.1. Analysis of the French Articles (see Appendix A)

4.1.2 Analysis of *La Revue du Liban* – Edition No. 4072 from 23 to 30 September 2006 – Weekly French Magazine (see Appendix A)

As described in chapter 2, *La Revue du Liban* is a weekly French magazine that is distributed in more than 30 countries. At the beginning of the article, Mr. Melhem Karam, who represented the Lebanese Journalists' Syndicate at their meeting with Patriarch Sfeir, is quoted directly, speaking in a very reverent manner, revealing his respectful attitude towards the Patriarch. Mr. Karam was the editor-in-chief of the magazine until he died on 22 May 2010, and this may be the reason for him being quoted extensively in the article. The second section consists of direct and indirect quotations from the Patriarch himself.

This analysis first examines how the event is represented at the macro-structural level by means of an evaluation of the presentation of the article, the content and lexicalisation of the article and the sequence of quotations.

Presentation of the Article

A colour photograph is inserted at the beginning of the article showing Mr. Karam and the journalists standing in a semi-circle around the Patriarch inside Bkerke, the official residence of the Maronite Patriarch of Antioch and the entire East. This photograph adds importance to the meaning of the event. The journalists are all male, smartly dressed, standing in a semi circle with the Patriarch in the middle. The photograph emphasises the respect shown by the journalists to both the Patriarch and the location. The caption beneath describes the photograph as being of "His Excellency the Cardinal Sfeir and Mr. Melhem Karam surrounded by the Council of the Journalists' Association." This sentence is nominal without any verb and includes the name of Mr. Karam since he was the editor-in-chief of *La Revue du Liban*. Modifiers are added highlighting the importance of the person such as "His

Excellency the Cardinal Nasrallah Sfeir" and indicate the respect shown to the Patriarch.

Over-lexicalisation and Omissions

The whole article in *La Revue du Liban* consists of 930 words. Much of the dialogue, which took place between the Patriarch and the journalists, which is included in other articles analysed, is omitted. The article is divided into three sections with two sub-headings written in bold letters. The article starts with a full paragraph (180 words) quoting Mr. Karam's speech. It is evident that in this magazine Mr. Karam is an important personality as he was the editor-in-chief of the magazine at the time.

In the second section the focus moves to the Cardinal and first records the Cardinal's expression of thanks to Mr Karam, again indicating the mutual respect between the two men:
Le cardinal Sfeir a remercié M. Karam des sentiments qu'il a exprimés à son égard.
(Cardinal Sfeir thanked Mr. Karam for the feelings he expressed).

This article omits to mention the Patriarch's concern about the lack of a Christian bloc in the country. The Patriarch's reservations about a "political vacuum" are also omitted in this article, and there is no reference to people who had left their homes or to the need for reconciliation between the Christians.

Sequence of Quotations

As noted above, Mr. Karam is directly quoted in this article, in contrast with the other articles examined. The emphasis here is on the trust and confidence of the journalists in the person of the Patriarch and in this religious place which has long been a place for seeking peace and dialogue.
Bkerké a toujours été le 'rocher de l'éveil libanais' ...C'étaient des paroles pondérées, franches et aimantes..." Nous revenons aujourd'hui aux sources, au Patriarche Sfeir, pour lui demander de prononcer les paroles susceptible de sauver le Liban des germes de la zizanie.
(Bkerke has always been the "rock of the Lebanese awakening"... His words were considered, honest and loving"... We return today to the source, to Patriarch Sfeir, to

ask him to pronounce the words which might save Lebanon from the seeds of discord.)

The Patriarch thanked Mr. Karam for the feelings he voiced about him:
Le cardinal Sfeir a, tout d'abord, remercié M. Karam des sentiments qu'il a exprimés à son égard, avant d'aborder les problèmes de l'heure.
(Cardinal Sfeir thanked Mr. Karam for the feelings he expressed before turning to the issues of the day.)

The journalist quotes the Patriarch's opinion about the free press in Lebanon at the beginning and not at the end of the article, highlighting this information and presenting it as important. Should it be positioned at the end of the article, it would become less noticeable and therefore carry less weight. Mentioning the Patriarch's opinion about the free press in Lebanon at the beginning emphasises the ideology of the newspaper which encourages the freedom of speech in the country.

The analysis now moves to an analysis of features on the micro-level, such as the use of headlines, vocabulary, lexicalisation, transitivity, and modality.

Headline Extract 1
EN RECEVANT LE CONSEIL DE L'ORDRE DES JOURNALISTES
MGR SFEIR : « ISRAËL EST L'ENNEMI ET LE LIBAN SERA
LE DERNIER ETAT ARABE À CONCLURE LA PAIX AVEC TEL-AVIV »
(On receiving the Council of the Journalists' Association, Monsignor Sfeir:
'Israel is the enemy and Lebanon will be the last Arabic state to conclude peace with Tel-Aviv')

Headline Extract 1 Analysis
The headline begins with the clause *En recevant le conseil de l'ordre des journalistes* (on receiving the Council of the Journalists' Association) which qualifies the importance of the group received by the Patriarch, representing the journalists and emphasising the importance of this group of persons. *En recevant* (on receiving)

shows a situation indicating the relationship between the Patriarch and those to whom he is giving an audience.

The first clause of the second sentence begins with the name of a well-known personality with the modifier *Mgr* accentuating the importance of this religious Christian personality. Sfeir is quoted in a direct form in inverted commas making his words more significant for the reader.

Israel est l'ennemi (Israel is the enemy) is a statement in which the subject is Israel, and the verb *être* (to be) indicates that the process is relational. This statement concerns the relationship between the two countries; the meaning is evocative because the word *ennemi* (enemy) stresses the hidden significance of a war between the two countries and the attitude of the Patriarch.

The additive conjunction *et* (and) maintains the sequence of information, which is logically connected. The third clause of the second sentence expresses a predicate using the verb *sera* (will be), in which the Patriarch predicts that in the future Lebanon will be the last Arabic country to make peace with Israel. This clause has a strong insinuation highlighting the word *dernier* (last) which means that Lebanon will be the very last country to have a positive approach towards Israel.
The lexical choice of antonyms used in the headline *ennemi* and *paix* (enemy and peace) carries contradictory feelings. The use of the word *ennemi* (enemy) may function as a qualifier of the statement and it is the intention of the narrator to impart a negative association, reminding the reader that Israel is (statement) and will be (predicament) the enemy of Lebanon. This headline shows the negative attitude of the Patriarch towards Israel, accentuating the alliance and affiliation of Lebanon with other Arab states.

The font of the first headline published in *La Revue du Liban* is larger than the text itself, written in bold white capital letters inside a blue box. The structure is different as well as it is a longer headline, using both direct and indirect discourse. The aim of such a headline is to attract the reader's attention.

Headline Extract 2

"Israël est l'ennemi et le Liban sera le dernier État arabe à conclure la paix avec l'État hébreu," a declaré S. Em. le cardinal Nasrallah Sfeir, en recevant M. Melhem Karam, à la tête du conseil de l'Ordre des journalistes.

("Israel is the enemy and Lebanon will be the last Arabic state to conclude peace with the Hebrew State," said his Excellency Cardinal Nasrallah Sfeir, on receiving Mr. Melhem Karam, the head of the Council of the Journalists'Association.")

Headline Extract 2 Analysis

Another paragraph is printed under the first headline, which repeats the content of the headline but reorders it. The second headline begins with a statement from the Patriarch that Israel is the enemy and emphasises that Lebanon is an Arab state. He is quoted exactly as in the first headline with the exception that *Tel-Aviv* is replaced by *l'État hébreu* (the Hebrew State). This naming strategy is adopted in this headline to strengthen the hostility and animosity towards Israel, identifying the ideological approach of the text. The second headline carries an evocative meaning highlighting for the reader that Israel is definitely Lebanon's enemy. It is a repetition of the second clause of the second sentence stressing the hidden significance of a war between the two countries.

The two clauses of the first sentence are direct discourse highlighted between inverted commas. The second clause starts with a verb *a déclaré* (said), then with the full name of the religious personality *S.Em. le cardinal Nasrallah Sfeir* (his Excellency Cardinal Nasrallah Sfeir), underlining the importance of the person using several titles to define the significance of the person.

The third clause of the second headline is one long nominal group divided in two sub-clauses. The first clause starts with a present (active) participle *en recevant* (on receiving) with *M. Melhem Karam* as the object and representing the head of the

Council of the Journalists' Association. The process qualifies the importance of the person heading the syndicate.

Profile

The second headline repeats the same quotation for a second time with the difference that Tel-Aviv is replaced by the Hebrew State stressing the belief that "Tel-Aviv" means the "Hebrew State", showing the political ideology behind the words which are more negative than Tel-Aviv. The repetition of the same sentence makes it clear to the reader that Israel shall remain the enemy and Lebanon is an Arab state which will be the last Arabic country to conclude a peace treaty with the Hebrew State. Already the headline shows signs of negativity towards Israel making the ideology of the magazine clear to the reader. The headline starts with the Patriarch's quotation, and ends with the event, a meeting between the journalists, with Mr. Melhem Karam, the head of the Journalists' Syndicate. *La Revue du Liban* mentions the name of Mr. Karam in the headline, since he was the editor-in-chief of the magazine at the time. The second headline is another paragraph under the first headline, written in italics. When reading the two headlines of this article the conclusion could be drawn that the text will show signs of disapproval towards Israel and stress that Lebanon is an Arab state.

Modality

Modal verbs carry a range of meanings that have not necessarily happened. A few examples of modality are displayed in the article indicating uncertainty and possibility.

Le Liban n'ait pas à payer le tribut de la division (Lebanon should not pay the price of division), *tous ces pays doivent revenir à leur raison* (these countries should see reason) are modal auxiliary verbs expressing opinions and expectations.

Nous devons nous unir (we must therefore be united) is a modal verb used to express an obligation.

Lexicalisation

The writer starts the article by implementing Mr. Karam's own opinion when proclaiming *nos problèmes internes, il les a qualifiés de 'dramatiques'...* (as for our internal issues, he [the Patriarch] described them as 'tragic'…). The writer describes the internal crisis as 'tragic' and he emphasises the word 'tragic' by inserting it in inverted commas, as it is a word used by the Patriarch himself, and he also leaves the quotes towards the end of the sentence. This has a negative impact and demonstrates the destructive situation that Lebanon is facing.

L'éveil Libanais (the Lebanese awakening) is a term used by Mr. Karam to describe the importance of Bkerke. *Avec amour* (with love), *impressionnés* (impressed), *des paroles pondérées, franches et aimantes* (his words were considered honest and loving) are terms used to intensify the importance and value of the Patriarch's words. *Patriotisme rassembleur* (unifying patriotism), *sagesse, affection* (wisdom and affection) are terms expressing the qualities ascribed to the Cardinal by the group, recognising his authority and indicating respect and admiration for him.

The writer introduces a quotation to the article reporting that *Le Liban est un petit pays formé de dix-huit communautés* (Lebanon is a small country composed of 18 communities) making it obvious to the reader that Lebanon is unique in having 18 communities living together in this small country.

L'État hébreu (the Hebrew State) is repeated three times in this article, stigmatising Israel. The writer would not use the name "Israel", thus indicating the political attitude of the magazine towards Israel.

Relexicalisation

La Revue du Liban accentuates the importance of the religious personality of the Patriarch by making use of a large variety of linguistic means: the Patriarch is referred to as "*Monseigneur Sfeir"* (Monsignor Sfeir), "son Eminence" (His Eminence), *sa Béatitude* (his Excellency), *l'éminent prélat* (the Eminence Prelate), and *Cardinal Sfeir* (Cardinal Sfeir). The writer is trying to reveal to the reader the great significance of this religious personality.

Lexical Cohesion

Classification schemes are noticeable in this article. The use of emotionally or culturally charged words is obvious. Some of these words have a negative effect, others have a positive influence. Synonyms are noticeable and emphasise the negative or positive impact on emotions and attitudes. *Sanglants et destructueux* (bloody and destructive) are value-loaded synonyms carrying negative connotations relating to war. *Frères et amis* (brothers and friends), are synonyms loaded with positive emotions and feelings. *Liberté, souveraineté et indépendance* (freedom, sovereignty and independence), are positive words loaded with patriotic feelings. *La concorde et la coopération* (harmony and cooperation), *la quiétude et la paix* (harmony and peace) are words loaded with positive emotions. *Ennemis et frères* (brothers and enemies) are antonyms used to carry contradictory feelings. *Rassembleur et division* (unifying and division) are words loaded with contradictory meanings. *Viennent et s'en vont* (they come and they go) are hyponyms explaining that foreign armies will not be permanent in Lebanon.

Metaphor

Le rocher de l'éveil Libanais (the rock of the Lebanese awakening) is a metaphor used to describe the importance of Bkerke, which is one of the most important places for the Lebanese people in general and the Christians in particular. *Des germes de la zizanie* (seeds of discord) is another metaphor describing the disagreement or conflict among the Lebanese people.

Transitivity Including Active and Passive Voice and Agency

The first paragraph where Mr. Karam is quoted directly is made up of:

a- nine actional processes:

avait pris la parole (initially [he] spoke), *œuvre* (performed), *a appelé* (called), *nous revenons* (we return), *nous sommes venus* (we have come), *le mot qui rassemble* (the words which bring together), *n'ait pas à payer* (should not pay), *nous ne nous aidons pas* (we do not help each other); and

b- two relational processes:

C'étaient (were), *a toujours été/est* (always was/is).

The extract *Nous avons tous été impréssionnés par les propos …* (we were all impressed by the statements …) is stated in the passive voice. *Les propos* (the statements) is the agent and it plays a more subordinate role. This extract is a mental process, relating to perception. The sentence starts with the pronoun *nous* (we) which is the grammatical subject. *Nous avons tous été impréssionnés* (we were all impressed by the statements) and *nous avons entendu* (we have all heard) are the two mental processes quoted by Mr. Karam in the first paragraph.

Karam's quotations consist of a narrative series of events and occurrences.

Cette liberté sera préservée (this liberty will be protected) is a passive agentless relational process, in which the actor is unknown and hidden.

…et [une guerre] nous a été imposé…and [a war] was imposed on us … is a passive actional process. The actor is unknown as whoever imposed the war is not mentioned. The narrator quoted the Patriarch in a transitive process making the actor who imposed the war unclear to the reader. The passive voice used with a deleted agent appears in a declarative statement stressing that the war was instigated by a group other than the Lebanese people.

Notre pays ayant été choisi… (our country has been chosen …) is a passive actional process. The narrator quotes a statement by the Patriarch in a transitive process, leaving the group which is plunging the country into chaos unknown to the reader. The passive voice was used to highlight the act itself and not the actors implicated in the act. The agent is unknown, and the narrator is highlighting that the act was orchestrated or chosen by another group making it difficult for the reader to work out the identity of this other group.

It is significant in this article that the majority of verbs indicate mental processes, stressing the fact that the article predominantly consists of the expression of attitudes and opinions on the part of those quoted.

Direct and Indirect Discourse

The writer uses direct discourse, quoting the Patriarch's words throughout most of the article with the following exceptions:

...Il [Sfeir] les a qualifiés de "dramatiques" et a appelé à une action rapide pour redresser la situation

(As for our internal issues, he [Sfeir] described them as 'tragic' and called for rapid action to improve the situation)

The writer did not use direct discourse when he/she mentioned that the Patriarch thanked Mr. Karam for the feelings he expressed:

... le cardinal Sfeir a remercié M. Karam des sentiments qu'il a exprimés à son égard avant d'aborder les problèmes de l'heure...

(…Cardinal Sfeir thanked Mr. Karam for the feelings he expressed before turning to the issues of the day…)

Before quoting the Patriarch's words about the immigration of Lebanese and in particular the youth, the journalist introduces his own opinion, which the Patriarch insisted on this particular subject:

L'éminat prélat a insisté, d'autre part, sur "la nécessite de freiner..."

(His Excellency emphasised, in addition, 'the necessity of..."*)*

The preference for direct speech over indirect speech indicates that the magazine sought to represent the exact words of those quoted, and avoid reported speech, which could reveal the attitude of the journalist writing the article. This also indicates the importance attached to the actual words of those quoted.

Nominalisation

The extract *nous avons tous entendu parler de la marginalisation des Chrétiens* (we have all heard about the marginalization of the Christians) demonstrates a nominalisation process: the exclusion of the Christians is expressed as a thing and not an act. The way this sentence is constructed directs the reader to an unknown actor. The extract *La nécéssité de freiner l'émigration* (the necessity of curbing the emigration) displays another nominalisation process: emigration is a nominalised action without an actor.

Repetition

Israël est l'ennemi et le Liban sera le dernier État arabe à conclure la paix avec Israël.

(Israel is the enemy and Lebanon will be the last Arabic state to conclude peace with Israel)

As mentioned above, the same quotation is repeated twice in the headlines stressing the need to remind the reader of the threat which Israel poses to Lebanon and its disgrace. The same sentence is introduced again for the third time in the article, stating that *Israël reste jusqu'à ce jour l'ennemi et le Liban ne peut établir avec Tel-Aviv des relations, tant que les autres pays frères n'auront pas conclu la paix avec l'Etat hébreu* (Israel remains the enemy up to this day and Lebanon cannot establish relations with Tel-Aviv while our brother countries have not concluded peace with the Hebrew State). The writer is articulating for the third time the same sentence, highlighting the same idea, trying to influence the reader's opinion in this regard.

Pronouns

…nos problèmes internes…nous ne nous aidons nous-mêmes…

("...our internal issues…we do not help each other ourselves…)

The pronoun *nous* (we) is used at the beginning of the article to include the writer and the reader, it relates to all Lebanese people; it includes everybody and is used inclusively.

…nous avons tous été impréssionnés… nous avons tous entendu parler…nous revenons aujourd'hui …nous sommes venus…

(…we all were impressed… we have all heard… we return today…we have come…)

The pronoun *nous* (we) is used by Mr. Karam excluding other people and just including the whole group of journalists present in this meeting. The reader might or might not be included.

…vous les connaissez… vous les traitez…

(…you are more familiar … you deal with them…)

The Patriarch addressed the group present as *vous* (you – plural*)* and excluding those who are not present.
With *Je remercie*…(I thank…) the Patriarch is expressing his own feelings using the pronoun *je* (I).

The writer quotes the Patriarch every time he uses the pronoun *nous* (we) which he introduced often in his speech to generalise the country and its people, including the writer and possibly the reader. The list of pronouns used consists of the following quotes:

Il existe chez nous… (we still have…), *nous espérons*… (we hope…), *nous avons pati*… (we have suffered…), *nous a été imposée*… (was imposed on us…), *nous devons nous unir*… (we must be united…), *nous ignorons*… (we do not know), … *nous pensons*… (we think…).

Conclusion

From the above analysis of the article, the conclusion can be drawn that *La Revue du Liban* gives evidence of being pro-Sfeir and anti-Israel. As the editor-in-chief of the magazine at the time, Mr. Karam is allowed space in the article. The first section of the article is reserved for him, quoting him in 180 words out of the total of 980 words comprising the whole article.
The metaphor used to describe Bkerke and the Patriarch highlights the ideology of the magazine which shows a great deal of respect to the place and to the Patriarch.
The attitudes are mainly displayed by the choice of words and the selection of facts among which the magazine highlights the July war. This may be indicative of its ideological stance.
The preference for direct speech over indirect speech indicates that the magazine seeks to represent the exact words of those quoted and avoids reported speech, which could reveal the attitude of the journalist writing the article. This also indicates the importance attached to the actual words of those quoted.

4.1.3 Analysis of L'Orient-Le-Jour – 15 September 2006 – French Daily Newspaper (see Appendix B)

L'Orient-Le-Jour is an independent daily newspaper published in French, dealing with regional and international political issues, as well as sports, culture, economics, finance and other areas such as cinema and television. Since its launch, *L'Orient-Le-Jour* has been known for its credibility, objectivity and independence.

As in the analysis of the article published in *La Revue du Liban*, this section analyses the linguistic processes used in this newspaper by studying how the event is represented at the macro-level and evaluating the norms and values and the techniques used in this regard such as the presentation of the article, over-lexicalisation and the chronology of quotations.

Presentation of the Article

A small photograph, the same as the one in *La Revue du Liban*, is added to the top right of the article showing the journalists, all male and smartly dressed at the meeting with the Patriarch who is standing in the middle. The photograph represents the unity of the journalists together with the head of the Maronite church and aims to "add an extra dimension of meaning" to the event (Reah, 1998:24). *L'Orient-Le-Jour* did not print a caption under the photograph describing its content.

Over-lexicalisation and Omissions

L'Orient-Le-Jour devoted more space to the reporting of this event compared to other newspapers. The article is divided into five main paragraphs with a sub-heading for each paragraph. The whole article consists of 1,573 words. It reports most of the Patriarch's dialogue with the journalists. Over-wording is noticeable in the article as it is repetitive and very detailed. The article demonstrates the importance ascribed to the event by *L'Orient-Le-Jour*, while other newspapers did not accord it so much significance. However, Mr. Karam's speech is omitted in this article, the focus of which is on the Patriarch's dialogue.

Sequence of Quotations

The quotations are published in a different order in *L'Orient-Le-Jour*. The Patriarch's criticisms of Lebanese leaders are mentioned at the beginning of the article, presenting them as important. The freedom of the press is mentioned last, in direct contrast with the article in *La Revue du Liban*. In *L'Orient-Le-Jour* it is presented as less significant and noticeable and therefore turns out to be less noteworthy.

The analysis now moves to an analysis of features on the micro-level, such as the use of headlines, vocabulary, lexicalisation, transitivity, and modality.

Headline Extract 1

Un départ du gouvernement créerait un vide politique, estime le chef de l'Église Maronite

(The head of the Maronite Church believes that the stepping down of the government would create a political vacuum)

Headline Extract 1 Analysis

The first headline is made up of two clauses: *Un départ du gouvernement créerait un vide politique* (the stepping down of the government would create a political vacuum) expresses negativity regarding an internal matter. This clause strongly implies the importance of maintaining the government.

The verb *créerait* (would create) is a material process predicting the future. This headline has a direct and active form, quoting the Patriarch in the conditional tense and without introducing inverted commas, implying an expectation of the future if the government left.

The second clause of the first headline starts with the verb *estime* (believes) which is a verbal process followed by the name of the actor who leads the Maronite church, emphasising the fact that he is the head by using the word *le chef* (the head).

Profile

The first headline in *L'Orient-Le -Jour* gives the opinion of the Patriarch who is against any departure of the government. The font used in the first headline is the same font as in the text itself. It is the intention of the journalist to stress that the Patriarch thinks that the departure of this government will create chaos in the country. A modifier was included in the headline *le chef de l'Église Maronite* (the head of the Maronite Church) giving information about the importance of the person of the Patriarch and highlighting his rank in the Maronite church.

Headline Extract 2

Sfeir: La guerre de Juillet était une "guerre par procuration" sur le sol du Liban

(Sfeir: the July war was a "proxy war" on Lebanese soil)

Headline Extract 1 Analysis

The second headline printed in *L'Orient-Le-Jour* comprises two clauses: the first clause contains the name of the Patriarch *Sfeir*, the second clause consists of the actor which is *la guerre de Juillet* (the July war), a relational process *était* (was) and the attribute – a long nominal group *une guerre par procuration sur le sol du Liban* (a proxy war on Lebanese soil). *Une guerre par procuration* (a proxy war) is highlighted between two inverted commas.

The first clause of the second headline comprises one word, the name of the Patriarch without any modifier with a colon after *Sfeir* to indicate a direct quote.

The second clause of the second headline has a very strong significance. It stresses that the July war was a war imposed on Lebanon by accentuating "the proxy war" with inverted commas.

Profile

The second headline, written in bold and bigger letters, quotes the Patriarch on the July war. The second headline shows disapproval and negativity towards the July war making the magazine's ideology clear to the reader. The inverted commas are used in

the headline to distance the newspaper from the ideology behind the words. But this newspaper quotes in direct speech the person whose utterance is being represented. This newspaper needs to emphasise the actual words used by Sfeir. The quotations attract the reader's interest because the print is larger and bolder than the text.

Modality

L'Orient-Le-Jour quotes sentences the Patriarch used during the dialogue which show his uncertainty or doubt. The following extracts are examples of modality used in the article:

Ces états doivent revenir á leur bon sens (these countries should see reason), *qui jouirait* (which could enjoy), *les aggressions qu'il s'agit d'interdire* (the attacks which we should prohibit) are deontic modal verbs expressing obligations.

Il me semble que le Liban (it seems to me that) is an example of epistemic modality where the journalist recalls the uncertainty of the Patriarch.

Le Liban ne peut songer (Lebanon cannot think) is a modal verb that has a negative force demonstrating a negative opinion.

Il est nécessaire qu'une entente (it is necessary for an agreement) is a deontic modal adjunct expressing a necessity.

Certes, Israel est aggresseur (Israel is certainly the aggressor), *certes non* (certainly not) are epistemic adjuncts used in the text to strengthen an opinion.

Lexicalisation

The choice of words in this article is of great importance. *L'hémorragie humaine* (the human haemorrhage), *l'avenir incertain* (An uncertain future), *la responsabilité des Libanais* (the responsibility of the Lebanese) are words used to depict a situation of uncertainty and instability.

Relexicalisation

L'Orient-Le-Jour refers to the religious personality of the Patriarch employing a large variety of linguistic means: Sfeir is referred to as *le chef de l'Eglise maronite* (the head of the Maronite church), *Cardinal Nasrallah Sfeir* (Cardinal Nasrallah Sfeir), *le Patriarche* (the Patriarch), *Patriarche Sfeir* (Patriarch Sfeir), *le Patriarche maronite* (the Maronite Patriarch). The writer deliberately tries to reveal to the reader the newspaper's attitude towards the person in question. In contrast to *La Revue du Liban*, when mentioning the name of Mr. Karam, L'Orient-Le-Jour did not use the title Mr. and just called him by his name, Melhem Karam. This implies that Karam does not carry the same rank in the opinion of *L'Orient-Le-Jour* as he does in *La Revue du Liban* where he was the editor-in-chief at the time.

Lexical Cohesion

L'Orient-Le-Jour uses different classification schemes. Synonyms are evident in this article. *Le bon sens et la raison* (reason and common sense), *la paix et la tranquillité* (peace and tranquillity), *liberté, souveraineté et indépendance* (freedom, sovereignty and independence) are positive words loaded with patriotic significance and a desire for peace and freedom. *Conséquences et pertes* (consequences and losses) are words indicating a negative meaning with connotations of defeat and failure. *Matin et soir* (morning and night), *venaient et repartaient* (came and went) are hyponyms obvious in this article. *N'était pas concerné, ont été impliqués* (was not involved, were implicated) are negative words loaded with a sense of obligation forced on the Lebanese people. In addition there are antonyms expressing contradictory feelings, such as *les querelles et les réconciliations* (disputes and reconciliations), *la paix et la guerre* (peace and war).

Metaphor

The choice of words in this article is of great importance. *L'hémorragie humaine* (the human hemorrhage), *querelles intestines* (internal quarrels) are metaphors reflecting the conflict among the Lebanese people.

Transitivity Including Active and Passive Voice and Agency

The actor in the extract *Le Liban n'était pas concerné par ce conflit qui lui a été imposé* (Lebanon was not involved in this conflict which was imposed on it) is *Le Liban* (Lebanon), the process is a negative process *n'était pas concerné* (was not involved). The actor of the second clause of this extract is *qui* which signifies here *ce conflit* (this conflict) and the process is *a été imposé* (was imposed) where the use of passive voice deletes the agent.

In the extract *On a utilisé le Liban… pour un conflit* (Lebanon has been used …) the actor is *on* (an indefinite pronoun) and the process is *a utilisé* (used) which is a material actional process. The passive voice used in this extract diminishes the role of the actor who is unknown because the writer omitted to name the group that used Lebanon. The use of *On* (an indefinite pronoun) in the French language makes the actor unknown as it does not specify the subject or actor responsible for the action.

In the extract *Il s'agissait d'une guerre par procuration* (this was a proxy war), the actor is *il* (this) which is unknown and the writer excluded the actor to reduce its role. The process *s'agissait* (was) is in a passive behavioural form.

The actor in the extract *ce conflit nous a été imposé* (this conflict was imposed on us) is *ce conflit* (this conflict) and the process *a été imposé* (was imposed) but the agent is unknown again omitting the actor that caused this conflict. It is a passive material process.

Si l'on s'interroge, on a utilisé, on peut prévoir les conséquences, on nous a dit are extracts where the subject and actor are represented by *on* (indefinite pronoun) but the agent is not specified.

Ce conflit nous a été imposé (this conflict was imposed on us) is a passive actional process where the agent is unknown and the actor that imposed the war on Lebanon

has been omitted or deleted. It is a declarative statement specifying that the war was not the Lebanese people's choice.

Ces faits s'imposent (these events were imposed) is a passive actional process where the agent is anonymous, without identifying which group imposed these facts.

In the extract *ceux qui ont reproché* (those who criticised) the actor is *ceux* (those who), the process is *ont reproché* (criticised) but the agent is anonymous as the journalist does not indicate the actor but highlights the action.

Les aggressions qu'il s'agit d'interdire (the attacks which we should prohibit) is a passive actional process where the action is known but the agent is hidden.

Les Libanais ont été impliqués dans cette guerre (the Lebanese people were implicated in this war) is a passive actional process where the actor is obscured as whoever imposed the war is hidden.

Un vide politique qui se créerait (a political vaccum that would be created) is a passive actional process where the agent is again unspecified.

Des réponses sont proposées (answers are proposed) is a passive process where the agent is not recognised. The journalist did not name the group which proposed the answers as the most important is the action and not the actor.

The role of a participant may be emphasised, minimised or omitted entirely. In this article, the writer interpreted the passive voice used by the Patriarch as emphasising the act itself and not the reason for, or the actors involved in the act. The use of the passive voice makes it difficult for the reader to judge who is to blame for the war, or indeed to judge who the writer believes is to blame for the war. Responsibility is thus avoided.
The high number of passive sentences is significant in that the newspaper is deliberately avoiding any mention of those responsible for certain actions.

Nominalisation

Aucune condemnation d'Israël (any condemnation of Israel), *une pratique de politique saine* (healthy politics), *La possibilité d'une reprise de la conférence de dialogue* (the possibility of restarting talks), *La responsabilité de la destruction de leur pays* (the responsibility of the destruction of their country) are some examples which feature a nominal group of words deleting the action by avoiding the use of a verb. Again this removes any indication of the agents or actors involved.

Direct and Indirect Discourse

In this article, the Patriarch is quoted both directly and indirectly several times. The article has a mixture of direct and indirect speech features.

Using indirect discourse, the writer introduces his/her comments throughout the article. Examples of indirect discourse include: *le cardinal Sfeir a livré sa pensée* (Cardinal Sfeir summarised his thoughts), *s'est montré excédé* (appeared irritated**,)** *s'est pronouncé* (stated that), *le chef de l'Eglise Maronite a été sévère* (the head of the Maronite Church severely criticised), *le Patriarche a été ferme* (the Patriarch was firm), *a dit redouter* ([he] was concerned).

The Patriarch is quoted directly between inverted commas and the quotes are introduced using the following reporting verbs: *le Patriarche a dit* (the Patriarch said), *a relevé* (added), *s'est-il exclamé* (he exclaimed), *a poursuivi le Patriarche* (the Patriarch continued), *le Patriarche a declaré* (the Patriarch said), *s'est félicité* ([he] praised)…

Repetition

In this article, one idea is repeated more than once within the text itself. The writer underlines several times the same expression directly and indirectly within the article. The article starts with the following indirect sentence: *le Patriarche déplore l'inexistence d'un bloc Chrétien, à l'instar des blocs Sunnite, Shiite et Druze* (the Patriarch condemned the absence of the Christian bloc compared to the presence of the Sunni, Shiite and Druze blocs).

Early in the article the same idea is repeated but this time as a direct quote from the Patriarch:

Aujourd'hui, il y a le bloc sunnite, le bloc chiite et le bloc druze. Quant au bloc Chrétien, je le dis franchement, nous ne le voyons pas.
(Today there is a Sunnite bloc, a Shiite bloc and a Druze bloc. As for the Christian bloc, frankly, we cannot see one.)

The same quotation by the Patriarch is repeated again for the third time in the fourth paragraph of the article, under the sub-heading "An uncertain future":
...Aujourd'hui, il y a le bloc Sunnite, le bloc chiite et le bloc druze. Quant au bloc Chrétien, je le dis franchement, nous ne le voyons pas.
(Today, there is the Sunnite bloc, the Shiite bloc, the Druze bloc. As for the Christian bloc, frankly, we cannot see one'.)

The reiteration of the same idea three times within the same article proves that the newspaper is trying to influence the opinion of the reader concerning the absence of a Christian bloc.

A confirmation from the Patriarch that Israel is the enemy is also quoted twice in the article ensuring that the reader will get the message.
Doit-on vraiment condemner Israël, tous les jours, matin et soir, pour montrer au monde qu'Israël est l'ennemi?
(Do we really have to condemn Israel every day, morning and night, to show that Israel is the enemy?)
This quotation first appears at the beginning of the article in the third paragraph. It is repeated in the fourth paragraph under the subheading "An uncertain future".

This repetition is to emphasise and stress that the Patriarch is against Israel as some other people may think the opposite, in particular when some journalists asked him about the lack of condemning Israel during the meeting between the Maronite bishops.

Pronouns

The writer quotes the Patriarch directly when he uses the indefinite pronoun *on* in different sentences to vaguely specify one or a group of people, or to specify the group the Patriarch belongs to: *doit-on vraiment* (do we really have), *si l'on s'interroge* (if we wonder), *on a utilisé* (Lebanon has been exploited), *on a l'impression* (we have the impression), *on peut prévoir* (we can foresee), *on nous a dit* (it was said to us).

The writer also quotes the Patriarch when he expressed his own feelings using the exclusive pronoun *je* (I), referring to himself and excluding all others: *j'ignore* (I do not know), *je le dis franchement* (I say it frankly), *je pense* (I think).

The Patriarch often uses the inclusive pronoun *nous* (we) and the writer quotes him directly in appealing to the country and its people, including the writer and the reader: *à nous de savoir consolider* (it is up to us to strengthen), *nos enfants* (our children), *il nous faut prendre* (we need to take), *nous ignorons* (we do not know), *nous ne le voyons pas* (we cannot see one), *nous devons nous solidariser* (we should be united).

Nous l'avons fait amplement... (we fully ...) the writer quotes the Patriarch using the exclusive pronoun *nous* (we) including the council of the Maronite bishops only and excluding the writer and the reader.

Conclusion

The event is represented differently in the two French newspapers. The headlines in *L'Orient-Le-Jour* are different from those in *La Revue du Liban* in shape, content and structure (Reah, 1998:13). The headline in *La Revue du Liban* is paraphrased differently, the length of the article is shorter, the chronology of ideas is also different, and omission is noticeable in the article. *L'Orient-Le-Jour* devotes more space to the event. The article in *L'Orient-Le-Jour* is longer and it consists of the complete dialogue with the Patriarch. The narrator in *La Revue du Liban* omits different quotations mentioned by the Patriarch.

Unlike *L'Orient-Le-Jour*, *La Revue du Liban* mentions the name of Mr. Karam in the headline, as he was the editor-in-chief of the magazine at the time and the same photograph is published in the two articles. The difference is that *La Revue du Liban* devotes more space to the picture and introduces a sentence highlighting the event.

In *L'Orient-Le-Jour* the writer gives his opinion by using indirect quotes and trying to influence the reader's opinions. In contrast, modality is not as obvious in *La Revue du Liban*. *La Revue du Liban* is harsher towards Israel than *L'Orient-le-Jour*. It refers to the Hebrew State and not Israel. Both articles show the importance of the religious leader by using a large selection of linguistic titles.

4.2 Analysis of the Arabic Articles

4.2.1 Analysis of *Al Akhbar* – Daily Arabic Newspaper No. 29 – Friday, 15 September 2006 (see Appendix C)

Al Akhbar is a daily Arabic newspaper, which is regarded as Hezbollah's mouthpiece. Therefore, this analysis will study how the event is represented in macro-level structures by evaluating the norms and values and the techniques used in this regard such as presentation of the article, over-lexicalisation and the sequence of quotations.

Presentation of the Article

The article covers half of page 4 in landscape orientation and falls under the rubric "localities" and subheading "Political activities". A colour photograph of the Patriarch sitting with Mr. Karam is included in the centre of the article, embedded in the text. This photograph focuses on the two individuals with a caption consisting of a nominal sentence "The Patriarch Sfeir and President Karam". The sentence is formal and matter of fact using only the modifiers "Patriarch" and "President" without further specifications about the two personalities. The journalists are not shown in the picture, highlighting for the reader the importance of the two main players. The name of the journalist, Ibrahim Awad, is given at the beginning of the article, introducing him to the reader.

Over-lexicalisation and Omissions

Al Akhbar devoted nine paragraphs to the event without any introductory subheading. The writing is small and the text consisted of a total of 889 words. The approach used in *Al Akhbar* is totally different from the other newspapers with the Patriarch being quoted indirectly and in a different way from the other articles analysed.

"لا ... لا يوجد تواصل. التواصل مقطوع هذه الآيام " مضيفا : "كانوا يبعثون بوفود من قبلهم لكن مضى وقت لم نر أحدا منهم"

("No…there is no contact…the contact has been interrupted lately", adding "they used to send delegations from their side but for a long time we have not seen anyone")

In the third paragraph, the *Al Akhbar* journalist reports a direct question, which had been put to the Patriarch concerning his communication with Hezbollah. None of the other newspapers had brought up this subject. The Patriarch's answer is quoted directly in the active voice in inverted commas.

ماذا عن التواصل الهاتفي؟ هل هذا مقطوع أيضا؟

إبتسم البطريرك مجيبا : "لا تلفونات بيننا " ثم إستطرد قائلا : "على كل ليس هناك أي مشكلة "

(What about telephonic contact? Have these contacts been interrupted as well?
The Patriarch smiled, answering: "There are no phone calls between us", and then he continued, "Anyway, it is not a problem".)

The journalist is not satisfied with the answer, so he insists on knowing if there were any other telephonic contacts between the Patriarch and Hezbollah. Once more, the Patriarch is quoted directly in inverted commas, stating that even telephonic contact has been interrupted. The journalist insists on explaining to the reader that despite the interruption in communication, the Patriarch is in no way negative, and is not worried about it, saying, "… it is not a problem."

و طالب بإقامة علاقات ودية بين لبنان و جيرانه

(He requested that amicable relations should be established between Lebanon and its neighbours…)

The journalist reports that the Patriarch requests that amicable relations should be established between Lebanon and its neighbours, but that Syria is the only neighbour with which Lebanon may be able to have amicable relations as the second neighbour, Israel, is at war with Lebanon. The journalist has not specifically mentioned Syria and the sentence is quoted in the passive voice, indirectly, with no use of inverted commas.

Al Akhbar omits to include the quotations from the Patriarch with regard to the free press in Lebanon compared to other Arab states.

An introduction comprising 33 words in bold letters opens the article and is separated from the rest of the text by a line. This small paragraph is a summary of the whole article in which the writer informs us that the Patriarch described the situation as

tragic, that Lebanon was not involved in this Israeli war and emphasised that the institutions needed to replace national dialogue.

Sequence of Quotations

Whilst other newspapers mentioned the July war at the beginning of their articles, *Al Akhbar* begins the article differently, noting that the Patriarch had transmitted different messages to the politicians, some of them openly and others hidden between the lines.

In this article, the subject of the July war is reported in the middle of the article, and the article ends with the people of the mountain who had left their homes.

The sequence of the Patriarch's quoted comments is also different in *Al Akhbar*. All of these differences provide clues as to the ideology of the newspaper. This is discussed in the conclusion to this section.

The structure of the text on the micro-level is now analysed, beginning with the headline.

Headline Extract 1

صفير ل "الأخبار" : التواصل مقطوع مع "حزب أللہ"

(Sfeir to *Al Akhbar*: the break in communication with "Hezbollah")

The headline in *Al Akhbar* is totally different from any other headline published in other newspapers relating to this event. The first clause of the headline lacks a verb: it consists simply of the name of the Patriarch "Sfeir" and the name of the newspaper *Al Akhbar* with the latter in inverted commas, highlighting the name of the newspaper. This clause implies that the Patriarch addressed his words directly to *Al Akhbar* and not to any other newspaper. The first clause is linked to the second by a colon. The second clause of the headline is a nominal group, without a verb, therefore lacking any form of action. The extract reflects a nominalisation process where the "break*"* and "communication" are turned into things rather than actions. No agents are given in this headline, leaving it up to the reader to identify those involved.

Profile

The first headline is published in bold, big letters in the centre of the article. The two words which are in inverted commas are *Al Akhbar*, the name of the newspaper, and "Hezbollah", confirming the ideology of the newspaper. The headline is a direct quote from the Patriarch in the active voice but there is no indication that the Patriarch said it. When reading the headline of the article, the effect is negative as it stresses that there is no communication or contact with Hezbollah whereas the presence of any contact may improve the relationship between the two groups. However, the reader can only guess who it is that is out of contact with Hezbollah.

Headline Extract 2

ذكر بمحاولة سلفه جمع الزعماء في بكركي و وقوع مجزرة إهدن

(He recalled his predecessor's attempt to assemble the leaders in Bkerke and the occurrence of Ehden massacre)

The headline extract 2 is divided into two clauses: the first clause "He recalled his predecessor's attempt to assemble the leaders in Bkerke" consists of the actor "He" which evokes the Patriarch, the process "recalled" is a mental process, and the attribute is "his predecessor's attempt to assemble the leaders in Bkerke". This headline has an indirect form where the journalist is reporting the Patriarch's words without using a direct quotation.

The conjunction "and" links the two clauses of the headline. Its function is to draw the conclusion that the result of the first clause did not stop the occurrence of the second. The second clause is a nominal sentence, lacking a verb. The nominalisation is clear in this clause, as the agent behind the massacre at Ehden is not mentioned. The second clause describes murder which has a negative impact on the reader by reminding him or her of this massacre which happened in 1978.

Profile

The second headline is printed under the first one – the letters are smaller and the font is not as bold as the first headline, which indicates a lower degree of significance. It is

also indirect discourse in which the journalist recalls the Patriarch's words. This second headline also has a negative impact as it reminds the reader of a massacre which occurred in the past.

Modality

The Patriarch is not often quoted directly in this article but the attitude of the Patriarch is indicated in the use of language. Verbs expressing uncertainty or probability are not obvious in this article.

هناك أفكار عديدة يجب جمعها و مقارنتها و إستخلاص ما يجب إستخلاصه منها

(Most of the opinions should be obtained and compared and conclusions should be drawn in this regard)

This is another form of sentence where deontic modal verbs are introduced to emphasize on an opinion that is an uncertainty.

Lexicalisation

The choice of words used in this article is similar to the words chosen in the other newspapers, with the following differences:

حيث الطائرات الإسرائلية " ترغي و تزبد في سماء وطننا و نحن لا طائرة لنا و لا سلاح "

(…as the Israeli airplanes "roared and glittered in the sky of our country and we do not possess airplanes or arms".)

The Patriarch compared the Israeli aircrafts to lions making a loud and deep sound in the Lebanese sky, referring to them as shining and sparkling, highlighting their metallic nature.

صخرة الصمود اللبنانية

"The rock of the Lebanese resistance" is an expression used to describe Bkerke which is the main domain of the Maronite religion as a solid rock on which the Lebanese people can rely in difficult times. *An Nahar* published this quotation as "the rock of the Lebanese awakening" changing the word "resistance" to "awakening". Hezbollah is recognised as the Lebanese resistance that defends Lebanon from Israel, therefore *Al Akhbar* used the word resistance in the Patriarch's quotation to demonstrate that the Patriarch is not against the resistance.

Relexicalisation

Al Akhbar does not make use of a large variety of linguistic means to refer to the Patriarch: it uses "the Maronite Patriarch", "Sfeir" and/or "the Head of Bkerke". Ibrahim Awad does not highlight the importance of this religious leader by adding more modifiers to the name of the Patriarch. Mr. Karam is referred to simply as the President or Mr. Karam.

Lexical Cohesion

Synonyms, hyponyms and other classification schemes are noticeable in this article. Words loaded with emotional and cultural meanings have a negative or positive influence on the reader's mind. The use of synonyms is few in the article such as أهل الحكم والسياسة (political leaders and figures) and (politicians and leaders), emphasise the political players in the country.

The use of antonyms is more evident in this article:

مباشر و منها ما يقرأ بين السطور , عدو و سلام , الحرب اللبنانية و الحرب الإسرائلية , المصالحة و المجزرة, لهم و ليس لنا , من جهة و من جهة أخرى , علاقات ودية و العدو , تأليف الحكومة و إستقالة الحكومة , إعادة بناء ما هدمته الحرب , المصالحة ... و المجزرة.

"…directly and… hidden between the lines", "enemy and peace", "Lebanese war and Israeli war", "massacre…reconciliation", "for them and not for us", "on the one hand… on the other", "amicable relations…. the enemy", "formation of the government and resignation of the government", "re-building what the war has destroyed", "reconciliation… the massacre". These terms all carry contradictory positive and negative connotations.

Hyponyms are evident in this article; for example the Patriarch spoke about التعاون و التوافق (the harmony and the cooperation) he listed the blocs of different sects such as the Shiite bloc, the Sunni bloc, the Druze bloc and the Christian bloc.

Antonyms are more apparent in this article than synonyms and hyponyms. The expressive values of these antonyms are ideologically significant, resulting in a lexical chain expressing contrastive meaning associated with politics and war.

Metaphor

صخرة الصمود اللبنانية (the rock of the Lebanese resistance) is a metaphor used by Mr. Karam to describe the importance of the Patriarch and the place he represents. For most Christian people in Lebanon, and in particular the Maronites, Bkerke plays a vital role in the survival of the Christians who face difficult situations in Lebanon.

حيث الطائرات الإسرائلية " ترغي و تزبد" في سماء وطننا ... (the Israeli airplanes "roared and glittered" in the sky of our country) is a metaphor used by the Patriarch to describe the way the Israeli airplanes were making a loud deep noise and sparkling in the Lebanese sky, terrorising the country.

Transitivity, Including Active and Passive Voice and Agency

منها ما يقرأ بين السطور

(Some of these messages were hidden between the lines)

The actor is unknown as it is unclear who hid the meaning between the lines. This extract is a passive mental process with a hidden actor.

مشيرا أن الحرب الإسرائلية التي شنت على لبنان كانت غير متقابلة

(…indicating that the Israeli war which was imposed on Lebanon was not balanced…)

The verb "was imposed" is a passive material process, where the passive voice deletes an unspecified actor.

و فهم من كلامه

(It was understandable from his words)

This sentence represents a verbal passive process where the agent is unidentified and unspecified.

إتخذوا من أرضنا ساحة عراك لهم و ليس لنا . كانت حربا بالواسطة

(… our territory was exploited as a battlefield for them and not for us. It was a proxy war)

The verb "was exploited" is a material verb used in the passive form where the agent is unknown. The journalist does not mention the actor who exploited the territory of Lebanon as a battlefield. The agent is unidentified in this process. The verb

"imposed" does not indicate who the actor is that "imposed" the war on Lebanon. It is a passive material process.

هناك أفكار عديدة يجب جمعها و مقارنتها و إستخلاص ما يجب إستخلاصه منها

(Most of the opinions should be obtained and compared and conclusions should be drawn in this regard.)

The verbs "should be obtained", "compared and drawn" are verbs used in the passive form where the agent is missing. The Patriarch used "should" which indicates obligation.

يصعب جدا تأليف حكومة سواها

(it is too difficult to form)

The verb in Arabic "it is too difficult" is a passive mental process, which omits the agent who might form the government. It has a negative meaning as it implies that it is complicated and difficult to form a government.

إنهم عوضوا على الذين هدمت منازلهم أخيرا ... و هؤلاء مر على تهجيرهم ثلاثون سنة و لم يعوض عليهم

(… compensation had been paid to the people whose homes had recently been destroyed, but that those who have been homeless for thirty years have not yet been paid")

The verbs "had been paid", "have not yet been paid" are uttered in a passive form where the actor is unknown. The second verb has a negative meaning as the damages have not been paid to the people of the mountain who had left their homes.

Nominalisation

Nominalisation is used frequently in the *Al Akhbar* article. One reason for this is that Arabic is a language in which the verb can often be replaced by a noun.

إشعار بالسلام (notification of peace), هل هناك من تواصل (if there is any communication), مسارعة الدول لنجدة لبنان (the precipitation of the states to the aid/help of Lebanon), عدم تطبيق إتفاق الطائف (the non implementation of the Ta'ef Accord), تغيير الحكومة (transformation of the government), إجراء إنتخابات (the accomplishment of

parliamentary elections), إستياء الذين يأتون إليه (frustrations from people visiting him), لم يوفق في المعالجة (he did not succeed in the reconciliation) are extracts from the article published in *Al Akhbar*, where the nominalisation process is obvious, deleting the action by avoiding the use of a verb form.

Direct and Indirect Discourse

The Patriarch is occasionally quoted directly but is mostly quoted indirectly in the article. Direct discourse is indicated by the use of inverted commas, such as when the journalist asked the Patriarch about communications with Hezbollah.

حيث الطائرات الإسرائلية " ترغي و تزبد في سماء وطننا و نحن لا طائرة لنا و لا سلاح "

(The Israeli airplanes "roared and glittered in the sky of our country and we do not possess either airplanes or arms")

This is another piece of direct discourse printed in inverted commas, indicating the danger presented by the Israeli airplanes.

لا شأن لنا فيها ... فرضت علينا ... بواسطة فريق لبناني ... لا تزال إسرائيل حتى اليوم العدو ... لبنان سيكون البلد الأخير الذي سيقيم معها هذه العلاقات , هل تريد أن ندين إسرائيل كل يوم , لا شأن لإسرائيل بهذا الأمر

"We were not involved... But it was imposed… through the intermediary of a Lebanese group", "that Israel remains until today the enemy", "…Lebanon will be the last country to realise such relations with it", "Do you want us to condemn Israel every day …where Israel is not concerned in this regard" are further examples of direct quotations from the Patriarch on the Israeli war.

إن المعادلات قد تغيرت . عندما بدأنا في الإستقلال ... فلا ندري أية كتلة ... إذا خلا الأمر من جدل بارت صناعتكم ... أفكار عديدة يجب جمعها ... يجب إطالة و الأمور مرهونة بأوقاتها... من بريح و بلدات أخرى ... مر على تهجيرهم ثلاثون سنة و لم يعوض عليهم ...

("The circumstances have changed. During the independence time … we do not know which bloc it is", "If there is no argument, you have created one. Most of the opinions should be obtained…it is necessary to be patient and things are dependent on time", "from Brih and other villages, …for thirty years have not been paid yet")

These are other examples of the Patriarch's direct discourse.

The writer also uses indirect discourse throughout the article, describing the attitude and mood of the Patriarch in different situations.
The extensive use of indirect speech rather than direct speech affects the reader's interpretation of the article and the ideology of the newspaper. The journalist reveals his attitude when using indirect quotations since he does not have to prove directly to the reader that these are the actual words used by the Patriarch. When the journalist Ibrahim Awad transmits the Patriarch's own words then he separates his opinion and the ideology of the newspaper, freeing himself from the actual words quoted.

Sentences Links

Arabic is a language, which tends to use a relatively small number of conjunctions. The most frequently used conjunction in Arabic is *wa* و (and) (Baker 1992: 193). Every paragraph is linked to the previous paragraph by the conjunction "and" in addition to the writer's personal opinion which connects the ideas and quotations together.

Repetition

The first paragraph of the article is a summary of the issues discussed with the Patriarch in the meeting. Then the journalist reports once again within the article on each of these topics. "Israel is the enemy and the war was imposed on us", "it does not involve the Lebanese people" are opinions repeated several times in the article.

The massacre at Ehden is also repeated several times, in the headline and in the article, emphasising the event which was a disaster for the Christian communities in Lebanon in general and for the Maronites in particular.

Pronouns

لا شأن لنا فيها ... أما الكتلة المسيحية فلا ندري أية كتلة , و نحن لا طائرة لنا و لا سلاح

(we were not involved… we do not know which bloc it is, we do not possess airplanes nor arms")

These extracts are samples of the use of the pronoun *we*, where the Patriarch makes use of to represent all the communities of Lebanon including himself. He is

generalising and including everyone using an inclusive pronoun, including both reader and writer.

فرضت علينا و إتخذوا من أرضنا ساحة عراك لهم لا لنا, الطائرات الإسرائلية ترغي و تزبد في سماء وطننا

(But it was imposed on us and our territory was exploited as a battlefield for them and not for us, the Israeli airplanes "roared and glittered in the sky of our country…")

The pronouns "us" and "our" also represent the whole Lebanese community including the Maronite priests. The journalist directly quotes the Patriarch to make clear to the reader that this inclusive pronoun is used by the Patriarch and not necessarily by the journalist.

لكن مضى وقت لم نر أحدا منهم, قلنا ما فيه الكفاية, لا تلفونات بيننا, هل تريد أن ندين إسرائيل كل يوم لكي نبرهن أن إسرائيل عدو لنا؟

(but for a long time we have not seen anyone of them, we already declared our opinion in this regard, there are no phone calls between us, do you want us to condemn Israel every day to prove that Israel is our enemy?)

In the above extracts, the Patriarch implies the Maronite bishops, the Maronite priests and himself, all of whom represent the Maronite sect. The Patriarch also means by the pronoun "us" the group of Maronite priests who represent the Maronite church.

كانوا يبعثون إلينا بوفود من قبلهم

(They used to send delegations from their side)

The pronoun "they" represents Hezbollah.

هذا الكلام لا أستحقه, أقولها بصراحة

(I don't deserve these expressions; I have to be truthful)

The Patriarch is using the pronoun I, expressing his own feelings and personalising the quote, excluding everyone else.

The journalist directly quotes the Patriarch especially when he uses the pronouns "we", "our", "us", "I", and so on.
He is referring either to the Lebanese community as a whole, or to the group of Maronite priests that head up and represent a community.

Conclusion

Al Akhbar covered the event differently from the other newspapers analysed. The conclusion may be drawn that this newspaper is pro-Hezbollah. The headline published in *Al Akhbar* represents a different topic. Initially the headline emphasised that the Patriarch's comments were addressed directly to *Al Akhbar* and the headline comments on the break in communication with Hezbollah. It is the only newspaper that mentions this topic.
Mr. Karam is allotted only one sentence in this whole article, and the word "awakening", which appears in the other newspapers analysed to describe Bkerke is changed to "resistance" in *Al AKhbar*. As a result, Bkerke is compared to the resistance force, Hezbollah.
Hezbollah is named openly in the article and questions were put to the Patriarch about the communications between Hezbollah and himself. Adding this detail provides the reader with further important information.
Another addition is noticeable in the article when the journalist recalls the Patriarch's view of "the attitude of the Secretary General of Hezbollah, Mr. Hassan Nasrallah, during the interview given at Al Jazeera". This is the only newspaper to recall the *Al Jazeera* interview with Mr. Hassan Nasrallah.
The amicable relations with Lebanon's neighbours are only mentioned in this article, indirectly implicating Syria.

Al Akhbar omits the speech given by the Patriarch concerning the freedom of the press that exists in Lebanon. This indicates that the newspaper removes information that is incongruent with its political stance.
In contrast with *An Nahar*, this newspaper fails to mention the visit of the US ambassador to the Patriarch that same day, avoiding information that conflicts with its political attitude toward the United States in general and its ambassador in particular.

The metaphors used in the article describing the Israeli airplanes, which roared and glittered in the Lebanese sky is another form of description emphasising Israeli arms which Lebanon lacks.

The extensive use of passive voice and nominalisation serves to mitigate the seriousness of the events, giving an indication of the newspaper's underlying ideological stance.

4.2.2 Analysis of *An Nahar* – Daily Arabic Newspaper No. 22775 – Friday, 15 September 2006, Year 74 (see Appendix D)

An Nahar is a leading daily Arabic newspaper published in Lebanon and widely distributed in the Arab world. It is banned in Syria because of its strong stance against the Syrian occupation of Lebanon. This newspaper meets high standards of journalism. It appeals to a large audience and is considered a prestigious publication that operates in a professional manner.
The following analysis examines elements on the macro-structural level by assessing the norms and values present in the text.

Presentation of the Article

The article was published on the online version of the paper under the subheading محليات سياسية "Local political news". No photograph is added to the article. Three short headlines are printed at the beginning of the article.

Over-lexicalisation and Omissions

The article in *An Nahar* consists of 18 paragraphs of which 13 are devoted to the event. The other five paragraphs appear under a subheading السفير الأميركي (the American Ambassador) at the end of the article and which reports on the visit of the US ambassador to the Patriarch on the same day[24].

The font is small and the space reserved for the meeting between the Patriarch and the Council of the Journalists' Association consists of 1,100 words. *An Nahar* acknowledges Mr. Karam, the head of the delegation, by reporting three paragraphs (97 words) of his speech. The journalist also indicates the respect and admiration expressed by Mr. Karam towards the Patriarch and in return the narrator tells the reader of the Patriarch's modesty.

[24] The section relating to the Ambassador of the United States of America is not included in this research.

The Patriarch's speech is published in its entirety in *An Nahar* with the significant exception of the quotation printed in *Al Akhbar* concerning the lack of contact with Hezbollah.

Sequence of Quotations

In the first paragraph of the article, *An Nahar* introduces a small summary quoting the Patriarch indirectly. Mr. Karam's speech follows praising the head of the Maronite church for his attitudes and feelings towards the Lebanese community. The sequence of the Patriarch's quotations is no different in *An Nahar* to the other newspapers. The visit of the Ambassador of the United States of America is reported in a smaller section at the end of the same article under the subheading "the American Ambassador" printed in bold letters to separate the two subjects from each other. *Al Akhbar* omits this section because of its political stance towards the United States.

This study now analyses the micro-structural level in relation to headlines, modality, vocabulary, lexicalisation and transitivity.

Headline Extract 1

السفير الأميركي أثنى على حكمة البطريرك الماروني

(The US ambassador praised the wisdom of the Maronite Patriarch)

Headline Extract 1 Analysis

The first headline relates to the Ambassador of the United States of America who also visited the Patriarch on the same day. The agent is "the US Ambassador", the process is "praised" and the attribute is "the wisdom of the Maronite Patriarch". The headline extract 1 is an impressive statement in which the process is active and verbal. The ambassador is not quoted directly in inverted commas. It has a positive meaning where the US ambassador expresses his admiration for the wisdom of the Patriarch. The modifiers used are not very marked as the American ambassador is simply named "the US ambassador*"* and the Patriarch is named "the Maronite Patriarch".

Profile

The first headline is written in bold letters, in the same size font as the rest of the article. The headline extract 1 recalls a meeting between the US ambassador and the Patriarch, which is reported at the end of the article, emphasising the importance of this meeting. This headline has a positive impact on some readers who support the 14 March Alliance and who do not disapprove of the US ambassador.

Headline Extract 2

صفير: اللبنانيون كانوا دخلاء في الحرب

(Sfeir: the Lebanese were strangers in the war)

Headline Extract 2 Analysis

This headline has two clauses, which are separated by a colon. The first clause names the Patriarch Sfeir without including any modifier, thus reducing the importance of this religious leader. The second clause comprises the actor, "the Lebanese", the process "were" and the attribute "strangers in the war". This clause is a statement with a relational process. No inverted commas were used for this headline even though it is a direct quotation from the statement by the Patriarch to the journalists.

Profile

The second headline is printed under the first using the same font, in bold letters. This second headline quotes the Patriarch directly stressing that the Lebanese people are not involved in the war. The July war is such an important subject that the journalist chose to mention it in the headline. It has a negative meaning in that it highlights the non-involvement of the Lebanese people.

Headline Extract 3

إسرائيل لا تزال العدو و لكن هل علينا إدانتها يوميا؟

(Israel is still the enemy but do we have to condemn it every day?)

Headline Extract 3 Analysis

The third headline is a direct question that comprises two clauses quoted directly from the Patriarch without using any inverted commas. The actor in the first clause is "Israel", the process is "is", and the attribute is "still the enemy". The first clause is an active statement and a relational process. It has a strong insinuation stressing that Israel is "*still the enemy"*.

The adversative conjunction "but" links the two clauses together and is inserted before the statement "Israel is still the enemy" which gives a reason for what has just been said. The second clause is a question employing the actor "we", the process "have to condemn" and the attribute "it [Israel] every day". The second clause uses an active mental process to describe the Patriarch asking a question concerning the condemnation of Israel.

Profile

The first clause of the third headline states that Israel is the enemy of Lebanon while the second clause is presented in the interrogative form where the Patriarch is wondering if he has to keep reiterating his attitude towards Israel to satisfy and convince everyone about his thoughts and beliefs.

Modality

The Patriarch uses the interrogative sentence "do we have to condemn Israel…?" which contains modality regarding the obligation to keep condemning Israel every time he speaks. The Patriarch is implying that the Lebanese people are requiring him to repeat the same words on a regular basis.

"… we should be more patient" contain modality expressing obligation. The use of modal verbs by the Patriarch in direct quotations is indicative of his opinions and beliefs.

Lexicalisation

Mr. Karam describes Bkerke as صخرة الصحوة اللبنانية (the rock of the Lebanese awakening) emphasising the importance of the place and comparing it to a rock on

which the Lebanese people can depend by trusting and having faith in the spiritual meaning of the place.

جئنا اليوم (...) نطلب الكلمة الجامعة من بكركي. في الحرب , في السلم , في الحوار , في التهميش , لعلنا نطلع, من كل هذا بالإرشاد الرائي العاقل المحب

(We arrived today… asking to hear a word of unity from Bkerke. In war, in peace, in talks, in marginalisation, we should perhaps be aware of all this loving and wise guidance)

Once again Mr. Karam praises the place and puts his confidence in all circumstances in it.

لأن بكركي تعمل بمحبة في كل المجالات , من الدعوة الى الرفعة في الخلقية الى تلاقي الاسر الروحية في لبنان

(Since Bkerke deals with love in all domains, from missionary to moral tasks which are glorious, to the gathering of the spiritual families in Lebanon)

These are expressions describing the qualities of Bkerke, the official residence of the head of the Maronite church, recognising its authority and describing love, respect and admiration for the place and its significance to the Lebanese people.

Relexicalisation

An Nahar uses the same linguistic means when referring to the religious role of the Patriarch. "the Maronite Patriarch", "Patriarch Sfeir" or "Sfeir" are the only modifiers used throughout the article. *An Nahar* therefore does not emphasise the importance of the religious status of the Patriarch.

The journalist refers to Mr. Karam as "President Melhem Karam", "President Karam" or "Karam, the president of the journalists' association", highlighting the status of Mr. Karam for the reader.

Lexical Cohesion

Classification schemes are evident in this article. Synonyms are noticeable stressing negative or positive feelings or thoughts. محبة و سلام (harmony and peace), صداقة و تعاون(harmony and cooperation), الجيران وما حولنا (neighbours and next), قرى و مدن كبرى (towns and big cities) are value-loaded synonyms carrying positive emotions.

هذا الكلام الصادق المحب (these honest and loving expressions), الإرشاد العاقل المحب (this loving and wise guidance), صداقة و تعاون (harmony and cooperation), في المحبة و السلام (in peace and harmony) are positive words carrying positive emotions and feelings.

الوطنية (the patriotism), التعاون والصداقة (the friendship and the cooperation), الحرية (the freedom), السيادة والإستقلال (independence and sovereignty) carry positive feelings of patriotism.

الحرب (the war), العدو (the enemy), عراك ساحة (the battlefield),القتال (military clashes), السلاح النووي (atomic bomb), الخلاف (dispute), هجوم (attacking),خلافات (disagreements), مجزرة إهدن (massacre at Ehden) are negative words carrying a sense of conflict and war.

الخسارة (the loss), التهديم (the destructions), مأساوية (tragic), هدمت (destroyed),نزحوا (left their homes), ضحايا (martyrs), مأساوية (tragedies) are all value-loaded words carrying negative meanings of damage and loss.

الحرب والسلم (war and peace),الحب و الحرب (love and war), الوطنية الجامعة و الفرقة الجانية و التوحيد (universal patriotism and criminal disunion and unity), الحوار و التهميش (talks and isolation), صباحا و مساءا (morning and night),الحلول و المشاكل (solution and problem), لهم و لنا ليس (for them and not for us), ذهبوا و بقوا (gone and remained), و تهديم تعمير (destroy and build), علاقا ت ودية(amicable relations), علاقات جيدة و العدو (good relations and enemy),صغيرة (small), كبيرة (big and large), بناء و تهديم (build and destroy), تشكيل و تغيير (form and change), تهديم (destroying) and إعادة بناء (re-building), إعترضوا و إرتضوا (satisfied and complain) are antonyms used to carry contradictory meanings.

قرى و شوارع (villages and streets), جاءت و ذهبت (they come and go), ينعم بالحرية و الإستقلال و السيادة (enjoying the freedom, independence and sovereignty), المجلس و الحكومة (government and parliament) are hyponyms used in the article.

Classification schemes used in this article are ideologically significant implying political meaning.

Metaphor

صخرة الصحوة اللبنانية (the rock of the Lebanese awakening) is a metaphor used to describe the special meaning of Bkerke which is considered the most important site for Christians in Lebanon.

Transitivity Including Active and Passive Voice and Agency

الحرب فرضت علينا (the war was imposed on us) is stated as a passive material process. The agent is unidentified, thus indicating that the Patriarch is unwilling to tell the journalists and the reader about the group responsible for imposing the war on the Lebanese people.

إتخذوا من أرضنا ساحة عراك لهم و ليس لنا (our land has been exploited as their battlefield and not ours) is another quotation formulated as a passive material process with an unknown agent. The Patriarch does not mention the groups or the agent, which exploited Lebanon as their battlefield.

دار حوار (a dialogue took place) is stated in the passive form and therefore does not identify for the reader the parties concerned in the dialogue, which took place.

و جرى تهديم قرى بكاملها و أحياء (complete villages and streets were destroyed) is a statement in which the verb is a passive material process with an unknown agent. The actor who destroyed the villages and streets is not mentioned. The journalist reports the exact words of the Patriarch.

قيل لنا (we were told) is a passive verbal process where the agent is unknown since the Patriarch did not reveal the source of the information given to him.

هناك أفكار عديدة يجب جمعها و مقارنتها و إستخلاص العبر منها (many opinions should be collected, compared and conclusions should be drawn in this regard) are verbs used in the transitive, passive form with an unknown agent.

لقد كلف من كلف وضع هذا القانون (it was assigned to some to set this law) is stated as a passive material process. The actor, who or which did the assigning, is not stated.

يجب أن يقر القانون (the law should be endorsed) is a declaration using a passive material process and obscuring the group which has to endorse the law.

هدمت منازلهم (houses were destroyed) does not mention the identity of the actor who destroyed the houses. The process is a material one.

لم يعوضوا عليهمم (they have not been paid) is a transitive and passive process. The actor who should pay the people is not mentioned by the Patriarch.

حصلت مجزرة إهدن (the massacre at Ehden occurred) is a statement in which the Patriarch fails to mention the name of the people behind the massacre.

سئل رأيه (he was asked his opinion) is a passive verbal process. The Patriarch was asked a question by an unknown agent. The journalist kept the person who asked the question hidden since he/she thought that the identity of the person is not of interest to the reader, otherwise he/she would have revealed the journalist who asked this question.

The majority of verbs indicate material processes, emphasising that the majority of the quotations consist statements by the Patriarch relating to actions and descriptions of events quoted by the Patriarch.

Nominalisation

The following extracts الصحوة اللبنانية (Lebanese awakening), تلاقي الأسر اللبنانية (the gathering of the spiritual families), تهميش المسيحيين (the isolation of the Christians), هذا كله عارض (it is just a demonstration), إدانة إسرائيل (the condemnation of Israel), الهجرة (the emigration), تغيير الحكومة (the transformation of the government), المصالحة (the reconciliation) display nominalisation which deletes the action by avoiding the use of a verb and turning the event into a noun. This removes any hint of agency and

protects the speaker from being obliged to name those responsible for any of these actions.

Direct and Indirect Discourse

The journalist is quoting Mr. Karam's speech addressed to the Patriarch directly, inserting the quotes in inverted commas, repeating the exact words used to reveal the group's attitudes since the journalists respect Bkerke and the Patriarch who is its head.

The journalist also uses direct discourse when quoting the Patriarch, inserting the Patriarch's opinions and concerns in inverted commas, strengthening the actual words of the Patriarch.

هذا كلام لا أستحقه و نشكر لكم زيارتكم... أقولها بصراحة

(I don't deserve these words and we thank you for your visit... I may say frankly)

The preference for direct speech over indirect speech shows that the newspaper wishes to publish the exact words of those quoted, emphasising the importance of those words and avoiding any direct expression of the journalist's own attitude.

Sentence Links

As mentioned in the analysis of the *Al Akhbar* article, the Arabic language uses only a small number of conjunctions. In this article, the conjunctions used are *wa* و (and) as well as *thuma* ثم (then).

Repetition

" فرضت علينا و إتخذوا من أرضنا ساحة عراك لهم و ليس لنا و كانت حرب بالواسطة, الولايات المتحدة و إسرائيل من جهة , و من جهة ثانية إيران و سوريا بواسطة فريق لبناني" , " و لكن هل لدينا أن ندينها كل يوم صباحا و مساء؟"

("[the war] was imposed on us and our land has been exploited as their battlefield and not ours, as it was a proxy war, the Unites States of America and Israel on the one hand and Iran and Syria on the other, through the intermediary of a Lebanese group", "but do we have to condemn it every day, morning and night?")

The only idea and opinion repeated twice in the article concerns the Israeli war. The first paragraph is an introduction that the journalist inserted quoting in inverted commas the Patriarch's words about the Israeli war, which was imposed on Lebanon. The same quote was repeated a second time in the 4th paragraph, also in inverted commas.

The repetition of the same quote proves the importance of the Patriarch's opinion about the Israeli war. The journalist is emphasising the attitude of the Patriarch as well as that of the newspaper.

Pronouns

أعتقد

(I believe)

The Patriarch uses the first person singular, thus isolating himself from others and emphasising that he is giving his own opinion rather than that of others.

The Patriarch also makes use of the first person plural, indicating that his words represent all the communities of Lebanon. The pronoun "we" is inclusive, representing the writer and the reader.

ندينها , لا نستحقه و نشكر لكم , لا يزال لنا , لا نريد أن نذم , إلقينا نظرة على ما حولنا, نرى , مرت علينا , تساءلنا, نحمد الله, نبني لنا و لأبنائنا, أمورنا , وطننا , فرضت علينا, نجدتنا

"We condemn", "we don't deserve and we thank you", "we still have", "we don't want to humiliate", "we had a look on our surroundings", "we see", "we witnessed", "we wondered", "we thank the Lord", "we build to our children and ourselves", "our matters", "our country", "imposed on us", "to our rescue" are used by the Patriarch to include everyone. He is speaking on behalf of the Lebanese people by using the pronoun "we". The use of "us" and "our" in these extracts also indicates that his comments are representative of the whole Lebanese community, including the Maronite priests. The journalist quoted the Patriarch directly to make clear to the reader that this appeal comes from the Patriarch and the journalist is trying to separate himself from the Patriarch's quotes.

علينا(we have to), أرضنا (our land), كلنا سمعنا و تأثرنا (we all heard and we were impressed), جئنا نطلب (we came asking) are quotations from Mr. Karam who addressed these words to the Patriarch. Mr. Karam is speaking on his own behalf and including the group of journalists. The reader might or might not be included.

إنكم تعرفونها ,كنتم توافقون , تحاولون

The Patriarch speaks to the group using the second person pronoun "you" in phrases such as "you know", "you agree" and "you try" used when addressing his words to the journalists present and excluding those who are not there. The reader is not included in these words.

The Patriarch was quoted in this article using the pronouns "we", "our", "us", thus generalising his opinions and attitudes, insisting on including the group and the reader, stressing indirectly that his attitudes also apply to the Lebanese people.

Conclusion

This analysis shows that the ideology of the newspaper agrees with the Patriarch's attitudes and political stance. The headline indirectly quotes the US Ambassador who visited the Patriarch and revealed his trust in the Patriarch's wisdom. This headline has a positive value reflecting the ideology of the newspaper through the use of these words.

The other two headlines highlight the Patriarch's opinion on the July war and Israel, which is the enemy. The impact of these headlines is negative indicating the ideology of the newspaper.

Karam was given space in this newspaper since *An Nahar* is a newspaper recognised for the respect offered to the journalists and their president. A section is added at the end of the article reporting the statement of the US Ambassador who visited the Patriarch that same day, indicating that *An Nahar* is not against the US Ambassador and the country he represents, as is the case with *Al Akhbar*.

Freedom of speech is very important to *An Nahar* since the article included a long paragraph mentioning that Lebanon respects the freedom of press in contrast to its neighbours, namely Syria and the other Arabic countries.

The content of the article reflected all the topics referred to by the Patriarch with the exception of the questions asked by Al Akhbar relating to contact with Hezbollah. The reason behind this exception is that the ideology of the newspaper is anti-Hezbollah. The relationship between the Patriarch and Hezbollah does not concern *An Nahar* as it does *Al Akhbar*.

Each of the mentioned aspects is an indication of the newspaper's ideological stance.

4.3 Analysis of the English articles

4.3.1 Analysis of the *Monday Morning* – Issue 1760 – 18 September 2006 (See Appendix G)

The *Monday Morning* is an English weekly magazine that is printed every Monday highlighting the latest weekly news. The analysis below explains how important the event is for the *Monday Morning*.

Presentation of the Article

A small colour photograph of Karam, smartly dressed and sitting with the Patriarch is included in the article. This photograph highlights the importance of the two individuals and omitting the presence of the other journalists. The two interlocutors are not looking at each other, illustrating a serious atmosphere and respect, looking at the journalists in the room with them. The Patriarch is sitting, in his chair, which is a larger chair, stressing the importance of this leader over others present and facing the reader, looking away from the journalist. Mr. Karam is sitting in an attitude of respect, and is looking at the Patriarch and away from the readers.

Over-lexicalisation and Omissions

The *Monday Morning* publishes the shortest article compared with the other newspapers, printing only 138 words, including only a small part of the dialogue the Patriarch had with the journalists who visited him, as reported in the article. About half of the article is a quotation from the Patriarch and the rest is in the form of indirect speech.

Sequence of Quotations

Initially the journalist indirectly quotes the opinion of the Patriarch concerning the need for the cabinet to remain in office to avoid opening a political vacuum in the country.

The second paragraph of the article refers to the meeting between the journalists and the quotes the Patriarch directly on the Israeli war, which was imposed on Lebanon.

The first paragraph proves the importance that the journalist attributes to the opinion of the Patriarch regarding the cabinet and aims to convey it to the reader. The second paragraph emphasises the July war, which was imposed on Lebanon.
The writer does not mention the lack of a Christian bloc, fails to describe the destruction caused by the July war and omits mentioning the free press that Lebanon enjoys, the amicable relationship with Syria, the emigration of Lebanese citizens or the experience of his predecessor and the massacre at Ehden.
The only two opinions mentioned in the article highlight the ideology of the newspaper since the other quotations are missing.

An analysis of the macro-structural level of the article in the *Monday Morning* proves that this magazine does not accord great importance to the event, given that it omits the questions and answers concerning other issues, which demonstrates a neutral attitude towards the event.
The next section analyses features on the micro-structural level to establish if the ideology of the magazine is hidden in the headlines, vocabulary, lexicalisation, transitivity, and modality.

Head Extract
SFEIR: "A WAR IMPOSED ON US"

Headline Extract Analysis

The headline is composed of two clauses: the first clause contains only the surname of the Patriarch "Sfeir" without any modifier and followed by a colon indicating a direct quotation. The second clause comprises the subject actor that is "a war", the process "imposed" and the attribute "on us".

The second clause is a direct quotation printed between inverted commas and stressing the actual words of the Patriarch. It has a very strong value, highlighting for the reader that the war was not the Lebanese people's choice but that "it was imposed on us". The word "imposed" has a strong and negative meaning.

Profile

The headline in the *Monday Morning* is prominent, short, printed in capital letters in a large bold font. The words are directly attributed to the Patriarch by introducing inverted commas to distance the newspaper from the ideology behind the words. A modifier is missing in the headline, omitting the importance of the person related to the story. When reading the headline of this article the conclusion can be drawn that the Patriarch had has a negative attitude towards the war. *Monday Morning* is avoiding accusing Israel directly and presents Lebanon as the victim. The passive voice is used in order to delete the actor making it difficult for the reader to judge who is to blame. By choosing this quote for the article, the journalist shows the newspaper's unwillingness to take sides on the issue.

Modality

"It seems to me" is one of the Patriarch's comments in which he is assuming that Lebanon was not engaged in this war. Sfeir did not want to confirm the non-involvement of Lebanon in that war, so 'seems' is an epistemic modal verb indicating the perception of the Patriarch and his wish to avoid making a categorical statement.

With the exception of the examples mentioned above, the writer did not try to influence the reader's attitude and generally excludes the use of modal auxiliary verbs in the article, quoting the Patriarch directly using inverted commas.

Lexicalisation

The magazine underscores the Patriarch's opinion that the war took place without the consent or support of the Lebanese people. It emphasises the negative attitude of the Patriarch towards this war, and foregrounds the opinion that the war was forced on all the Lebanese people, including the journalists and perhaps also the reader, as the quotation refers to "us". The writer repeats this idea three times: "Lebanon was not concerned, this conflict was imposed on us," and "they used Lebanon as a battlefield for a conflict that has nothing to do with us." The word "conflict" is used more than once emphasising the seriousness of the situation.

Relexicalisation

The *Monday Morning* refers to the Patriarch as the "Maronite Patriarch" accentuating the religious identity which is significant mainly for the Maronites in Lebanon. The writer also reveals to the reader the importance of the Patriarch in Lebanon and in the Vatican by using his title "Cardinal". Despite the short article, the writer does not omit the name of Mr. Karam who is President of the Journalist's Association, again emphasising the importance of his position.

Lexical Cohesion and Lexical Chains

Synonyms, antonyms and hyponyms are noticeable in this article, loaded with negative and positive impact. "War and battlefield" are value-loaded synonyms carrying negative connotations describing the war. "Remain" and "stepped down" are value-loaded antonyms carrying contradictory meanings. "Government" and "cabinet" are value-loaded hyponyms referring to the constitutional institutions of the country.

Metaphor

"Political vacuum" is a metaphor used by the writer to stress the seriousness of a void should the government step down.

Transitivity Including Active and Passive Voice and Agency

"This conflict was imposed on us" is in the active voice and a material process. The subject is "this conflict", the process is "was imposed" and the attribute is "on us". The Patriarch uses the passive form, allowing for the deletion of the agent, and avoiding any naming of that agent.

"Lebanon was not concerned by it" is another extract where the actor is "Lebanon", the process "was not concerned" and the attribute is "by it". This extract is again expressed in the passive voice and has a negative impact on the reader.

In this article, the use of the passive voice by the Patriarch makes it difficult for the reader to judge who the Patriarch blames for the war.

Direct and Indirect Discourse

Given that the article is very short, the writer quotes the Patriarch only once in direct discourse and indirect discourse is used twice. The journalist's and the newspaper's voice are entirely absent.

Nominalisation

The extract "the necessity for the cabinet and the support of a majority of MPs" demonstrates nominalisation – the action is deleted, turning the process into a noun.

Repetition

In this article, the idea of "a war imposed" is repeated more than once in the text itself and in the headline. The reappearance of the same idea several times within the same article proves that the newspaper is trying to convey to the reader the Patriarch's insistent attitude towards the war. This repetition shows that the newspaper seeks to emphasise the opposition of the Patriarch to the war.

Pronouns

The pronoun "us" is repeated just to stress that all Lebanese people were not involved in this war and not just one group, as some might think.

The pronoun "they" is used once, without any reference to who the Patriarch is referring to.

In "they used Lebanon…" the actor is "they", the process is "used" and the attribute is "Lebanon". The use of the pronoun "they" without naming who "they" are again shows that the Patriarch is not keen to be explicit about the group that is using Lebanon. The writer makes clear the unwillingness of the newspaper to take sides of any kind by quoting the Patriarch directly. The role of a participant may be emphasised, minimized or omitted entirely.

Conclusion

The analysis of the article published in the Monday Morning provides evidence of the fact that the magazine is neutral, and sides with neither party. The ideology is clear by

the choice of words and the selection of facts. It is significant that the event only warranted such a short article.

4.3.2 Analysis of *The Daily Star* - Friday, September 15, 2006

The Daily Star is the only daily political newspaper published in English in Lebanon. The event was reported in the newspaper at the same time it was published in the other newspapers but the approach is different. This analysis examines the different approach used by *The Daily Star*.

Presentation of the Article

No photograph is published on the Internet version of the newspaper. The name of the correspondent Maroun Khoury is mentioned at the beginning of the article, in small bold letters and the caption beneath his name presents him as *The Daily Star* correspondent.

Over-lexicalisation and Omissions

The article published in *The Daily Star* does not report specifically on the meeting of the Patriarch with Mr. Karam. Compares to the other newspapers, the number of words used to report the same event is very small. The full article comprises 360 words with only 112 words used to report the event. Most of the Patriarch's dialogue is omitted. Instead the reporter adds different events and news. The reporter uses 25 words to refer to a call from Hezbollah and MP Michel Aoun requesting the government to resign. He also reports on the meeting of the Patriarch with the US ambassador, giving that meeting more space than the meeting with the journalists (171 words). The correspondent also mentions in 52 words at the end of the article a reply from a senior Shiite cleric accusing the United States of America of raising one Lebanese group over another. The headline is extracted from the meeting with the journalists but the article covers four different opinions from different groups.

Sequence of Quotations

The article begins by reporting the meeting between the Patriarch and the journalists via Mr. Karam's direct and indirect quotes of the Patriarch's comments. The journalist only reports the US ambassador[25]'s statement after his meeting with the Patriarch.

[25] Mr. Feltman is the ambassador of the United States of America in Lebanon

Once again, at the end of the article, Hezbollah is mentioned by publishing a reply from a senior Shiite cleric complaining about the behaviour of the US administration and their ambassador and accusing them of raising one group over another.
The analysis now moves to an analysis of features on the micro-level, such as the use of headlines, vocabulary, lexicalisation, transitivity, and modality.

The Headline Extract

Sfeir 'blames Hizbullah[26]' for state of affairs in Lebanon

The Headline Extract Analysis

The headline comprises one sentence in which the actor is "Sfeir", the process is "blames" and the attribute is "Hizbollah for state of affairs in Lebanon". The meaning is evocative since it reports on the state of affairs but does not indicate the exact state of affairs in Lebanon. But since "blames" is a negative process, the reader understands that the mood in the country is pessimistic and that Sfeir holds Hezbollah responsible.

Profile

The Daily Star's headline reports on the event differently from the French and Arabic articles by including the Patriarch's accusation against Hezbollah. It highlights the fact that the head of the Maronite Church is blaming Hezbollah (the Shiite party) for the situation in Lebanon after the July war. The July war is omitted in the headline but the reader understands immediately that the state of affairs means that the problems the country is facing in the aftermath of the July war were brought about by Hezbollah. The headline highlights that the Patriarch does not blame Israel, which is the enemy, but he blames Hezbollah. This newspaper uses indirect discourse where a slipping was necessary to highlight that the Patriarch "blames Hizbollah" and it tried to distance itself ideologically from the statement by using inverted commas and the direct discourse. The name of the correspondent Maroun Khoury is in full view and for local readers would identify the correspondent as a Maronite through his name Maroun.

[26] The Daily Star spells Hezbollah differently as Hizbullah instead of Hezbollah

Modality

No modal verbs are used in this newspaper.

Lexicalisation

The Daily Star reports on the event by criticising the Patriarch and referring to him "…as having once more lashed out at Hizbullah…" The definition of the verb "to lash out" as defined in the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* is "to criticize somebody or something in a very angry way". It is a choice of wording that the newspaper uses to report the attitude of the Patriarch towards Hezbollah and implying criticism of the Patriarch. It is a strong word used to describe the attitude of the Patriarch towards the "Party of God" and it indicates that it is not the first time that he has done so adding "once more".

Maroun Khoury reports that Sfeir "blames the resistance for the 'catastrophic' state of affairs in Lebanon". The reporter uses the word "resistance" to refer to Hezbollah and emphasise that Hezbollah is a party recognised by everybody to be defending the country in resisting the enemy. It is also a term that carries positive connotations. The United States as well as other countries consider Hezbollah a terrorist organisation but the writer calls it the "resistance" which gives it the right to exist and defend Lebanon against Israel.

"The latest attack was relayed" is another sentence used by the journalist showing that the Patriarch is always attacking and his latest attack is transmitted by Karam. The journalist is passing on an attitude which might be his own understanding of the Patriarch's own attitude.

Relexicalisation

The Daily Star referred only once to the religious role of the Patriarch through the titles "Maronite Patriarch" and "prelate". Throughout the rest of the article, the journalist only refers to him by his surname "Sfeir", which diminishes his status. Since the reader of this newspaper is an English reader, the journalist does not feel that he is forced to use modifiers to present the Patriarch, in contrast with the Arabic

and French readers who expect modifiers when relating to a high religious personality such as the Patriarch.

The journalist described Hezbollah as a "resistance", giving it a legal status to exist because they are resisting Israel, which is the enemy.

Lexical Cohesion

Due to the shortness of the article, very few synonyms, hyponyms or antonyms were used in this article. "lashed out" and "blaming" are value-loaded synonyms with negative implications. "Hizbollah", "resistance" and "Lebanese group" are hyponyms relating to one group, which is Hezbollah. "catastrophic state", "tragedies", "war" and "battlefields" are also hyponyms detailing the disastrous consequences of the war for Lebanon.

Metaphor

"Blaming the resistance" is an indirect quote from the Patriarch. The journalist uses the word "resistance" to give Hezbollah a legal status as opposed to the accusations of the West which generally considers it to be a fanatical organisation.

Transitivity Including Active and Passive Voice and Agency

"A war imposed on us", "…our country was used …", "the war was launched…" are sentences quoted from the Patriarch using the passive voice to omit the role of the actor. The verbs used are passive actional processes deleting the agent.

The use of transitivity is also noticeable in reporting the event: "the latest attack was relayed by journalist…" is a passive verbal process in which the agent is the president of the Journalists' Union.

It is evident in this article that the majority of the verbs indicate verbal processes, emphasising the fact that the article consists of Karam quoting the Patriarch indirectly.

Direct and Indirect Discourse

The journalist publishes Karam's comments to the press, indirectly quoting the Patriarch's conversation with the journalists. The Patriarch's opinion concerning the

July war is inserted in inverted commas, as he is quoted by Karam. The dominance of indirect speech over direct speech indicates that the journalist wants to reveal his own attitude.

Nominalisation

"…In mediation between Israel and Iran…" is a statement with a nominalisation since the action is removed to simply delete the action.

Repetition

Due to the small amount of space assigned to the event, the correspondent could not repeat the same opinion more than once. He reports on the July war and quotes the Patriarch's words several times in this short article. He wants to make it obvious to the reader that according to the Patriarch, Lebanon is involved in a war, which it has nothing to do with. The phrasing is different but the repetition remains.
The word "war" is repeated several times in the sentences "a war imposed on us, and our country was used as a battlefield for others…", "the war was launched…through a Lebanese group…". He emphasises the negative meaning of the war.

Pronouns

The pronouns "us" and "our" in the quotation "a war was imposed on us, our country was used as a battlefield…" are used by the Patriarch to emphasise that the war was forced on the Lebanese people, including the writer and the reader.
The pronoun "our" stresses that the country is everyone's country, including those present and those not present in this meeting.

Conclusion

As the above analysis shows, the English political newspapers and magazines published in Lebanon such as the *Monday Morning* and *The Daily Star* have not dedicated the same amount of space as the other political newspapers. This indicates that the event is not as important for their readers given the fact that most of the Patriarch's words are omitted. The representation of language in these two articles is different from the other newspapers analysed. Does this impact on the political

ideologies of the newspapers? The following chapter attempts to draw general conclusions from the analyses.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This study investigated how the six Lebanese newspapers with different political ideologies reported the same event displaying different attitudes through the use of language. It is an attempt and an opportunity to identify the importance of the analysis before embarking on any scrutiny.

This study has shown that language can indicate underlying ideologies by reporting and reshaping the articles in different ways. This study recognizes the importance of the analysis by identifying the grammatical structure of the languages involved in a given article which is subject to the analytic step. Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis has been useful in the analysis of the articles to define the relationship between language use and ideologies.

The critical discourse analysis of the six articles examined the representation of the event at the macro-structural level, focusing on the presentation of the articles, revealing the occurrence of certain omissions to additions and analysing the sequence of quotations, in order to draw conclusions as to the reasons of these differences.

A photograph of the Patriarch was observed in most of the newspapers except for *Al-Nahar* and *the Daily Star*. Two different photographs were published: the first representing the Patriarch and late Melhem Karam sitting together face to face and the second showing the group of journalists surrounding the Patriarch. This was done in order to make the reader focus only on the two major personalities of the group or to reveal the importance of the entire group of journalist present in this meeting.
This difference may explain a distinction in political ideologies between the six newspapers.

The analysis of the articles also revealed the occurrence of some omissions or deletions. An example of one of these occurrences is the omission in *Al-Akhbar* of the existence of a free press in Lebanon proving that this newspaper does not encourage this freedom. In contrast to *An-Nahar,* this newspaper fails to mention the visit of the US ambassador to the Patriarch on the same day, deleting information that conflicts

with its political attitude toward the United States in general and its ambassador in particular. These omissions toned downed information that is contrasting with its political stance. The *Monday Morning* and the *Daily Star* did not dedicate the same amount of space to the meeting as other newspapers. This omission might be explained by the neutrality of the English newspapers.

Some additions were also noted in *Al-Akhbar*. 'The attitude of Mr. Hassan Nasrallah during the interview given at *Al Jazeera'* was in plain sight in the article. The relationship between the Patriarch and Hezbollah was also added in the article, enhancing the political ideologies of *Al-Akhbar*. Another addition was also noticeable - the amicable relation with Lebanon's neighbours indirectly implicating Syria. These additions explained the political ideologies of *Al- Akhbar*, allowing us to draw conclusion that the newspaper is a pro-Hezbollah and pro-Syria. *La Revue du Liban* allows more space to Mr. Karam's speech since he was the editor-in-chief of the magazine and he is given space in *An-Nahar* showing that the newspaper respects journalists and their president. *La Revue du Liban* covers all topics except contact with Hezbollah, confirming an anti-Hezbollah attitude. *L'Orient-Le-Jour* allocates more space than any of the other five newspapers proving the political stance of the newspaper.

The sequence of quotations differs between one newspaper and another, showing the importance of each topic as per the newspaper political ideologies. For example, *La Revue du Liban* quotes the free press in Lebanon at the beginning of the article, strengthening the importance of this freedom, while it is less significant for *L'Orient-Le-Jour* since it is mentioned last in the article.

As for the representation of the event at the micro-structural level, the analysis studies the use of headlines, vocabulary, lexicalisation, transitivity and modality.
For example, the headline in *Al-Akhbar* covers the Patriarch's break in communication with Hezbollah, a complete different topic from the other five newspapers, strengthening the political stance of the newspaper which is pro-Hezbollah. The headline in *An-Nahar* indirectly quotes the US ambassador who visited the Patriarch and reveals the trust in his wisdom. This headline has a positive

value reflecting the ideology of the newspaper, which has a pro-western political stance. The other three headlines mentioned the same topic which is the July war with Israel, while the headline in *the Daily Star* shows a different point of view, indicating that 'Sfeir blames Hezbollah for state of affairs' in the country. This shift in the point of view in the headlines may be explained by political considerations.

The use of metaphors and different modal expressions prove that *Al-Akhbar's* political ideologies are different from the other newspapers. Shifts are noticeable at the choice of words. For example, the term "the rock of the Lebanese resistance" is used in *Al-Akhbar* to compare Bkerke to the resistance, insinuating indirectly Hezbollah, while *La Revue du Liban* uses "the rock of the Lebanese awakening".

Shifts have also been noted at the process level, particularly through the extensive use of the passive voice in *Al-Akhbar*, serving to mitigate the seriousness of the event, given an indication of the newspaper's underlying ideological stance that is pro-Hezbollah.

In contrast to *Al-Akhbar*, *An-Nahar* agrees with the Patriarch's attitudes and his political stance, which is obvious in the selection of the words used in the headlines, the use of nominalisation and the transitivity processes implemented in the article. *An-Nahar* focused on the freedom of speech in Lebanon and the lack of it in the surrounding countries.

L'Orient-Le-Jour uses indirect quotes while L*a Revue du Liban* uses direct speech, which reveals the aim of the writer to strengthen the words of those quoted. Both French newspapers reveal the importance of the religious role of the Patriarch using a large selection of titles. *La Revue du Liban* allows more space to Mr. Karam's speech since he was the editor-in-chief of the magazine.

The presentation of the articles is important since each newspaper uses different methods. Over-lexicalisation, omissions, the sequence of the quotations and headlines played a major role in each newspaper. Modalities and metaphors were selected with the intention to enhance certain feelings in the reader.

However, on the whole, even though most people believe and claim that Lebanon has a free press, the conclusion can be drawn that Lebanese newspapers use different approaches in reporting the same event attempting to influence the reader's opinion according to each newspaper political ideologies, limiting the freedom of speech. The shifts used by *Al-Akhbar* in reporting this event proved that the political ideologies of the said newspaper are opposed to those of *An-Nahar*, *La Revue du Liban* and *L'Orient-Le-Jour*. The approach of the event followed by the English newspapers was fairly close with the exception of the headlines, explaining that the difference of political ideologies of the two newspapers is not so vast.

In conclusion, in this study, a close textual comparison of the six articles reporting the same event proved that the language used indicates that the political ideologies of the newspapers are opposed. This study has confirmed how language is a vehicle of hidden interpretation in supposedly neutral reporting. Therefore, the reader should approach the discourse critically to expose the invisible ideology passing through language.

Appendix A: Translation of the French Article in *La Revue du Liban* into English

On receiving the Council of the Journalists' Association, Monsignor Sfeir stated: "Israel is the enemy and Lebanon will be the last Arabic state to conclude peace with Tel-Aviv."

"Israel is the enemy and Lebanon will be the last Arabic State to conclude peace with the Hebrew State," said his Excellency Cardinal Nasrallah Sfeir, on receiving Mr. Melhem Karam, the head of the Council of the Journalists' Association.

As for our internal issues, he described them as 'tragic' and called for rapid action to improve the situation, 'because if we do not help each other ourselves, others will not help us'.

Mr Karam then spoke, declaring that Bkerke has always been the 'rock of the Lebanese awakening' because the Patriarchy has always performed with love in all fields, in order to bring together the spiritual families. We were all impressed by the statements made by his Eminence concerning the Israeli war against our country. His words were considered, honest and loving; words of a unifying patriotism, in order that Lebanon, the whole of Lebanon, should not pay the price of division.

'We have all heard about the marginalisation of the Christians and in particular the Maronites. We return today to the source, to Patriarch Sfeir, to ask him to pronounce the words which might save Lebanon from the seeds of discord. As always we have come to Bkerke to hear the words which will bring people together in terms of peace, dialogue and marginalisation, in the hope of obtaining from his Eminence the full expression of wisdom and affection.'

SFEIR: THERE IS STILL A FREE PRESS IN LEBANON

Taking the floor once more, Cardinal Sfeir first thanked Mr. Karam for the feelings he expressed before turning to the issues of the day.

'You are more familiar with them than I am, and you deal with them on a daily basis in your newspapers. I thank the Lord that we still have a free press, able to discuss all topics and propose appropriate solutions. Free speech does not exist today, except in Lebanon. This freedom allows the Lebanese people to express their concerns and we hope that this liberty will be protected.

He said: 'We have suffered from a war that lasted more than one month and which was imposed on us, Our country has been chosen as a stage for bloody and destructive confrontations, between Israel and the United States on the one hand, and Syria and Iran on the other, through the intermediary of Lebanon.

'The Lebanese people, who did not want this war, have paid a very high price. We have to act now to eradicate the consequences. Naturally, those countries which are our brothers and our friends, the other countries, came to our rescue, but this will be short-lived. Armies come and leave again, but we have to identify how we can strengthen the bond of our citizenship, friendship and cooperation between ourselves. This is what we lack for the moment.'

LET US STAY UNITED AND CONNECTED

'Each community is acting on its own, as if it wishes to build its own separate State. This is impossible. Lebanon is a small country composed of 18 communities; its population is equal to the population of a large city. We must therefore be united and combine our efforts to build, for our sons and for future generations, a State worthy of the name, enjoying freedom, sovereignty and independence. And, also, to establish good relations with our neighbours.

'Naturally, Israel remains the enemy up to this day and Lebanon cannot establish relations with Tel-Aviv while our brother countries have not concluded peace with the Hebrew State.

'If it was possible to create a Palestinian state next to Israel, the situation would change entirely. It is necessary for all the Middle-Eastern countries to agree between themselves to live in harmony and cooperation.

'Up to now the military clashes have been limited to Lebanon and we do not know what the future holds. There is a dispute between Iran and other countries that wish to prevent the Islamic Republic from obtaining the atomic bomb. If it succeeds in obtaining it, at the same time as Israel and the United States, the consequences will be devastating. That is why we think that all these countries should see reason, and live in peace with their neighbours. That is the only solution that can guarantee this region the peace and harmony of which its people dream.'

In response to a question concerning the reason that the seventh statement of the Maronite hierarchy did not condemn Israel after its attack on Lebanon, Mgr Sfeir expressed his thoughts as follows: "Do you wish us to condemn Israel every day to prove that it remains the enemy? During the last spiritual summit which was held in the headquarters of the Patriarchy, we condemned Israeli policy sufficiently. In addition, the seventh statement of the Council of Archbishops bishops is not about the Hebrew state but about internal issues. It is true that Israel has attacked Lebanon, but we have to avoid attacking ourselves.'

His Excellency emphasised, in addition, 'the necessity of curbing the emigration of the Lebanese people, in particular the young, more than 200 thousand of whom left the country after the last Israeli attack. If these departures continue at the same pace, who will be left in the country?'

With regard to the national dialogue, Cardinal Sfeir thinks that 'if the legal institutions functioned normally and had not been drained of their power, they would have encouraged dialogue and resolved all the conflicting issues'.

Appendix B: Translation of the *L'Orient-Le-Jour* article from French into English

L'Orient Le Jour
Friday, 15 September 2006 /5:00/Beirut

The head of the Maronite church believes that the stepping down of the government would create a political vacuum

Sfeir: the July war was a 'proxy war' on Lebanese soil

The Patriarch condemned the absence of a Christian bloc compared to the presence of the Sunni, Shiite and Druze blocs.

Receiving the president of the Journalists' Association, Melhem Karam, heading a delegation of the association's executive council, Cardinal Nasrallah Sfeir summarised his thoughts on certain topical issues, starting with the July war. Lebanon, said the Patriarch, 'was not involved' in this conflict which was 'imposed' on it. "Lebanon has been used as a battlefield for a conflict that was alien to it. This was a proxy war', added the head of the Maronite Church.

Saying that he was convinced that one day Lebanon will make peace with Israel, the Patriarch appeared irritated by those who criticised the absence of any condemnation of Israel in the last statement of the Council of Maronite Bishops. 'Do we really have to condemn Israel every day, morning and night, to show that Israel is the enemy?' he exclaimed.
The head of the Maronite church severely criticized certain Christian leaders, specifying particularly that: 'Today there is a Sunnite bloc, a Shiite bloc and a Druze bloc. As for the Christian bloc, frankly, we cannot see one'.
Finally, the Patriarch Sfeir stated that he was against any change in government and was concerned about the 'political vacuum' that would be created if the cabinet resigned.

The Patriarch began by affirming that 'if we ask ourselves about the causes of this conflict, it seems to me that Lebanon was not involved. This conflict was imposed on us. Lebanon has been used as a battlefield for a conflict that was alien to it. This was a proxy war. The United States and Israel on the one hand, and Iran and Syria on the other, through the intermediary of Lebanon.
'I don't know if you agree, but I think that these events were imposed' continued the prelate. 'I think that the Lebanese people were implicated in this war which was foreign to them. But it is the Lebanese people who have borne the consequences and the losses. The destruction happened in our country; bridges, urban areas, entire villages were destroyed. The people were forced to leave, the victims of this conflict are Lebanese (...) and until now, the fighting has been limited to Lebanon'.

The state and the communities
The Patriarch continued: 'in the past, armies invaded Lebanon: they came and went. Lebanon remained. It is up to us to strengthen the bonds of patriotism, friendship and cooperation between us. Until now these are lacking. Political camps and communities are there only at times, to the point that sometimes we have the impression that each community wishes to establish its own State. It is impossible. Lebanon is too small (...). It is for this reason that we need to take the situation in hand, and build, for our children a country based on transparency, which could enjoy freedom, sovereignty and independence, and which would establish cordial relations with its neighbours. Certainly, at this stage, Israel remains the enemy and Lebanon cannot think of establishing diplomatic relationships with it. But surely one day, this will happen, and once every Arab country has done so, Lebanon will do it last'.
'The situation would be different if a Palestinian State and an Israeli State were side by side. For the time being, there are some Arab countries that have already established friendly relations with Israel. But it is not enough that this or that country has done that. It is necessary for an agreement to be concluded between all the States in the region".

An uncertain future
The Patriarch Sfeir continued: 'We do not know what the future holds for us. Iran is in the centre of a conflict and some countries are seeking to prevent it from

manufacturing nuclear arms. We can foresee the catastrophic consequences of a situation where Iran, Israel and the United States possess nuclear weapons. We think that these countries should see reason, and decide to live in security and peace with their neighbours. This is how the people of this region will know the peace and tranquillity to which they aspire.'

The leader of the Maronite church was firm with regard to the internal situation in Lebanon: "The political balance is not what it was during the time of independence, where there were two major blocs; the Destour and the National Bloc, which each brought together people from all communities. Today, there is the Sunnite bloc, the Shiite bloc, the Druze bloc. As for the Christian bloc, frankly, we cannot see one'.

On the VIIth statement which does not mention any condemnation of Israel, the Patriarch declared: 'Do we really have to condemn Israel every day, morning and night, to show that Israel is the enemy? We fully blamed Israel during the religious summit. The VIIth statement that we issued concerns our internal affairs, and not Israel, which is not involved in those. Israel is certainly the aggressor, but the attacks which we should prohibit are those we commit against each other''.

The human hemorrhage

In response to a question concerning the human haemorrhage that the country is experiencing, the Patriarch asked: "Will the call alone halt the large emigration movement?' 'Certainly not', he continued 'because healthy politics are the only thing that can halt this exodus. We have been told that no less than 200 000 Lebanese people have left Lebanon as a result of the war. At that rate, I don't know who will be left in Lebanon'.

With regard to the campaign for a change in government, the Patriarch said: 'Some people would like a change in government. It is their right, and it is a question of comparable strength. But others are concerned about a political vacuum and believe that if the government resigns today it will be difficult to form another. Does Lebanon want to face the creation of a political vacuum at this level in such difficult times? Can we not be more patient? The right time will eventually arise'.

In response to a question concerning the possibility of restarting talks, the Patriarch answered: "We have said that if the institutions in the country functioned normally, dialogue outside these institutions would not be necessary".

The responsibility of the Lebanese people

The Patriarch was firm about the responsibility of the Lebanese themselves in causing some of their misfortunes: 'It is internal quarrels that hindered the compensation necessary for the return of displaced people from the Mountain. It is the case in Brih and in some other villages'.

'Our predecessor arranged a Christian summit in Bkerke' he continued, 'but reconciliation did not take place. It was at that time the massacre of Ehden took place. Everyone took a position, and did not move. The Lebanese people should understand that they are responsible for the destruction of their country. We should be united to avoid further tragedy – this is up to us. Let us not expect that other countries will come to save us if we do not wish to save ourselves'.

Finally the leader of the Maronite church praised the stability of a free press in Lebanon, saying: 'Thanks to God, there is still a free press in Lebanon, which is able to approach any topic that concerns the Lebanese people. The press has been, and will remain, the space where answers are proposed to all kinds of problems that may arise in a country and particularly in Lebanon. Freedom and the freedom of the press and of expression in particular, are fundamental for Lebanon. We are not spreading malicious rumours when we declare that, around us, outside Lebanon, freedom of speech does not exist.

Appendix C: Translation of the *Al Akhbar* article into English

Sfeir to"Al Akhbar": the break in communication with Hezbollah

He recalled his predecessor's attempt to assemble the leaders in Bkerke and the occurrence of Ehden's Massacre xxx of the massacre at Ehden? Ehden is a place so it can't be massacred xxx

The Maronite Patriarch Mar Nasrallah Boutros Sfeir described the Lebanese situation as 'tragic' indicating that 'Lebanon was not involved in the war that happened on its territory', stressing the necessity to refer to the institutions instead of sitting around the table of national dialogue.

Ibrahim Awad

The Maronite Patriarch Nasrallah Boutros Sfeir addressed fewer messages to political leaders and figures, amongst them supporters and opponents, during his meeting yesterday with a delegation of the Journalists' Association headed by President Melhem Karam. Some of these messages were addressed directly and others were hidden between the lines, even though the headline is one and same: "the situation is tragic" (a tragic situation).

The Patriarch agreed with the 14 March Alliance's statement that the war on Lebanon was a proxy war and Lebanon was not involved. He commented on the practice of the Ta'ef federations and said that it was difficult for him to identify the Christian bloc. He emphasised again that Israel is the enemy until notification of peace, and he explained the reason for not mentioning this in the last call of the Maronite bishops.

He revealed his displeasure that the people of the Lebanese war who had left their homes had not returned yet, in contrast with the situation of the people who departed their homes as a result of the Israeli war. Concerning the formation of the government of national unity, he presented two viewpoints: that of the supporters and the opponents, even though he appeared to be inclined towards the latter. He was in favour of holding earlier elections on the condition that a fair electoral law was put in place. But it was noticed that he recalled the Ehden massacre when responding to a proposal to invite the Lebanese leaders for a summit here in Bkerke. He explained

that his predecessor had not succeeded in the past in reconciling the Lebanese leaders and it was understandable from his words that he would not repeat the same experience.

Al Akhbar asked if there was any communication between the Patriarch and Hezbollah to which question he answered "No…there is no contact… contact has been interrupted lately", adding "they used to send delegations from their side, but for a long time we have not seen anyone".

What about telephonic contact? Are these contacts interrupted as well?

The Patriarch smiled, answering: "There are no phone calls between us", and then continued: "Anyway, it is not a problem".

During this meeting, President Karam referred to a written speech describing Bkerke as: 'the rock of the Lebanese resistance', to which the Patriarch answered: "I don't deserve these expressions" and proceeded to talk about internal issues which he described as 'tragic', indicating that the Israeli war which was imposed on Lebanon was not balanced as the Israeli airplanes "roared and glittered in the sky above our country while we do not possess either airplanes or arms".

When speculating about the cause of the war, Sfeir acknowledged that "We were not involved...But it was imposed on us and our territory was exploited as a battlefield for them and not for us. It was a proxy war: the United States of America and Israel on the one hand and Iran and Syria on the other, through the intermediary of a Lebanese group". While the Patriarch mentioned that countries rushed to the aid of Lebanon, he insisted that the most important issue was the harmony and cooperation among the Lebanese people, commenting that "each sect wants to build a government on its own, and that is impossible".

He requested that amicable relations should be established between Lebanon and its neighbours, confirming: "that Israel remains the enemy up to today, and Lebanon cannot enter into relations with it. Further, should all the Arab States achieve relations with Israel, then Lebanon will be the last country to follow suit".

To a question concerning the last call of the Maronite bishops recalling the non-implementation of the Ta'ef Accord in the lack of the participants of all sects, the Patriarch explained that 'the circumstances have changed. During the time of independence, two blocs existed: the national bloc and the constitutional bloc, headed by Sheikh Bechara El Khoury and Emil Eddeh respectively and all the sects were

united through these two blocs, but today the balance has changed. There is the Shiite bloc, the Sunni bloc and the Druze bloc… but concerning the Christians, I have to be truthful … we do not know which bloc the Christians belong to". In relation to the disapproval of some Lebanese people concerning the failure to mention Israel in the last statement of the bishops about Israel's war against Lebanon, the Patriarch answered the question with a hint of severity: "Do you want us to condemn Israel every day to prove that Israel is our enemy? During the spiritual summit we already declared our opinion in this regard and the VII call is not related to the Israeli issue but to the Lebanese issues in which Israel is not concerned."

In relation to his opinion on resolving the break-out of political violence as a result of the last statement by the 14 March Alliance issued after their last meeting which was held in Bristol and his view of the attitude of the Secretary General of Hezbollah, Mr. Hassan Nasrallah, during the interview given to Al Jazeera, Sfeir answered the journalists with some amusement: 'If there is no argument, you have created one. Most of the opinions should be obtained and compared and conclusions should be drawn in this regard. Some people are focusing on a transformation of the government. Of course it is a possible and it depends on the balance of strength. But some others speculate that if the government resigns now it will be too difficult to form another one and the country will enter a political vacuum. Is it to the benefit of Lebanon to enter a political vacuum in this difficult time? It is necessary to be patient and things are dependent on time".

The head of Bkerke reported on the necessity to rely on the institutions instead of sitting around the table of national dialogue. He welcomed the holding of parliamentary elections on condition that a fair electoral law would be concluded, observing that today the first concern of the government is re-building what the war has destroyed.

The Patriarch expressed his dissatisfaction about the limited number of the people from the mountain who had returned after leaving their homes, reporting the frustration experienced by people visiting him from Brih and other villages, complaining that compensation had been paid to the people whose homes had recently been destroyed, but that those who have been homeless for thirty years have not yet been paid".

The Patriarch pointed out in relation to the possibility of inviting politicians and leaders to meet at a summit in Bkerke that his predecessor "brought together the leaders in the past and did not succeed in reconciling them, and then the massacre of Ehden took place and each leader took a position and maintained it".

Appendix D: Translation of the *An-Nahar* article into English

The USA Ambassador praised the wisdom of the Maronite Patriarch
Sfeir: the Lebanese were strangers in the war
Israel is still the enemy but do we have to condemn it every day?

The Maronite Patriarch Cardinal Mar Nasrallah Boutros Sfeir expressed his belief that the war in Lebanon "was imposed on us and our land has been exploited as their battlefield and not ours, as it was a proxy war, the Unites States of America and Israel on the one hand and Iran and Syria on the other, through the intermediary of a Lebanese group", and he confirmed that Israel remains the enemy "but do we have to condemn it every day, morning and night?".

The Maronite Patriarch received the president of the Council of the journalists' Association Melhem Karam heading a delegation of journalists and consultants in Bkerke at 10am yesterday. President Karam began the meeting saying: "Bkerke was always the rock of the Lebanese awakening, since Bkerke deals with love in all domains, from missionary to moral tasks which are glorious, to the gathering of the spiritual families in Lebanon.

We all paid attention to the Patriarch's comments referring to the Israeli war imposed on us, and we were affected by his honest and loving words, those of a universal patriotism for the whole of Lebanon to avoid paying the price of a criminal separation. We also heard of the marginalisation of the Christians, and in particular the Maronites. Even though the Patriarch represents the entire Lebanon like any other spiritual personality, he is solely the Patriarch of the Maronites.
We arrived today (...) requesting to hear a word of unity from Bkerke. In war, in peace, in talks, in isolation, we should perhaps be aware of all this loving and wise guidance.

Eventually a dialogue took place with the Patriarch who began his conversation thanking Karam for his speech, saying: "I don't deserve these words and we thank you for your visit; as to the situation you mentioned, you [the journalists] are aware

of it more than anyone else, and you try to resolve it every day on the pages of the newspapers where you work. We thank the Lord that in Lebanon we still have a free press which can treat any issue that is worrying the Lebanese people, and the press is and will remain the method describing the solution to every problem occurring in every country, especially in Lebanon. The freedom of speech and of the press is one of the values of Lebanon, and we don't intend to humiliate others, but if we had a look at our surroundings, we found out that freedom of speech is only available in Lebanon, and this freedom authorises the people to declare what they wish and also to solve the issues clearly, hoping that this freedom of speech will remain in Lebanon.
Concerning our internal issues, you know that these issues are tragic. We survived a war which lasted thirty-three days but the forces were unbalanced, the airplanes were in the sky of our country and we possess neither airplanes nor arms, but we thank the Lord that these days disappeared. However, if we inquire as to the reasons for this war, I suppose that we were not involved, but it was imposed on us, and they exploited our land as a battlefield for them and not for us; it was a proxy war, the United States of America and Israel on the one hand and Iran and Syria on the other through the intermediary of a Lebanese group. I don't know if you consent but that is the reality that we observed. The Lebanese people are not involved in this war, it was imposed on them and they endured the loss. The destruction occurred to our country, complete villages and streets in towns were destroyed as well as bridges. In addition to those who departed from their places and those who were killed, it all happened in Lebanon and now we have to wonder how we have to be liberated. Of course countries rushed to our rescue sending equipment and other supplies, but it is just a show. Armies had come to Lebanon, and had gone, but the Lebanese people remained there; however, we have to strengthen the bonds of patriotism, the friendship and the cooperation between ourselves. That is what we are lacking until now; there are various sects and various parties but the observer does not believe that each sect can create a country on its own. That is impossible; Lebanon is a small country composed of 18 sects; the total of its population barely equals the number of people residing in one street in the big cities. For that reason we should determine our issues and build a country with its fundamentals where we can live and our children after us, enjoying the freedom, independence and sovereignty and we should also establish amicable relations between our neighbours and ourselves.

Naturally, Israel remains the enemy and Lebanon cannot establish relations with it. Further, should all the Arab States achieve relations with Israel, then Lebanon will be the last country which could follow suit. It is evident that the Palestinian cause is the core of the other issues in the region, and if it was possible to create a Palestinian state next to a Jewish state establishing good relations between them, I think that the situation would be different. There are Arabic states which are establishing friendly relations with Israel, but it is not enough for these countries to be different and it is necessary for all the countries of the region to maintain good conformity together enabling them to live in harmony and cooperation. Until today, the military clashes were limited only to Lebanon, and we don't know what the future is holding for us. There is a dispute with Iran as some countries aim to prevent it from obtaining the atomic bomb; if Iran is capable of possessing the atomic bomb while Israel and America already possess such bombs, the consequences will be quite devastating. That is why we believe that all these countries should return to their commitments and honesty, and live in peace and harmony with their neighbours which will assure the region, the peoples dream who will be living in harmony, peace and serenity.

The Patriarch Sfeir answered a question about the VII call of the council of the bishops: "the circumstances have changed. During the time of independence, two blocs existed: the national bloc and the constitutional bloc, headed by President Emile Eddeh and Sheikh Becharra el Khoury respectively, and all the sects were united through these two blocs, but today the balance has changed. There is the Shiite bloc, the Sunni bloc and the Druze bloc… but concerning the Christians, I have to be truthful … we do not know which bloc the Christians belong to."

When the Patriarch was asked about the absence of any condemnation of Israel in the VII call, he said: "Do you want us to condemn Israel every day to prove that Israel is our enemy? We already said enough in the spiritual summit and the VII call does not treat the Israeli issue but the internal issues, therefore Israel is not concerned in these matters. It is true that Israel attacked us but we have to stop attacking ourselves, do we have to condemn Israel, every day, morning and night?"

He said: "Will the call halt emigration? Good performance in the country should halt emigration; of course we were told that more than 200,000 Lebanese people have left the country due to the last war and if this rhythm carries on as it is now, I don't know who will remain here".

The Patriarch added with reference to the political conflict in Lebanon: "If there is any scarcity of discussions, your business failed. Different opinions should be collected, compared and conclusions should be drawn in this regard. Of course in the country people think differently from others. Some are focusing their efforts on the transformation of the government; of course it is a right relying on the proportion of strength; but some others think that should the government be changed today, it will be difficult to form another one and so the country will enter a political vacuum… we should be more patient and the perfect time will come on its own".

In response to a question concerning the possibility of restarting the talks, the Patriarch said: "We said that if the constitutional institutions functioned properly in this country, a separate dialogue will not be necessary as these institutions will resolve the issues".

With regard to the electoral legislation, he said: "Yes, it was assigned to some to draw up this law, but the government and parliament have to conclude it; they are busy with some other urgent problems, they are engaged in re-building what the war has destroyed and they cannot look at the electoral law now; of course the law should be endorsed; we believe there are many good wise personalities able to advise on this issue, but we need to find those who would get their advice".

On his opinion with regard to the delay of the complete return of the people from the mountain who left their homes, he said: "Those who returned they were probably satisfied with the situation as it is; if they are not living in a house, probably they are residing in a tent. But some others are complaining about their return due to the lack of electricity, water, roads, etc. They would like to be accommodated properly; we should train ourselves to adapt to every kind of life which is difficult. They come to us from Brih and other villages and they claim that those whose houses were destroyed recently have been given compensation, but those who have been displaced for thirty years, they have not been paid yet; the reason for this delay is the conflict between themselves, and once there is a disagreement the result is what we are witnessing today".

The Patriarch's answer about holding a new summit in Bkerke was: "Our predecessor tried to reunite all the leaders but he did not succeed that time in reconciling them and the massacre of Ehden occurred; each party took a side and remained where they are. The Lebanese people should understand that it is their

responsibility if the country is destroyed; we should coordinate in order to avoid our country suffering more tragedies. It depends on us: we should not expect the other people and countries to run to our rescue if we don't want to rescue ourselves.

Appendix E: Original French Articles

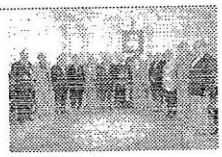
L'Orient LE JOUR

Imprimer Fermer

Vendredi 15 Septembre 2006 | 5:00 | Beyrouth

Un départ du gouvernement créerait un vide politique, estime le chef de l'Église maronite

Sfeir : La guerre de juillet était une « guerre par procuration » sur le sol du Liban



Le patriarche déplore l'inexistence d'un bloc chrétien à l'instar des blocs sunnite, chiite et druze

Recevant le président de l'ordre des journalistes, Melhem Karam, à la tête d'une délégation du conseil de l'ordre, le patriarche maronite, le cardinal Nasrallah Sfeir, a livré hier le fond de sa pensée sur certains sujets d'actualité, et d'abord la guerre de juillet. Le Liban, a dit le patriarche, « n'était pas concerné » par ce conflit, qui lui a été « imposé ». « On a utilisé le Liban comme terrain de lutte pour un conflit auquel il était étranger. Il s'agissait d'une guerre par procuration », a relevé le chef de l'Église maronite.

Se disant persuadé qu'un jour, le Liban fera la paix avec Israël, le patriarche s'est montré excédé par ceux qui ont reproché au dernier message de l'Assemblée des évêques maronites l'absence de toute condamnation d'Israël. « Doit-on vraiment condamner Israël, tous les jours, matin et soir, pour montrer au monde qu'Israël est l'ennemi ? » s'est-il exclamé.
Le chef de l'Église maronite a été sévère pour certains chefs politiques chrétiens, constatant notamment : « Aujourd'hui, il y a le bloc sunnite, le bloc chiite, le bloc druze. Quant au bloc chrétien, je le dis franchement, nous ne le voyons pas. »
Enfin, le patriarche Sfeir s'est prononcé contre tout changement de gouvernement à l'heure actuelle et a dit redouter « le vide politique » qui se créerait en cas de départ du cabinet.
« Si l'on s'interroge sur les causes de ce conflit, il me semble que le Liban n'était pas concerné, a commencé par affirmer le patriarche Sfeir. Ce conflit nous a été imposé. On a utilisé le Liban comme terrain de lutte pour un conflit auquel il était étranger. Il s'agissait d'une guerre par procuration. Les États-Unis et Israël, d'un côté, l'Iran et la Syrie, de l'autre, par l'intermédiaire d'un camp libanais. »
« J'ignore si vous êtes d'accord, mais je pense que ces faits s'imposent, a enchaîné le prélat. À mon sens, les Libanais ont été impliqués dans cette guerre, à laquelle ils étaient étrangers. Mais ce sont eux qui en ont assumé les conséquences et les pertes. Les destructions, c'est chez nous qu'elles ont eu lieu : des ponts, des quartiers urbains, des villages entiers ont été détruits. Les populations poussées à l'exode, les victimes de ce conflit sont libanaises (...) et jusqu'à présent, les combats se limitent au Liban. »

L'État et les communautés
« Par le passé, a poursuivi le patriarche, des armées ont envahi le Liban : elles venaient et repartaient. Le Liban restait. À nous de savoir consolider les liens du patriotisme, de l'amitié et de la coopération entre nous. Ces choses manquent, jusqu'à présent. Des camps politiques, des communautés sont là, au point que par moments, on a l'impression que chaque communauté veut établir son propre État. C'est impossible. Le Liban est trop petit (...). C'est la raison pour laquelle il nous faut prendre notre situation en main et édifier, pour nous et nos enfants, un pays aux fondements clairs qui jouirait de sa liberté, de sa souveraineté et de son indépendance, et établirait des rapports cordiaux avec ses voisins. Certes, à ce jour, Israël demeure l'ennemi et le Liban ne peut songer à l'établissement de relations diplomatiques avec lui. Mais un jour, inéluctablement, cela se produira, une fois que tous les pays arabes l'auront fait, le Liban, en dernier, le fera. »
« Les choses auraient changé si un État palestinien et un État hébreu se côtoyaient. Pour le moment, il existe des pays arabes qui ont établi des rapports d'amitié avec Israël. Mais il ne suffit pas que tel ou tel pays se distingue de cette façon. Il est nécessaire qu'une entente s'établisse entre tous les États de la région. »

L'avenir incertain
« Nous ignorons ce que nous réserve l'avenir, a poursuivi le patriarche Sfeir. L'Iran est au centre d'une crise, et certains pays cherchent à l'empêcher de fabriquer des armes nucléaires. On peut prévoir les conséquences catastrophiques d'une situation où l'Iran, Israël et les États-Unis détiendraient des armes

atomiques. Nous pensons que ces États doivent revenir à leur bon sens et à la raison, et décider de vivre en sûreté et paix avec leurs voisins. Voilà à quelle condition les peuples de cet Orient connaîtront la paix et la tranquillité auxquelles ils aspirent. »
Sur la situation interne au Liban, le chef de l'Église maronite a été sévère. « Les équilibres politiques, a-t-il dit, ne sont plus ce qu'ils étaient du temps de l'indépendance, où il y avait deux grands blocs, le Destour et le Bloc national, qui regroupaient chacun des personnalités de toutes les communautés. Aujourd'hui, il y a le bloc sunnite, le bloc chiite, le bloc druze. Quant au bloc chrétien, je le dis franchement, nous ne le voyons pas. »
Sur le fait que le VIIe appel ne contient aucune condamnation d'Israël, le patriarche a déclaré : « Doit-on vraiment condamner Israël, tous les jours matin et soir, pour montrer au monde qu'Israël est l'ennemi ? Nous l'avons fait amplement à l'occasion du sommet religieux. Le VIIe appel que nous avons lancé porte sur nos affaires internes, et non sur Israël, que ces choses ne regardent pas. Certes, Israël est agresseur, mais les agressions qu'il s'agit d'interdire, ce sont surtout celles que nous commettons les uns envers les autres. »

L'hémorragie humaine
« Est-ce que l'appel, en soi, peut empêcher le mouvement massif d'émigration ? » s'est interrogé le patriarche, en réponse à une question sur l'hémorragie humaine que connaît le pays. « Certes non, a-t-il enchaîné, car ce qui est susceptible d'influer sur cet exode, c'est une pratique politique saine. On nous a dit que non moins que 200 000 Libanais ont quitté le pays des suites de la guerre. À ce rythme-là, j'ignore qui restera encore dans ce pays. »
Au sujet de la campagne pour un changement de gouvernement, le patriarche a affirmé : « Certains souhaitent un changement de gouvernement. C'est leur droit, et c'est une question de rapport de forces. Mais certains redoutent le vide politique et estiment que si le gouvernement démissionne aujourd'hui, il sera difficile d'en former un autre. Le Liban a-t-il donc intérêt à ce qu'un vide politique se crée à ce niveau, dans ces circonstances difficiles ? Ne pourrait-on patienter un peu ? Le bon moment finira bien par se présenter. »
Et d'ajouter, en réponse à une question sur la possibilité d'une reprise de la conférence de dialogue : « Nous l'avons dit, si les institutions du pays fonctionnaient normalement, un dialogue en marge de ces institutions ne serait plus nécessaire. »

La responsabilité
des Libanais
Le patriarche a été ferme en ce qui concerne la responsabilité des Libanais eux-mêmes dans la cause de certains de leurs malheurs : « Ce qui empêche certaines indemnisations nécessaires au retour des déplacés de la Montagne, a-t-il dit, ce sont des querelles intestines. C'est le cas à Brih et dans certains autres villages. »
« Notre prédécesseur a réuni, par le passé, un sommet chrétien à Bkerké, a-t-il encore dit. Mais la réconciliation n'a pas eu lieu. Il y avait eu à cette époque le massacre d'Ehden. Tout le monde prit position et campa sur ces positions. Les Libanais doivent comprendre que c'est eux qui assument la responsabilité de la destruction de leur pays. Nous devons nous solidariser afin d'épargner à notre pays un surcroît de drames, et cela dépend de nous. Ne nous attendons pas à ce que des États viennent nous sauver, si nous ne voulons pas nous sauver nous-mêmes. »
Enfin, le chef de l'Église maronite s'est félicité de la permanence, au Liban, d'une presse libre. « Grâce à Dieu, a-t-il dit, il y a toujours une presse libre au Liban, une presse capable d'aborder tous les sujets qui préoccupent les Libanais. La presse a été et restera l'espace où des réponses sont proposées à toutes sortes de problèmes qui peuvent surgir dans un pays, et particulièrement au Liban. La liberté, et particulièrement la liberté de presse et d'expression, sont pour le Liban des choses fondamentales. Ce n'est pas médire que d'affirmer qu'autour de nous, hormis au Liban, la liberté de parole est absente. »

Réagissez

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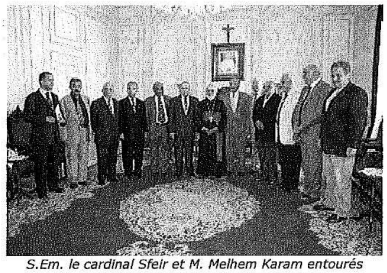
EN RECEVANT LE CONSEIL DE L'ORDRE DES JOURNALISTES MGR SFEIR: "ISRAËL EST L'ENNEMI ET LE LIBAN SERA LE DERNIER ETAT ARABE À CONCLURE LA PAIX AVEC TEL-AVIV"

"Israël est l'ennemi et le Liban sera le dernier Etat arabe à conclure la paix avec l'Etat hébreu", a déclaré S.Em. le cardinal Nasrallah Sfeir, en recevant M. Melhem Karam, à la tête du conseil de l'Ordre des journalistes.



S.Em. le cardinal Sfeir et M. Melhem Karam entourés du conseil de l'Ordre des journalistes.

Nos problèmes internes, il les a qualifiés de "dramatiques" et a appelé à une action rapide pour redresser la situation, "car si nous ne nous aidons pas nous-mêmes, les autres ne nous aideront pas".
M. Karam avait pris la parole, au préalable, pour dire en subs-tance que Bkerké a toujours été "le rocher de l'éveil libanais, car le patriarcat œuvre en permanence avec amour dans tous les domaines, en vue de regrouper les familles spirituelles. Nous avons tous été impressionnés par les propos que Sa Béatitude a tenus au sujet de la guerre israélienne contre notre pays. C'étaient des paroles pondérées, franches et aimantes; celles du patriotisme rassembleur, afin que le Liban, tout le Liban, n'ait pas à payer le tribut de la division.
"Nous avons tous entendu parler de la marginalisation des chrétiens, spécialement des maronites... Nous revenons aujourd'hui aux sources, au patriarche Sfeir, pour lui demander de prononcer les paroles susceptibles de sauver le Liban des germes de la zizanie. Nous sommes venus comme toujours à Bkerké pour entendre le mot qui rassemble à propos de la paix, du dialogue, de la marginalisation, dans l'espoir d'obtenir de Son Eminence la parole pleine de sagesse et d'affection".

SFEIR: IL Y A ENCORE AU LIBAN UNE PRESSE LIBRE

Prenant à son tour la parole, le cardinal Sfeir a, tout d'abord, remercié M. Karam des sentiments qu'il a exprimés à son égard, avant d'aborder les pro-blèmes de l'heure.
"Vous les connaissez tous mieux que moi et vous les traitez quotidiennement dans vos journaux.
"Je remercie le Très-Haut de ce qu'il existe encore chez nous une Presse libre, capable d'évoquer tous les sujets et de leur proposer des solutions adéquates. La liberté du verbe est absente, aujourd'hui, sauf au Liban. Elle seule permet aux citoyens d'exprimer leurs soucis et nous espérons que cette liberté sera préservée".
"Nous avons pâti, dit-il, d'une guerre qui a duré plus d'un mois et nous a été imposée, notre pays ayant été choisi comme scène des affrontements sanglants et destructeurs, entre les Etats-Unis et Israël, d'une part; la Syrie et l'Iran, d'autre part, par partie

libanaise interposée.
"Les Libanais qui n'avaient pas voulu cette guerre, en ont payé très cher le prix. Il nous faut agir, à présent, pour effacer ses séquelles. Naturellement, les pays frères et amis se portent à notre secours, mais ceci est éphémère. Les armées viennent et s'en vont, mais il nous faut savoir comment raffermir les liens de la véritable citoyenneté, de l'amitié et de la coopération entre nous. C'est ce qui manque pour le moment".

RESTONS UNIS ET SOLIDAIRES

"Chaque communauté s'active de son côté, comme si elle voulait édi-fier un Etat à part. Cela est impossible. Le Liban est un petit pays formé de dix-huit communautés, sa population étant égale à celle d'une grande ville. Nous devons donc nous unir et conjuguer nos efforts pour édifier à nos fils et aux générations montantes un Etat digne de ce nom, jouissant de la liberté, de la souveraineté et de l'indépendance. Et, aussi, afin d'établir de bonnes relations avec nos voisins.
"Naturellement, Israël reste jusqu'à ce jour l'ennemi et le Liban ne peut établir avec Tel-Aviv des relations, tant que tous les autres pays frères n'auront pas conclu la paix avec l'Etat hébreu.
"S'il était possible d'édifier un Etat palestinien aux côtés d'Israël, la situation changerait complètement. Il faut que tous les pays de la région proche-orientale s'entendent entre eux pour vivre ensemble dans la concorde et la coopération.
"Jusqu'à présent, les affrontements armés se sont limités au Liban et nous ignorons ce que nous cache l'avenir. Il existe une controverse entre l'Iran et certains pays qui veulent empêcher la République islamique de disposer de la bombe atomique. Si elle parvient à la posséder, en même temps qu'Israël et les Etats-Unis, les conséquences seront catastrophiques. C'est pourquoi, nous pensons que tous ces pays doivent revenir à la raison, pour vivre en paix avec leurs voisins. Ceci seul peut garantir à cet Orient la quiétude et la paix dont rêvent ses habitants".
En réponse à une question sur le point de savoir pourquoi le septième communiqué de la hiérarchie maronite n'avait pas condamné Israël, à la suite de son agression contre le Liban, Mgr Sfeir émet ces réflexions: "Veut-on de nous de condamner chaque jour Israël pour prouver qu'il reste l'ennemi? Au cours du sommet spirituel tenu dernièrement au siège patriarcal, nous avons suffisamment réprouvé la politique israé-lienne. Puis, le septième communiqué de l'Assemblée des arche-vêques ne concerne pas l'Etat hé-breu mais les problèmes intérieurs. Il est vrai qu'Israël a agressé le Li-ban, mais nous devons nous empê-cher de nous agresser nous-mêmes".
L'éminent prélat a insisté, d'autre part, sur "la nécessité de freiner l'émigration des Libanais, spécialement des jeunes, dont près de deux cent mille se sont expatriés après la dernière agression israé-lienne. Si ces départs se perpétuent au même rythme, qui restera-t-il dans la patrie?"
Du dialogue national, le cardinal Sfeir pense que "si les institutions constitutionnelles fonctionnaient normalement et n'étaient pas vidées de leur essence, celles-ci auraient favorisé le dialogue et tranché tous les dossiers conflictuels".

Article paru dans "La Revue du Liban" N° 4072 Du 23 Au 30 Septembre 2006

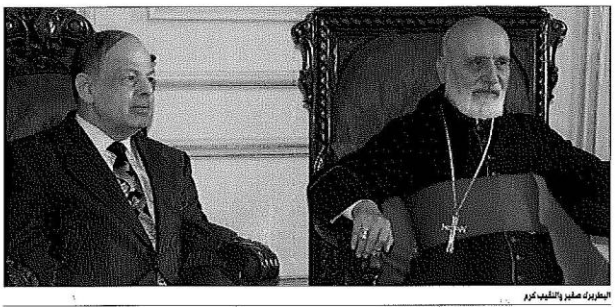
Appendix F: Original Arabic Articles

النشاط السياسي

صفير لـ «الأخبار»: التواصل مقطوع مع «حزب الله»

ذكّر بمحاولة سلفه جمع الزعماء في بكركي ووقوع مجزرة إهدن

وصف البطريرك الماروني مار نصر الله بطرس صفير الوضع اللبناني بـ «المأساوي»، مشيراً إلى أنه «لا شأن للبنان في الحرب التي دارت على ارضه»، مؤثراً اللجوء الى المؤسسات بدلاً من الجلوس حول طاولة الحوار



البطريرك صفير والنقيب كرم

ابراهيم عوض

رسائل عدة وجهها البطريرك الماروني نصر الله بطرس صفير الى اهل الحكم والسياسة، وبدتهما فريقا الموالاة والمعارضة. فخلال لقائه «س مع وفد نقابة المحررين برئاسة النقيب فلحه كرم دفها ما هو مباشر ودفها ما يقرأ بين السطور، وإن كان العنوان واحداً: «الوضع مأساوي».

وأفاق البطريرك فريق 14 آذار القول ان الحرب على لبنان كانت بالواسطة ولا شأن لنا بها». ولاحظ ملاحظ لدبوات الطوائف وأعذّر عليه تحديد الكتلة المسيحية وكرر التأكيد أن اسرائيل عدو حتى إشعار بالعكس، وشرح اسباب خلق ذاء المقاومة المواجهة الاخير من ذكرها.

ابدى استياءه من عدم عودة مهجري الحرب اللبنانية الى ديارهم فذلك ما يجري مع مهجري الحرب الاسرائيلية في موضوع حكومة الوحدة الوطنية عرض وجهتي النظر، المطالب بها والمعارض لها، وإن بدا ميالاً للأخير. ركب بإجراء انتخابات مبكرة شرط انجاز قانون انتخاب عادل لكن اللافت كان تذكيره بحجزة اعدن في معرض رده على اقتراح بدعوة القارة الى مجرة هذا الوطن». وأكد الحاجة إلى «مبدأ الوحدة الوطنية، ومن أهم مكوناته الوحدة الإسلامية وأتصد بكل وضوح الوحدة السنية ـ الشيعية».

وأبدى النائب علي خريس، في تصريح بعد استقباله وفداً من حزب الشعب الفلسطيني، أن المرحلة خطرة وتستوجب تجاوز كل التشنجات الداخلية».

وفي المقابل، ثمن مفتي جبل لبنان الشيخ محمد علي الجوزي، خلال استقباله على مرّ الله بدأ من البيت العام السيد حسن نصر الله مروراً بالنائب علي عمار من دون أن يسميه، وصولاً إلى اسم الحزب نفسه، ورأى أن النقد السياسي لحزب الله والحاسية السياسية والاغراض على ما حدث «ليست طعناً في الظهر»، مشيراً إلى أن «من حق الشعب اللبناني الذي دفع الثمن غالياً، أن يحاسب من أخذه إلى الحرب من دون مشورة له (...) هذا في البلاد الديموقراطية، حيث لا عصمة فيها للشيخ ولا للسيد، ما دام يعمل على الساحة السياسية بخطوة».

وفيما رأى لقاء علماء بيروت أن «الوقت هو وقت لمّ الشمل والإصغاء عن الخلافة وطي الصفوف والمواقف التي تضعف الجميع»، صالح في السجال بالقول: «إن استخدام المنابر الإعلامية لبعض المتاجرين بالأسس الدينية لتجريح وتخوين القياديين الفيروزين على مصلحة الناس والوطن، أصبح مكشوف الأهداف وبلغ في خانة الناصر على المسلمين لسوقهم إلى مواقف وأوضاع ليست لمصلحتهم وتصب في خانة أعداء الأمة التاريخيين».

(وطنية)

الحرب كانت بالواسطة بين أميركا وإسرائيل من جهة وإيران وسوريا من جهة أخرى

اللبنانيين الى قمة في بكركي. هنا أوضح أن سلفه لم يوفّق يومها في المصالحة، وفهم من كلامه انه لن يكرر التجربة.

«الأخبار» سألته اذا كان هناك من تواصل بينه وبين «حزب الله» فرد بـ«لا. لا يوجد تواصل. التواصل مقطوع هذه الأيام» مضيفاً: «كانوا يبعثون الينا بوفود من قبلهم لكن مضى وقت لم نر احداً منهم».

ماذا عن التواصل الهاتفي؟ هل هو مقطوع ايضاً؟

ابتسم البطريرك مجيباً: «لا تلفونات بيننا» ثم استطرد قائلاً: «على كل ليس هناك اي مشكلة».

في مستهل اللقاء، ألقى النقيب كرم كلمة مكتوبة وصف فيها بكركي بـ«صخرة الصمود اللبنانية» فرد البطريرك بالقول: «هذا كلام لا أستحقه» وانتقل بعدها للحديث عن الامور الداخلية التي وصفها بـ «المأساوية»، لافتاً الى أن الحرب الإسرائيلية التي شنت على لبنان كانت «غير متقايضة» حيث الخلافات الإسرائيلية «ترمي وتزيد في سماء وطننا ونحن لا طائرة لنا ولا سلاح».

وفي معرض تساؤله عن أسباب الحرب، رأى صفير أنه «لا شأن لنا فيها. ولكن فرضت علينا وأخذنا من ارضنا ساحة عراك لهم لا لنا. كانت حرباً بالواسطة، اي الولايات المتحدة الاميركية وإسرائيل من جهة، وإيران وسوريا من جهة أخرى بواسطة فريق لبناني». وفيما أشار البطريرك الى مسارعة الدول لنجدة لبنان، شدّد على ان المهم هو اتفاق اللبنانيين وتعاونهم ملاحظاً «ان كل طائفة تريد أن تبني دولة وحدها ـ وهذا مستحيل».

وطالب بإقامة علاقات ودية بين لبنان وجيرانه، مؤكداً «ان اسرائيل لا تزال حتى اليوم هي العدو، ولبنان لا يمكنه أن يقيم علاقات معها. وإذا كانت دول العربية بمجملها قد اقامت علاقات مع اسرائيل، فإن لبنان سيكون الهدف الأخير الذي سيقيم معها هذه العلاقات».

وفي رده عن سؤال حول ذكر النداء السابق للمطرانية الموارنة وجود خلل في المشاركة، وإذا كان مرد ذلك الى عدم تطبيق اتفاق الطائف، أوضح «ان المعادلات تغيرت. عندما بدأنا في الأسابيع كانت هناك كتلتان: الكتلة الوطنية والكتلة الدستورية، وعلى رأسيهما الشيخ بشارة الخوري وإميل اده، وكانت كل الطوائف تجتمع في هاتين الكتلتين. ولكن الآن التوازن تغير، فهناك الكتلة السنية والكتلة الشيعية والكتلة الدرزية. أما الكتلة المسيحية فلا ندري أية كتلة... اولها بصراحة» وعن ماخذ البعض على خلو بيان المقاربة الموارنة الاخير من ذكر اسرائيل وحربها على لبنان، قال البطريرك: لسائله بشيء من الحدة: «هل تريد ان تدين اسرائيل كل يوم لكي تبرهن أن اسرائيل عدو لنا».

الجوزو: يحق للشعب اللبناني أن يحاسب من أخذه الى الحرب من دون مشورة

دعوات إلى «ضبط الألسنة» وتذكير بميثاق الشرف

تراجعت أسس حدة السجالات المتبادلة بين حزب الله وقوى 14 آذار، وبرزت في مقابل ذلك دعوات إلى التهدئة وضبط الألسنة والنفوس والعقول، وضرورة الابتعاد عن تحريك الغرائز الطائفية والمذهبية والسعي إلى حماية الوحدة الداخلية. وكان من بين الدعاة إلى «وأد الفتنة» والتأكيد على الوحدة الوطنية، أحد أبرز المتضامنين أول من أمس.

الرئيس سليم الحص انتقد في بيان ياسم منبر الوحدة الوطنية، «القوة الثالثة» الأسفاف الذي «ضبط إليه مستوى الخطاب السياسي في لبنان»، مشيراً إلى أنه «يتم عن عدم إدراك أطراف السجال لخطورة الوضع الذي تواجهه البلاد».

وأخذ «على المكابرين إنكارهم على المقاومة انتصارها المبين في حرب إسرائيل الفاشلة على لبنان، فالمصود في وجه أعتى قوة في الشرق الأوسط ومن ورائها أعظم قوة في العالم، هو الانتصار بعينه». وقال في المقابل: «لا نذق في الرأي مع من يقول إن سلاح المقاومة بأي وأن يمس، فما كان السلاح يوماً للسلاح، بل كان لتحقيق أهداف معلنة بإقرار من حملته». وسأل مطالبي المقاومة بتسليم سلاحها إلى الدولة: «أي دولة يقصد هؤلاء؟ فالدولة التي نستظل اليوم هي دولة الطائفية والفساد والمحسوبية والفساد والعقم على كل صعيد».

وذكّر النائب بطرس حرب بميثاق الشرف الذي التزم به المشاركون في مؤتمر الحوار الوطني، ودعا إلى ضبط «الألسنة والنفوس والعقول»، معرباً عن حزنه من «الأجواء المنشنجة الذي يغلب فيها خطاب التخوين والتهديد والتهويل». ونفى أن تكون وزيرة الخارجية الأميركية كوندوليزا رايس قد أبلغت إلى الذين اجتمعوا معها في السفارة الأميركية أنهم سيقفون على حزب الله بكامله، ومن يبقى حياً منه سيعتقل ويسجن في غوانتانامو. وقال: «هذا أمر لم يرد إطلاقاً خلال الاجتماع الذي عقدت حاضراً فيه».

وبعدما كان طرفاً في السجال أول من أمس، دعا النائب عمار الحوري، بعد زيارة مفتي الجمهورية الشيخ محمد رشيد قباني، إلى ضرورة عدم الجميع «وأد الفتنة والارتقاء إلى مستوى المرحلة». وقال: «لا بد من أن تجيد التعامل مع حق الاختلاف في القضايا السياسية. لكن هذا الاختلاف يجب ألا يصل بنا إلى مرحلة يكرّه فيها المواطنون نمط الحياة السياسية وندعو بعضهم بالنفاني إلى هجرة هذا الوطن». وأكد الحاجة إلى «مبدأ الوحدة الوطنية، ومن أهم مكوناته الوحدة الإسلامية وأتصد بكل وضوح الوحدة السنية ـ الشيعية».

زيغلر ووفد إيراني في مجلس النواب

زار مجلس النواب أمس وفدان اجتمعا، الأول ضم أعضاء لجنة المصادقة الإيرانية ـ اللبنانية، والثاني ضم أعضاء لجنة الصداقة النيابية الأميركية ـ اللبنانية، وترأس الوفد الجنوبي، الثاني، النائب علي بزي.

وقال نصر الله إن البحث تناول قضايا تهم لبنان وإيران والمقاومة، والمساعدات الإيرانية بعد الحرب الإسرائيلية على لبنان. وذكر أن الوفد وجه دعوة إلى أعضاء الكتلة لزيارة طهران.

وتناظر رئيس لجنة حقوق الإنسان النيابية النائب ميشال موسى بسبب زيارة رئيس اللجنة الجنوبي، النائب علي بزي، إلى طهران، مقرر الأمم المتحدة الخاص بالحق في الغذاء جان زيغلر. وقال مقرر اللجنة النائب غسان مخيبر الذي عرض له نشاط اللجنة الجهة تنسيق عمل الهيئات الرسمية وهيئات المجتمع المدني في توثيق جرائم الحرب الإسرائيلية، والعمل على متابعة النشاط الدبلوماسي والسياسي من وجهة النظر القانونية، وصولاً إلى المراجعة القضائية ضد إسرائيل في المحاولة».

وذكر مخيبر أن مجلس حقوق الإنسان لدى الأمم المتحدة «هو الهيئة الوحيدة لدى هذه المنظمة التي دانت إسرائيل بإدانة واضحة لاعتداءاتها»، معلناً أن لجنة تحقيق وتقصي حقائق مرتبطة بقرار الإدانة سترسل إلى لبنان في مرحلة لاحقة. وأوضح أن عمل زيغلر مستقل عنها.

واستنكر زيغلر الانتهاكات الإسرائيلية وقال إن تقريره سيتضمن الانتهاكات ضد المزارعين والحق في المقاومة.

وأشاد مخيبر بالتعاون الذي لاقته اللجنة من الحكومة اللبنانية، وأعلن أن مشروع 14 شباط للكتلة به، لم تقترح لبنان من مجتمعه العربي الإسلامي وربطه بالمشروع الأميركي الصهيوني»، معتبراً أن «الحديث عن سلاح المقاومة ووجود القوات الدولية في قلب العاصمة بيروت، هما نوطئة لاستباحة لبنان ووضعه تحت الوصاية الأميركية الصهيونية».

(وطنية)

مواقف



◄ انتقد مسؤول العلاقات الدولية في حزب الله نواف الموسوي، في احتفال في بلدة القطاطية، تيار المستقبل، من دون أن يسميه، قائلاً: «انهم ينسبون أنفسهم الى الرئيس الشهيد رفيق الحريري، وهو في سلوكه لم يتصرف كما يتصرفون في الإعلام، لا ادناه عام 1996 ولا بعده. هؤلاء لشدة ضعفهم، ولأنهم ليسوا قادرين على ملء فراغه، دائما تلمسه بدءي يقلي بالدهم هذا السفير بكمة وذاك السفير بكمة». وأضاف: «في السلوك الاستفزازي اليوم، هم يقولون البلد الى ما لا تحمد عقباه اذا استمروا في عقلية الاستبداد والغلبوية».

◄ يشّر النائب «روان فارس بدناح تغييري في كل مكان ودعا عدّدين «اعتبروا أنفسهم أكثرية واستبدوا بالحكم، الى أن يحسبوا حسابات جديدة بعد انتصار المقاومة على الكيان الإسرائيلي». ولفت الى أن فخامير حاصل الآن على صعيد الموقف ولاحقاً سيكون عملياً، لافتاً الى انه في السابق كانت هناك مواقف مسايرة «الجماعة 14 شباط»، اما الآن بعد موقف الأمين العام لحزب الله السيد حسن نصر الله فلا بد من ان تتغير الامور كثيراً وهذا طبعاً سيؤدي الى تغيير في مواقف رؤساء مجلس النواب نبيه بري الذي حاول تلمسايرة لكن أعتقد بأن وقت المسايرة انتهى».

◄ رأى النائب قاسم هاشم أن تقرير الأمين العام للأمم المتحدة كوفي أنان عن القرار 1701 «ماض وملتبس كبعض بنود القرار، ليتسنى للعدو الإسرائيلي تفسيره بما يتوافق مع المصلحة الإسرائيلية وبأطاء من المجتمع الدولي». ودعا «الجميع الى الانتباه وتصويب مهمة اليونيفل، قبل أن تأخذ الأمور منحى آخر، في الوقت الذي ما زال فيه لبنان في دائرة الاستهداف الصهيوني ومشروعه الاميركي ـ الإسرائيلي».

◄ هاجم المكتب السياسي لحركة التوحيد الإسلامي، مجلس القيادة في بيان أمس «الزيارة التي قام بها رئيس وزراء بريطانيا طوني بلير الى لبنان، واستقبال الحكومة العماد له، واعتبر «أن مشروع 14 شباط المتكلف به، هو لقراح لبنان من محيطه العربي الإسلامي وربطه بالمشروع الأميركي الصهيوني»، معتبراً أن «الحديث عن سلاح المقاومة ووجود القوات الدولية في قلب العاصمة بيروت، هما نوطئة لاستباحة لبنان ووضعه تحت الوصاية الأميركية الصهيونية».

(وطنية)

النهار

الجمعة ١٥ ايلول ٢٠٠٦ - السنة ٧٤ - العدد ٢٢٧٧٥

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لحق الثقافي

السفير الأميركي أثنى على حكمة البطريرك الماروني
صفير: اللبنانيون كانوا دخلاء في الحرب
اسرائيل لا تزال العدو ولكن هل علينا ادانتها يومياً ؟

اعرب البطريرك الماروني الكاردينال مار نصرالله بطرس صفير عن اعتقاده ان الحرب في لبنان "فرضت علينا واتخذوا من ارضنا ساحة عراك لهم وليس لنا وكانت حربا بالواسطة، الولايات المتحدة واسرائيل من جهة، ومن جهة ثانية ايران وسوريا بواسطة فريق لبناني"، وأكد أن اسرائيل لا تزال هي العدو، و"لكن هل علينا ان ندينها كل يوم صباحا ومساء"؟!

استقبل البطريرك الماروني، العاشرة قبل ظهر أمس في بكركي، نقيب المحررين ملحم كرم على رأس وفد من اعضاء مجلس النقابة ومستشاريها. وقد استهل النقيب كرم الاجتماع بكلمة، قال فيها: "بكركي كانت، دوما، صخرة الصحوة اللبنانية. لان بكركي تعمل بمحبة في كل المجالات. من الدعوة الى الرفعة في الخلقية الى تلاقي الاسر الروحية في لبنان.

كلنا سمعنا كلام البطريرك صفير على الحرب الاسرائيلية علينا. وكلنا تأثرنا بالكلام الصادق، المحب. كلام الوطنية الجامعة لئلا يدفع لبنان، كل لبنان، ضريبة الفرقة الجانية. وكلنا سمعنا عن تهميش المسيحيين، ولا سيما الموارنة. فالبطريرك، ولو كان، مثل المرجعيات الدينية، بطريرك كل لبنان، يظل البطريرك الماروني في النتيجة.

جئنا اليوم (...) نطلب الكلمة الجامعة من بكركي. في الحرب، في السلم، في الحوار، في التهميش، لعلنا نطلع، من كل هذا بالارشاد الرائي العاقل المحب".

ثم دار حوار مع البطريرك، استهله صفير بشكر كرم على ما قاله فيه، وقال: "هذا كلام لا استحقه ونشكر لكم زيارتكم، واما الأحوال التي اشرتم اليها، فانكم تعرفونها اكثر من سواكم، وتحاولون ان تعالجوها كل يوم على صفحات الجرائد التي تعملون فيها. والحمد لله ان في لبنان لا يزال لنا صحافة حرة في امكانها ان تتطرق الى جميع الموضوعات التي تشغل بال اللبنانيين، والصحافة كانت وستبقى المجال الذي تصف العلاج للمشكلات التي تنجم في كل بلد، وخصوصا في لبنان. والحرية، حرية الصحافة والكلمة هي من مقومات لبنان، ولا نريد ان نذم غيرنا، ولكن اذا القينا نظرة على ما حولنا، نرى ان حرية الكلمة مفقودة في سوى لبنان، وهذه الحرية هي التي تمكن الناس من ان يقولوا ما يضمرون ويعالجوا الامور، ايضا بوضوح. فنأمل في ان تظل هذه الكلمة حرة في لبنان. اما امورنا الداخلية فهي امور مأسوية كما علمتم. وقد مرت علينا حرب دامت ثلاثة وثلاثين يوما ولكن القوى كانت غير متقابلة، والطائرات كانت في سماء وطننا ونحن لا طائرة لنا ولا سلاح، ولكن نحمد الله على ان هذه الايام زالت. ولكن اذا تساءلنا عن اسباب هذه الحرب، فأعتقد ان الحرب ليس لنا فيها شأن، ولكن فرضت علينا

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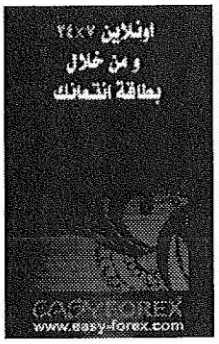
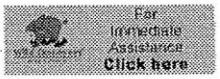
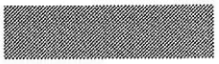












واتخذوا من ارضنا ساحة عراك لهم وليست لنا، وكانت حربا بالواسطة، الولايات المتحدة واسرائيل، من جهة، ومن جهة ثانية ايران وسوريا بواسطة فريق لبناني. لا ادري ما اذا كنتم توافقون على هذا القول، انما هذا هو الواقع على ما نرى. اللبنانيون دخلاء في هذه الحرب، لا شأن لهم بها انما وقعت الخسارة عليهم. التهديم جرى في بلدنا وقرى بكاملها وأحياء وفي المدن والجسور، اضافة الى الذين نزحوا والذين ذهبوا ضحايا، كل هذا وقع في لبنان. يبقى، الآن، ان نرى كيف في امكاننا ان نخلص. طبعا سارعت الدول الى نجدتنا وأتوا بمعدات وما سوى ذلك، ولكن هذا كله عارض. ولقد سبق ان جاءت الجيوش الى لبنان وذهبت ولكن يبقى اللبنانيون وعلينا ان نعرف كيف نوثق عرى المواطنية في ما بيننا والصداقة والتعاون. هذا ما هو مفقود حتى الآن، هناك فئات مختلفة والطوائف مختلفة حتى لا يظن المراقب ان كل طائفة تريد ان تبني دولة وحدها. وهذا مستحيل، لبنان صغير، فيه ١٨ طائفة ومجموع سكانه لا يكاد يوازي عدد سكان شارع في المدن الكبرى. لذلك علينا ان نحزم أمرنا وان نبني لنا ولابنائنا من بعدنا بلدا له مقوماته وينعم بالحرية والسيادة والاستقلال وان يقيم علاقات ودية بينه وبين جيرانه.

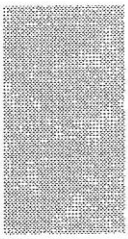
طبعا اسرائيل لا تزال، هي العدو ولبنان لا يمكنه ان يقيم معها علاقات. ولكن اذا كانت الدول العربية بمجملها أقامت علاقات فسيبقى لبنان البلد الاخير الذي في امكانه ان يقيم هذه العلاقات. وهذا لا بد منه، والقضية الفلسطينية التي تتمحور حولها قضايا المنطقة ولو كان هناك من مجال لاقامة دولة فلسطينية واقامة دولة عبرية واقامة علاقات بين هذه الدول جميعا، أعتقد ان الاوضاع كانت تغيرت. وهناك بلدان عربية تقيم علاقات صداقة مع اسرائيل، ولكن هذا لا يكفي ان تتفرد هذه او تلك من الدول. يجب ان يكون هناك توافق بين جميع دول المنطقة لكي تعيش معا في وفاق وتعاون. وحتى الآن، اقتصر القتال على لبنان، ولكن لا ندري ماذا يخبىء لنا المستقبل، هناك جدل مع ايران التي يريد بعض الدول ان يمنعها من الوصول الى السلاح النووي، ولكن اذا وصلت الى السلاح النووي واسرائيل لديها مثل هذا السلاح واميركا ايضا، فالعاقبة وخيمة جدا. لذلك نعتقد ان كل هذه الدول يجب ان ترجع الى رصانتها وعقلها وان تعيش في أمان وسلام مع جيرانها، وهذا يضمن لهذا الشرق ما يصبو اليه ابناؤه من راحة وطمأنينة وسلام".

وردا على سؤال عن النداء السابع لمجلس المطارنة، قال البطريرك صفير: "المعادلات تغيرت في اعتقادنا. عندما بدأنا في الاستقلال كان هناك كتلتان، الكتلة الوطنية والكتلة الدستورية وعلى رأسهما الرئيس اميل اده والشيخ بشارة الخوري، وكانت كل الطوائف تجتمع في هاتين الكتلتين، ولكن ، الآن، التوازن تغير، فهناك الكتلة السنية والكتلة الشيعية والكتلة الدرزية، اما الكتلة المسيحية فلا ندري اي كتلة، اقولها بصراحة".

وسئل لماذا خلا النداء السابع من ادانة لاسرائيل، فقال: " هل تريد ان ندين اسرائيل كل يوم لكي نبرهن ان اسرائيل عدو لنا. لقد سبق لنا في القمة الروحية ان قلنا ما فيه الكفاية. والنداء السابع لا يعالج القضية الاسرائيلية بل القضايا الداخلية، ولا شأن لاسرائيل بهذا الامر. صحيح ان اسرائيل اعتدت علينا ولكن علينا نحن ان نمنع اعتداء نفوسنا على نفوسنا، هل علينا ان ندين اسرائيل كل يوم صباحا ومساء؟"

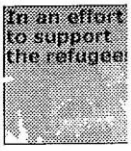
وردا على سؤال، قال: " هل النداء يمنع الهجرة؟ يجب ان يكون الاداء صحيحا في البلد لمنع الهجرة، طبعا، قيل لنا ان ما لا يقل عن مئتي الف لبناني هاجروا من جراء الحرب الاخيرة واذا ظلت الوتيرة على ما هي عليه فلا ادري من يبقى في هذا الوطن".

وتناول الاحتدام السياسي في لبنان، قال: "اذا خلا الامر من جدل بارت صناعتكم، هناك افكار عديدة يجب جمعها ومقارنتها واستخلاص منها











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السفير الاميركي

واستقبل البطريرك صفير ايضا سفير الولايات المتحدة جيفري فيلتمان الذي قال بعد الاجتماع: "لقد زرت البطريرك صفير اليوم لاطلاعه على الدعم الأميركي للبنان. لقد قلت له ان إعلان الرئيس بوش مساعدة بقيمة ٢٣٠ مليون دولار للبنان، يضم ثلاثة مكونات أساسية: مساعدة لإعادة الاعمار بقيمة ٦٠ مليون دولار تقريبا، ومساعدات إنسانية بقيمة ١٠٠ مليون دولار تقريبا (ولقد صرف منها حتى الان ٥٠ مليون دولار

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Appendix G: Original English Articles



SFEIR: "A WAR IMPOSED ON US"

The Maronite patriarch, Cardinal Nasrallah Sfeir, has underlined the necessity for the cabinet to remain in office as long as it enjoyed the support of a majority of MPs. If the government stepped down, there would be a political "vacuum", he said.
Speaking to Melhem Karam, president of the Journalists' Association, who was accompanied by a delegation of the association's executive council, the cardinal added that "if one wonders about the causes of this conflict [the July war], it seems to me that Lebanon was not concerned in it. This conflict was imposed on us. They used Lebanon as a battlefield for a conflict that has nothing to do with us. It was a proxy war, the United States and Israel on the one hand, Iran and Syria on the other, through the intermediary of a Lebanese group".

Monday Morning September 18 2006 Issue 1760

Print

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Friday, September 15, 2006

Sfeir 'blames Hizbullah' for state of affairs in Lebanon

By Maroun Khoury
Daily Star correspondent

BKIRKI: Maronite Patriarch Nasrallah Butros Sfeir was quoted Thursday as having once more lashed out at Hizbullah and blaming the resistance for the "catastrophic" state of affairs in Lebanon.

The latest attack was relayed by Journalists' Union President Melhem Karam, after a meeting with the prelate Thursday.

"A war was imposed on us and our country was used as a battlefield for others," Karam said, quoting Sfeir. "The war was launched in mediation between Israel and the US from one side and Iran and Syria through a Lebanese group from the other side."

Sfeir also reiterated his call on all Lebanese to promote national unity as a deterrent against "further tragedies."

Hizbullah recently joined calls from MP Michel Aoun's Free Patriotic Movement for the government to resign based on allegations of corruption and collaboration with Israel.

After meeting with Sfeir Thursday, US Ambassador Jeffrey Feltman expressed "confidence in the leadership exercised by Premier Fouad Siniora and his Cabinet in leading Lebanon out of the tragic conflict and in moving decisively toward reconstruction and development."

"With the historic and unanimous Cabinet decision to deploy the Lebanese Army in the South, the army has assumed new and important responsibilities," the ambassador added.

Feltman also reiterated his government's pledge to help Lebanon in its recovery efforts.

"Lebanon's international friends, including the United States, will fulfill our own responsibilities in providing support to the army, the government more broadly and to the Lebanese people," he said.

Feltman urged the Lebanese to "consolidate and strengthen Lebanon's democratic traditions, through peaceful dialogue and the country's constitutional institutions."

Breaking down the $230 million in aid for Lebanon pledged by President George W. Bush last month, the ambassador said nearly $60 million would go to reconstruction efforts and over $100 million for emergency and humanitarian relief, while $75 million was earmarked for the army and security services.

Meanwhile senior Shiite cleric Sayyed Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah accused the US of "working to raise one Lebanese group over another."

"The US administration is still looking to implement strife through its ambassador here, or by promoting internal divisions that were caused by the Israel aggression against the country," the cleric said Thursday.

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