

# **Representation of Viewpoint in Opinion Discourse**

**A comparative linguistic investigation of Arabic and British newspapers  
at time of conflict**

**Suzan Muhammed Hasan Zaidan**

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**The Candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that the appropriate  
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”يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا كُونُوا قَوَّامِينَ لِلّٰهِ شُهَدَاءَ بِالْقِسْطِ وَلَا يَجْرِمَنَّكُمْ شَنَاٰنُ قَوْمٍ عَلَىٰ ءَلَّا تَعْدِلُوا

اعْدِلُوا هُوَ أَقْرَبُ لِلتَّقْوَىٰ وَاتَّقُوا اللّٰهَ إِنَّ اللّٰهَ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ“

[The Holy Qur’ān: al-Mā’ida: 8]

**(O you who believe! Stand out firmly for Allah as just witnesses; and let not the enmity and hatred of others make you avoid justice. Be just: that is nearer to piety; and fear Allah. Verily, Allah is Well-Acquainted with what you do)**

## **Dedication**

**To my children Muhammed, Eimanne, Sarraa, Al-Muthanna, Ghaydaa, and  
Gharraa**

**Without whom this thesis would have finished much earlier...**

**but without whom I would not have had the inspiration to start it and the motivation to  
complete it...**

**I Love you**

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## **Abstract**

The study proceeds from a theoretical assumption, that opinion discourse during wartime manipulates readers to respond in certain ways to the events of war and the participants in conflicts. The freedom offered to opinion expression is sometimes abusively exploited particularly when opposing perspectives exist and transpire in the representation of a conflict and which are revealed by the comparative investigation of the opinion discourse of the press of the cultures at war. Such disparity may actually help in inferring the causes and implications of a particular conflict from the common grounds observed between newspapers in representing such a conflict.

Therefore, contrary to conventional discourse analysis, this study examines the discourse of opinion articles and editorials of Arabic and British newspapers by applying a linguistically-oriented conceptual framework that uncovers the socio-cultural aspects determining each culture's use of language in representing the latest conflicts between the West and the Muslim-Arab worlds.

The framework of the study is set to be able to analyse the opinion discourse of Arabic and British newspapers in their representation of the three consecutive conflicts (in the early days of their outbreak): the attack on the World Trade Centre in the US (September 11, 2001), the war on Afghanistan (October 07, 2001) and the war on Iraq (March 20, 2003) and through which the sides in the conflict are incongruently portrayed. The opinion discourse of British and Arabic newspapers following such conflicts was characterised by exhibiting powerful linguistic techniques which are employed to represent the authors' viewpoint and arguments more effectively. These techniques are envisaged in the employment of: a rhetorical structure; lexical selectivity and a strategy of enforcement all of which contribute powerfully to manipulative message conveyance. The comparative approach to opinion discourse of Arabic and British newspapers is the centre of discussion.

The study reveals historical and religious connections to the current struggles between the West and the Muslim world as it reveals the deeply-rooted ideologies of each culture which are manifested in the emphasis of Our good and Their bad actions and the mitigation of Our bad and Their good attributes that are spontaneously transmitted via the culturally-driven opinion discourse. Disparity in the manner of presenting viewpoints relating to the conflicts and its sides was observed among the newspapers within a single culture as well as similarity was detected across the cultures in question. The reference to the good aspects of the other side is, in some cases, marginally detected which reflects the severe tension in the relationship between the West and Islam.

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## Abbreviations and Note

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CNN	Cable News Network
INMA	International Newspaper Marketing Association
ITV	Independent Television
Op-eds	Opinion columns and editorials
TG	Transformational-generative grammar
UNMOVIC	United Nations, Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission
WAN	World Association of Newspapers

**Note:** Arabic titles of newspapers are presented in different English transliteration systems. In order to avoid complications, I have opted to use the Library of Congress transliteration system without diacritics. However, only in the bibliography where Arabic works and authors are, diacritics were used.

## **Glossary of Terms and Conventions**

### **Cognitive**

The bridge between the mental states of text readers and the social interaction in a given context.

### **Coherence**

A condition of meaningfulness within a given text which defines its unity that is manifested in the semantic linkage between the various propositions in the text.

### **Context**

The circumstantial reality in which language is used and which greatly determines the accurate interpretation of opinion discourse.

### **Discourse**

Evidence, in the form of words, phrases and sentences, of an attempt to communicate a particular message that is produced by its author to his/her recipient(s).

### **Ideology**

The social representation of shared fundamental beliefs and ideas relating to one or more aspect(s) of social reality and regarded as absolute by the specific group adhering to such norms of beliefs and ideas.

### **In-group**

Polarisation of the newspaper's cultural community with shared social beliefs and values while out-opting any other group with distinct social beliefs and values (Arab-Muslim vs. Western); and such polarisation defines Us (as well as Our (group), We and Self) as belonging to such group.

### **Interpropositional relations**

The coherence relation between propositions and/or group of propositions that are expressed explicitly or implicitly by clauses or larger portions of a given text.

### **Macrostructure**

The semantic component embedded within a proposition in relation to the context of the discourse.

### **Out-group**

Polarisation of any group sharing the same social beliefs and values that are distinct from the newspaper cultural community's social beliefs and values; such polarisation defines Them (as well as Their (group), They, and Other) as belonging to such group.

**Persuasion**

In the context of this study, persuasion is regarded as the writer's skill of the ability to manipulate and convince readers of a particular point of view which can be highly achieved by the use of rhetoric.

**Presuppositions**

Propositions that are implied within other propositions to suggest that they are previously known or presupposed. Sometimes, presuppositions which embody opinions may be intentionally used to introduce other propositions which may be totally false.

**Proposition**

The meaningful aspect of a given declarative grammatical statement which reflects a specific state of affair.

## ***Chapter (1)***

### **Introduction**

#### ***1.1 Context and problem of the Study***

No other topic would have inspired this study as much as September 11 of 2001 has. The researcher however, was taken by the mere logic of it rather than by sensation. More precisely, as the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York in the United States of America took place causing the loss of around three thousand innocent lives, it was followed by the immediate condemnation of a Muslim-Arab group, by the name al-Qaeda, to have carried out the assault. The assault was reported to have been planned and managed by a Muslim Arab, Osama Bin Laden, renowned for his revulsion against the foreign policies of the US in the Muslim world. The overwhelming worldwide media attention and coverage of such an event defined not only the relationship between the Muslim world and the West but also the new facet in modern journalistic practices. World media, in general, and English and Arabic media in specific, extensively commented on the political implications of the attack on the US, the analysis of which newspapers had a remarkable share. The overpowering media reaction escalated with the US' declaration of its war plans which was widened and politically tagged as a worldwide 'war on terror' of which the US took charge. The subsequent political engagements continued to be the preoccupation of world media particularly in the Arab and Western cultures.

Relentlessly, as part of tracking down the Muslim group said to be responsible for the attack on New York, the US demanded worldwide support and rather, co-operation in an alliance forming the 'war on terror' intended to detect and abolish any threats to the Western world. Subsequently, the first episode of the 'war on terror' (October 07 of 2001) was inaction in the Muslim country Afghanistan, the government of which provided shelter for the al-Qaeda group. Despite the devastating impact of the military strikes carried out in the country and the capture



of a large number of the al-Qaeda group followed by their imprisonment in Guantanamo Bay<sup>1</sup>, the US was still unsatisfied with the results in such a stage of the conflict in Afghanistan, particularly after the failure in capturing the principal figure, i.e. Bin Laden. As such, following the 'war on terror' scenario, the US engaged in proposals implying possible military action against Iraq, the Muslim-Arab country, claiming its government's possession of weapons of mass destruction.. Unable to prove such claims, yet, the US insistently launched such military strikes despite the worldwide demonstrations objecting to such an action, a development to which Arabic and British newspapers reacted, at some point, rather contrastingly. To gain credence for such a long-prepared-for military action, the US sought alliance, a request for which was declined by the United Nations and all world countries apart from Britain, Italy and Spain.

Britain continued to be the sincerest ally of the US since the declaration of its 'war on terror', and fully supported the plans to attack Iraq in the name of ridding its government of the destructive weapons, the possession of which is yet to be proven. The political complications and developments of events were reflected in the Arabic and Western newspapers, in an evocative manner similar to that of the television's but with sole reliance on words. Therefore, the attempt to explore the discrepancies between, or the approaches of the Muslim-Arab and Western cultures in relation to the conflict was gladly diverted into a comparative investigation of Arabic and British newspapers language in such critical environments.

## ***1.2 Rationale of the study***

The study examines the diverse, disparate and analogous viewpoints related to the causes and implications of the conflicts in question as represented in the

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<sup>1</sup> Guantanamo Bay detainment Camp where alleged prisoners of al-Qaeda are imprisoned by the US, without trial and allegations of torture:  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guantanamo\\_Bay\\_detainment\\_camp](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guantanamo_Bay_detainment_camp)

opinion discourse of the Arabic and British cultures' newspapers. To perform such a task, the study aims at:

1. Investigating the discourse of opinion articles and editorials of newspapers of two different cultures with entirely different linguistic backgrounds;
2. Examining whether the structure of the discourse in question features any relevance to the semantic material of opinion discourse in relation to the context of the study;
3. Examining the manner in which the conflicts in question between the two cultures are viewed and represented in such a discourse;
4. Underlining the differences and/or similarities in viewpoints and highlighting the grounds from which they arise;
5. Examining whether differences in viewpoints related to conflicts with other cultures exist across a single culture; and also highlighting the grounds from which they arise;
6. Investigating whether a particular utilisation of the language leads to constructing stereotypical ideologies regarding any of the cultures participating in any given conflict; and finally
7. Examining whether the opinion discourse, as an influential media genre, of a particular culture is employed to provoking particular sentiments during critical encounters with other cultures.

It is worth mentioning that the involvement of cultural factors in the representation of viewpoints does essentially entail the engagement of the religious dynamics of each culture's beliefs and values, although, sometimes, they may not be explicitly articulated in the discourse. Yet such beliefs are manifested in the manner in which attitudes and viewpoints are submitted that is determined by pragmatic implications and which might be revealed as we approach opinion discourse through the aims presented. Therefore, such aims trigger a number of research questions to be addressed in the course of this study:

1) Whether the language of British and Arabic newspapers opinion discourse represents the conflict between the West and Muslim-Arab worlds in a similar manner? and if not;

2) How does such a discrepancy exist, in linguistic terms? and

3) Is there any role played by the history, culture, religion in any of the cultures in the way messages are communicated?

### ***1.3 Significance of the study***

Answering the enquiries above from a semantic perspective is deemed vital to the realisation of the powerful persuasion effect embodied within the discourse in newspapers opinion and editorial sections. Investigating opinion discourse has not been adequately studied and has perhaps been neglected despite its socio-cultural power. And this is another unique aspect of the study in relation to such political developments between the West and Muslim-Arab cultures. The significance also lies in the representation of a conflict, i.e. 'war on terror' within different political settings, i.e. the USA (11/09/2001), Afghanistan (07/10/2001), and Iraq (20/03/2003) during which the discourse is examined. No similar studies have been conducted combining the above two approaches particularly within an Arabic and British comparative environment which accounts for a further unique aspect of this study.

### ***1.4 Conceptual framework***

The study employs a framework which seems to characterise opinion articles and editorials of Arabic and British newspapers at the time of the conflict in which their respective cultures are engaged, i.e. Arab-Islamic and Western cultures. Such a framework is set to be able to examine the rhetorical manifestation and structure of such articles, the selective use of lexical items, and finally the utilisation of certain expressions which contribute to the persuasion effect of the article's message. These

linguistically oriented approaches are to be examined in respect to the rhetorical representation embedded within such strategies. Combining the three different elements above, in itself, enhances and maximises the utilisation of the framework, which accounts for the uniqueness of this study. That is to say, examining key semantic components such as lexicalisation and re-enforcement which are ingrained within a coherently linked structure enables us to account for their interrelated rhetorical function as the core of opinion columns and editorials (op-eds, henceforth).

### ***1.5 Scope and methodology***

The discourse analysis carried out in this study, involves editorials and opinion articles from three Arabic (*al-Ahram*, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, and *al-Sharq al-Awsat*) and three British (*The Telegraph*, *The Independent*, and *The Times*) newspapers websites representing diverse accounts hence directed to diverse audiences within each respective culture. In order to examine the impact and the implications of each of the three political milieus introduced above as represented in the newspapers' opinion discourse, opinion articles and editorials were gathered and examined simultaneously within seven days duration from the outbreak of a given conflict. The implication of the clashes was examined via the linguistic portrayal of such a conflict and/or the participants involved. To do this, such portrayal in Arabic editorials and opinion texts is contrasted to its British counterpart in terms of the structure, the lexicality and the enforcement strategies, all of which seem to function primarily on rhetorical grounds.

Sometimes, it is observed, the contrast takes place among the selected newspapers within either of the two respective cultures. This is therefore, the reason for the study's emphasis on some particular newspapers (such as *al-Quds al-Arabi*, and *The Telegraph*, for instance) which serves to underlining the extreme viewpoint of such newspapers in relation to the conflicts in question. Accordingly, I believe, such a perspective in turn, assembles the extreme stereotyping agenda of the

newspaper through which the respective culture may be inevitably judged by the other.

The restricted number of articles examined in this study actually enables a relatively thorough analysis of the rhetorical function of opinion discourse rather than providing an incoherent, fuzzy analysis which would have been imposed by selecting a wider range of material.

### ***1.6 An outline of the study***

There are eight chapters in this study inclusive of the introduction and the conclusion. The three chapters (5, 6 and 7) preceding the conclusion constitute the main core of the study through which the components of the theoretical framework in Chapter Four are exemplified from the collected data.

Chapter One is an introductory statement describing the context of the study in which its significance initially lies and which the chapter intends to illuminate. The chapter also addresses the rationale of the study which includes the research questions addressed in the course of it. Moreover, it sheds light on the conceptual framework and its components. The scope and data used to conducting such a study followed by a brief description of the methodology are also highlighted.

The second and the third chapters are a literature review. In Chapter Two, a discussion of the development of text linguistics as a branch of discourse analysis is provided. The main early approaches to text and text linguistics are discussed. A discussion on modern approaches to discourse analysis is also provided moving from the theory of cohesion in texts to critical discourse analysis. Within the latter, three different approaches to media discourse are presented. The social process of production and interpretation of texts is discussed within pioneering theories of media discourse analysis, particularly Van Dijk's socio-cognitive theory to which the present study is essentially related.

Chapter Three reviews the development of media, particularly the press, in the Arab world and in Britain. The historical background of the earliest newspapers is provided, and emphasis on the background of the six newspapers examined in this study is given. In addition, light is shed on the media systems in both societies with emphasis on the Arab world as exhibiting varieties of systems reflecting the diverse political characters of its various countries.

The methodology of the study is presented in Chapter Four. This chapter includes the theoretical framework highlighting the categories according to which the model is classified. It offers a detailed description of the three main parameters of the framework which are outlined in the hypotheses assumed in the chapter, as well as it provides a basis for understanding the findings which emerge from the study. Furthermore, the chapter offers a description of the conventions and the colour coding used in the course of the thesis. Chapters Five, Six and Seven demonstrate the applicability of the three strategies of the framework, i.e. the rhetorical structure of opinion discourse, the strategy of lexical selectivity and the enforcement strategy.

Chapter Eight highlights the major findings of the thesis which involve a discussion of a number of observations which emerged from the study. The chapter includes the researcher's reflections with regard to the observations made in relation to the context of the study. The implications of the study are outlined and recommendations for further research are suggested.

Finally, the appendices attached to the end of the thesis are samples of British and Arabic newspapers opinion and editorial articles the extracts from which have been used in the study. The op-eds comprising the three appendices are arranged chronologically in the three different conflict themes. A list of the attached articles is provided before every respective appendix.

## *Chapter (2)*

### **Approaches to text and text-linguistics: an overview**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

In our daily lives, we encounter a wide range of written texts, such as newspaper articles, novels, poetry, short stories, posters, road signs, shopping catalogues, etc. Not all of these written texts have the power to influence our thoughts and understanding of the world around us but, in a way, most of what we read plays a role in shaping and formulating the way we think. It is one of the common activities of our social lives which is mainly carried out through the power of written words. Despite the power of the written word, not until the 1960s did the study of texts gain considerable attention which involved detailed investigations of text analysis.

In modern linguistics and semiotics<sup>5</sup>, discourse and text analysis are concerned with the analysis of connected speech and writing and their relation to the contexts in which they fall. This type of analysis differs entirely from the traditional analysis of texts when linguistics was largely concerned with single-sentence analysis and the construction of sentences. Sentences in a given text were analysed in isolation from each other, as well as from their context. However, this view has changed radically during the past three decades and many approaches have developed as new insights into texts and their analysis. During this time, linguists began to be interested in analysing the function of sentences and the way they work in sequence to create coherent stretches of language. These studies led to the development of the two main approaches, namely 'discourse analysis' and 'text analysis' (McArthur 1992: 316). The former is concerned with the structure of spoken language of everyday life i.e. conversations, commentaries, teaching, speech discourses, etc.

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<sup>5</sup> The analysis of signs and symbols as part of communication, i.e. language, behaviour, gesture...

Text analysis, on the other hand, focuses on the structure of written language and the analysis of texts such as textbooks, newspapers, road signs, etc. It developed as an interest for researchers from many disciplines. Linguists, for example, are interested in language features that bind sentences when they are used in sequence, while sociologists and ethnographers study the structure of the social interaction of participants in the sentences they produce. Furthermore, scholars of style rhetoric and style have also contributed to the study of texts. They are all concerned with seeing language as a dynamic, social, interactive phenomenon between participants (i.e. writer/reader or speaker/hearer). It is argued that meaning is conveyed by complex exchanges, not by single sentences, in which the participants' beliefs, knowledge of the world, expectations and the situation of interaction, occupy a central position. This view indicates that textual analysis is better achieved through examining a sequence of sentences, unlike the traditional early analysis of texts which promoted only single-sentence analysis. In Section 2.4, a number of major approaches to text analysis is presented but in the following section, the term 'text' is introduced and explained.

## **2.2 Definitions**

The term 'text' has been defined in various ways. In linguistics, it refers to any written or spoken passage of any length which constitutes a whole unity. Halliday & Hasan (1976: 1) pointed out that "a text is a unit of language in use" which is not grammatical, like a clause or a sentence, and also not defined by its size.

De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 3) defined text as "a communicative occurrence" where seven standards of textuality have to be met and satisfied in order to produce a communicative text. This implies that communication has to be achieved between the producer and the receiver of the text since it is the initial purpose of creating any given text which is, of course, generated primarily by its author.



Furthermore, text has also been a concern for sociolinguists. Fairclough (1989: 24) defines text in relation to society and claims that text is a product of the process of text production. He argues that a text is part of the whole social interaction process which involves the 'process of production' and the 'process of interpretation'. Text is regarded as a product in the first process and as resource in the second. The author also argues that text analysis is only a part of discourse analysis which also includes the processes of production and interpretation.

The above definitions of text fit into the description of both spoken and written discourse. However, some believe that 'text' is better treated only as a written product of communication which has properties that are not found in spoken discourse and many linguists treat text in such a manner. For example, Coulthard (1994: 9) offers an interesting description of text which he describes as written material. "A text", he states, "is a string of words and a writer has to code the ideational meaning into, and the reader to decode that meaning from, words". He adds (ibid) that, because words and meanings are not fully fixed, problems tend to arise, largely because some meanings of words are actually derived from the context they fall into. To this effect, such feature allows texts to alter the common meanings of words for creative purposes, which is a grand advantage to opinion writers, commentators and editors.

Furthermore, Hoey (2001: 11) explains that text is the "visible evidence" of a meaningful interaction between writers (one or more) and readers (one or more) where writers control the process of interaction and also generate all the language. This definition indicates again that a text consists of written material and also that writers have the power, not only to create the language, but also to control it in their own favour. In short, all of the above approaches to the concept of text emphasise the significance of analysing texts as a means of communication; this introduced the field of 'text linguistics'. Current approaches to text are linked to other spheres as I intend to demonstrate in the course of this study.

### **2.3 The emergence of text linguistics**

Text linguistics is a branch of discourse analysis which mostly describes written language. It has emerged during the last quarter of the twentieth century from the work of text grammarians who view texts as elements linked together in definable relationships (McArthur 1992: 316). The earliest recorded preoccupation with texts was found in rhetoric, starting from Ancient Greece and Rome, to the Middle Ages and to present times (De Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 15). The rhetoricians' outlook was influenced by their concern to train public orators in the following areas: invention, disposition, elocution, memorisation and delivery. Some of the views of rhetoric on texts are:

- Texts are of higher quality than others in terms of the configuration of the ideas that are expressed.
- Texts are judged according to their effect on receivers.
- Texts are viewed as a means of purposeful interaction.

Seen from this point of view, it is important to note that the interaction between authors and readers is a major factor which contributes to the success of textual communication. This is because texts are primarily created for two major purposes: to constitute a purposeful interaction, as it were; and also to create as much effect on readers as possible. These two points have become essential to current approaches to the linguistic analysis of textual structure and contradict the orthodox approach (to be discussed shortly) in the first half of the last century. Actually, text analysis has undergone major developments and this chapter offers an overview of different approaches to text analysis. These are divided into two stages of development in text linguistics studies.

## 2.4 Approaches and theories of text linguistics

At the beginning of the last century, modern linguistics was primarily associated with ‘descriptive’ structural methods<sup>5</sup> where language samples were collected and analysed according to the minimal units of a system, with each system of units constituting a level. Minimal units of the various language systems were identified. For example, minimal units of sound were called ‘phonemes’, ‘morphemes’ for those of form, and ‘semes’ for those of meaning, and so on. Each of the units in a particular system is characterised by its distinctive features which gives it a particular function by being distinct from all other units in the system. In this ‘descriptive’ approach, it is argued that by identifying the systems of the language and classifying their units, a more complete description of language will be achieved.

This view may, no doubt, be successful in approaching different aspects of language but it makes no provision for the study of texts. For example, De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 21) argue that, although it is possible to analyse a text into levels of minimal units, the nature of the text will not be clearly identified. In fact, extracting and analysing only the tiny components of a text diverts consideration away from the important ties which bind the text together. This vision reflects the fact that text analysis was still in its early stages and it was not until the emergence of transformational grammar that the study of text took a different approach which is part of my discussion in the following section.

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<sup>5</sup> Descriptive or structuralist linguistics was first developed by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1916). Saussure’s work was not published in his lifetime but was put together, later on, by two of his colleagues. Saussure believes that historical (diachronic) studies of language should be separated from descriptive analysis (synchronic). His approach is directed towards the description of the structure of language at a particular point in time. The language is a ‘system’ as it exists at a particular time which Saussure calls “la langue”. It is seen as a system of signs. By sign, Saussure means the relationship between a concept and some acoustic noise or graphic form which represents the concept, in other words the relationship between the signified and the signifier. The bond between the signified and the signifier is arbitrary as is shown by the existence of so many languages in the world. Saussure’s linguistic theory had influenced major linguistic schools such as the Prague. Also his emphasis on the structure of the language has influenced most of the subsequent linguistic theories and his insights about language have profoundly influenced the literary and social criticism of the twentieth-century (Malmkjaer 1991).

## 2.4.1 Early approaches to text linguistics

This section presents various theoretical approaches relevant to the written form of discourse, even though some approaches may fit into the study of both spoken and written discourse. In the following section, an overview of different approaches to text analysis is presented in a chronological order.

### 2.4.1.1 Harris' approach

The first attempt to expand the analysis of texts beyond minimal units was proposed by the structuralist, Zellig Harris in 1952. He proposed a descriptive analysis which is based on the distribution of morphemes across sentence boundaries in a text (cited in Cha 1985: 16). In other words, the analysis describes how the morphemes are distributed in a text when they occur in equivalent syntactic environments. By equivalences, Harris meant the "relationships in which elements were the same or had the same environment" (cited in De Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 21).

He applied the notion of 'transformation' to provide a more comprehensive analysis. For example, a sentence like *customers are satisfied* is transformed into another equivalent pattern: *satisfied customers*. Through this analysis, Harris attempted to describe written texts by looking for repeated words and phrases which would develop a basis for categorising words and phrases that occur next to them (cited in Coulthard 1994: 14). Because it was not possible to find exactly the same phrases in a text, Harris concluded that stretches of language were systematically related, though not physically identical, and that they could be regarded as essentially the same. In my view, this method of analysis is useful only by moving beyond sentence level in a text. However, it is not applicable to texts such as newspapers opinion columns and editorials, simply because, in such texts, we are also concerned with the semantic and coherent relations between the sequences of sentences.

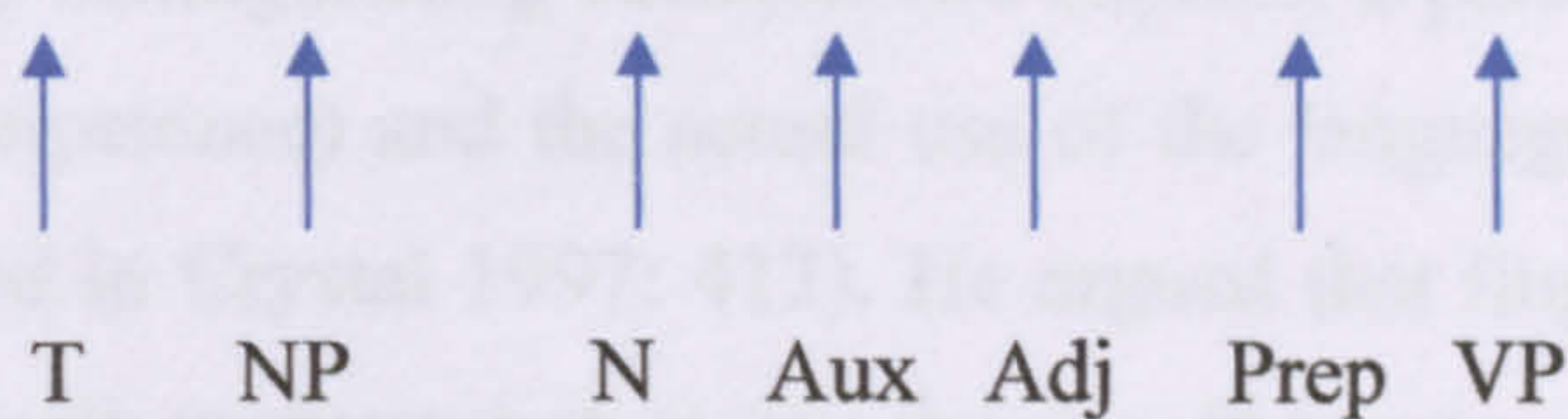
Harris's approach was considered a grammatical transformation but it was contradicted by Chomsky's single-sentence analysis in 1957 and hence was lost. Chomsky developed the concept of transformational grammar which was a turning point in twentieth century linguistics (Crystal 1997: 413).

#### **2.4.1.2 Transformational-generative grammar (TG): Chomsky**

Transformational grammar was initiated by Noam Chomsky in 1957 through his work *Syntactic Structure* and its essence has evoked other subsequent theories and approaches in the field. Chomsky claimed that grammar is an 'autonomous system' and it therefore should not be studied in relation to meaning. He regards syntax as a basic component of language on which other components depend (i.e. semantics and phonology). Chomsky states that "Despite the undeniable interest and importance of semantic and statistical studies of language, they appear to have no direct relevance to the problem of determining or characterising the set of grammatical utterances" (cited in Brown and Yule (1983: 21).

Transformational grammar highlights the distinction between the surface and the deep structures of syntax. For example, on the surface level, sentence (a) "The German team was eager to win" may be analysed as (b) as the diagram below shows. At the surface level, both sentences (a) and (b) are similarly segmented by the same grammatical categories, i.e. T (article), NP (noun phrase), N (noun), Aux (auxiliary), Adj (adjective), Prep (preposition), VP (verb phrase), whereas they differ entirely on the underlying level. In sentence (a), winning was acquired by the German team while, in sentence (b), winning was acquired by another team. Such distinction is determined by the semantic embodiments in lexemes:

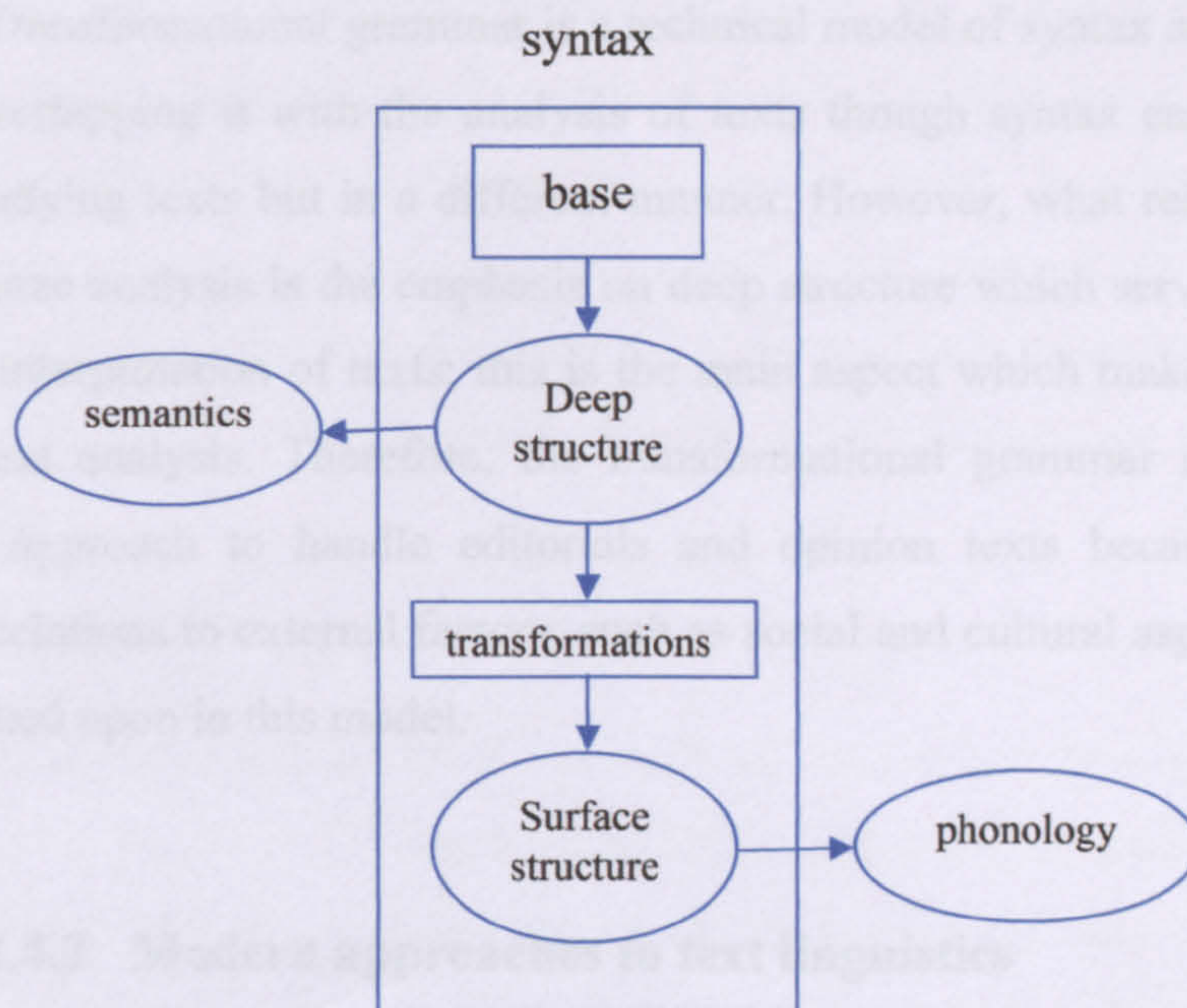
a) *The German team was happy to win*



b) *The German team was easy to win*



The above illustration shows that, in transformational grammar, there are a few syntactic rules at the base of grammar which consist of transformations. These transformations are technical devices which serve to link deep structure with surface structure within the syntax, while distinguishing between the two structures (Figure 2.1).



**Figure 2.1** Chomsky's structure of transformational grammar

(After *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* 1992: 666).

Chomsky made the distinction between the deep and surface structures more observable by distinguishing between two aspects: a person's knowledge of language rules (competence) and the actual use of the language in real situations (performance) (cited in Crystal 1997: 413). He argued that linguistics should not only be concerned with performance as was the case in previous linguistic studies. Previous linguists (i.e. structuralists) relied on collecting only samples of speech (e.g. tape recording data) which were inadequate because they only provided a small proportion of the possible sentences in the language; besides, they contained errors of performance. Using competence, Chomsky argued, allows speakers to create and recognise new sentences by using wider range of vocabulary from language. His suggestions were intended to capture the mental realities people rely on when using language. Transformational rules were formulated to provide a formal representation of the underlying deep structure of sentences (i.e. semantic, phonological and syntactic structures).

Transformational grammar is a technical model of syntax and it is better to avoid overlapping it with the analysis of texts though syntax can be dealt with when studying texts but in a different manner. However, what relates this model to discourse analysis is the emphasis on deep structure which serves in providing a better interpretation of texts; this is the main aspect which makes it relevant to media text analysis. Therefore, the transformational grammar model is not a suitable approach to handle editorials and opinion texts because these texts involve relations to external factors, such as social and cultural aspects, which are not touched upon in this model.

#### **2.4.2 Modern approaches to text linguistics**

Studies concerning text linguistics showed remarkable progress, and more interesting theories and approaches to texts developed during the 1970s and afterwards. Most of these modern theories examine long stretches of text and a few

of these approaches still have remained the key to the study of texts since the 1970s. In this section, a brief account of these major theories is offered.

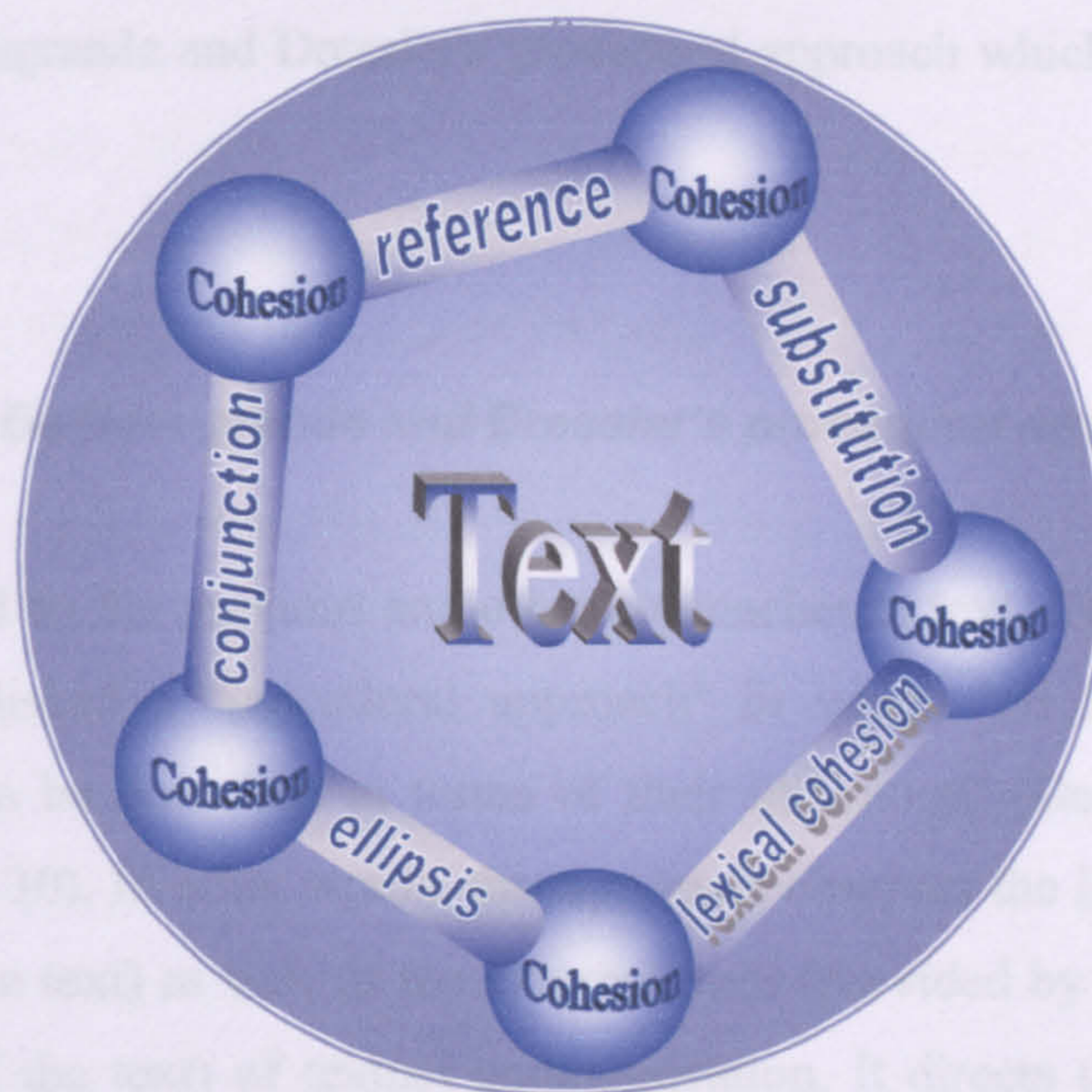
#### **2.4.2.1 Halliday and Hasan's model of cohesion**

This model is considered one of the earliest and most widely known works describing cohesion as an indispensable property of texts. The authors argue that a text is not only a grammatical unit larger than the sentence and related to it in the same way a sentence is related to a clause, or a clause to a group, but a text must be envisaged as something different in kind and function from a mere sentence.

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 1), text is regarded as a semantic unit of meaning, not of form. This unit is related to a sentence or clause, not by size but by 'realization'; it is the coding of one symbolic system in another. A text does not consist of sentences; it is realized by, or encoded in, sentences, a principle which distinguishes the unity of a sentence from the unity of a text. As mentioned earlier, text is defined as elements linked together in a definable relationship, thus introducing the term 'cohesion', recognised as the 'surface' marking of the semantic relations between the text and its various elements with regard to its logical and rhetorical elements which account for the text's overall coherence.

To Halliday and Hasan, the concept of 'texture', or the organisation of text, expresses the property of 'being a text' (1976: 2). It is largely made up of 'cohesive ties', which are the relationships between items in the text; some of these items are semantic and some are grammatical. These ties are various in kind and are divided into five broad classes: conjunction, reference, substitution, lexical cohesion and ellipsis. These classes are markers of textual relations (Figure 2.2).





**Figure 2.2** Grammatical cohesive ties and formation of text cohesion

Hoey notes that these classes of cohesive ties, with the exception of conjunction, are all ways of repeating; this also applies to the category '*lexical cohesion*', as loosely labelled by Halliday and Hasan (cited in Hoey 1991: 6). I believe that these notions of 'ties' and 'relations' between the different elements in a text do play a role in relating the content of the text together but are not sufficient to account for the semantic interpretation of texts independent of context. Apparently, because such interpretation may sometimes involve ideological bearing, as well as contextual associations, which the above model does not count for primarily, though these cohesive ties are crucial to the surface analysis of texts (e.g. grammatical analysis). Therefore, they are not a focus in this study; this is because, in the analysis of opinion discourse concern is not merely on the relation between the text and the receiver, but also on the textual interaction between the producer and the receiver. Nonetheless, an occasional reference to Halliday and Hasan's cohesion theory may occur when presenting relevance to the semantic enquiry in this study as will be seen in Chapters (5, 6 and 7).

Notably, the relationship between authors and readers began to emerge as new approaches to text and one of the interesting approaches, though neglected, to

text is De Beaugrande and Dressler's procedural approach which was developed in (1981).

#### **2.4.2.2 De Beaugrande and Dressler's procedural approach**

Inspired by the previous and other approaches to text, De Beaugrande and Dressler established a 'procedural approach' in which 'all the levels of the language are to be described in terms of their utilization' (De Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 30). In other words, this approach observes the internal properties (provided in the text) as well as the external ones (provided by the producer and the receiver of the text) of textual communication. It directs the study of texts towards the examination of processing operations present in texts and does not limit the studies only to the artefacts of speech and writing alone. The authors emphasise the question of how texts function in human interaction. In this respect, De Beaugrande & Dressler (ibid: 3) define 'text', as mentioned earlier, in the following terms:

“a communicative occurrence which meets seven standards of textuality, if any of these standards is not considered to have been satisfied, the text will not be communicative.”

These seven standards are: cohesion, coherence, informativity, situationality, intertextuality, intentionality and acceptability; they function as the constitutive principles which define and create communication. These constitutive principles of communication (ibid) are briefly described below:

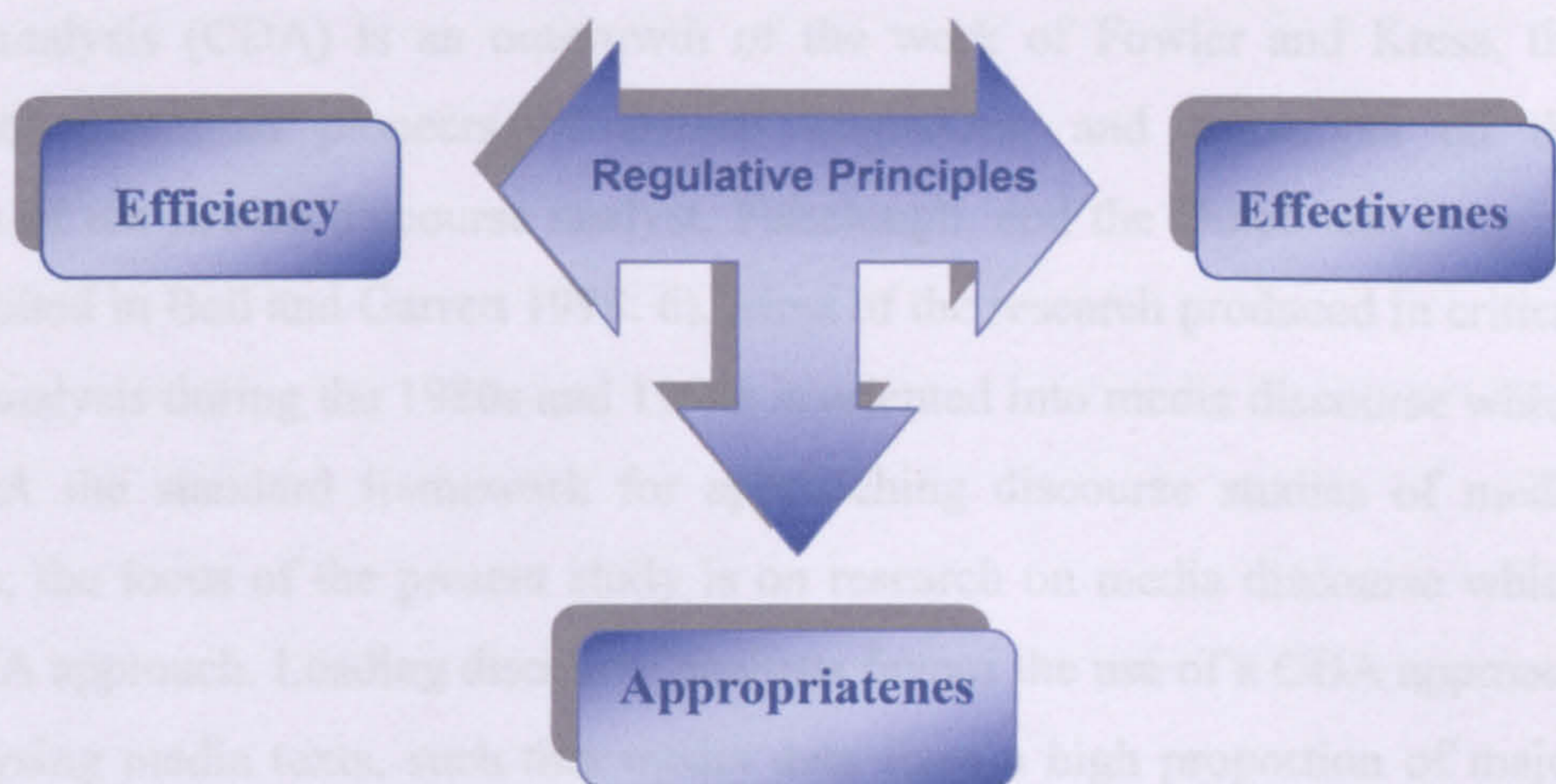
1. Cohesion concerns the ways in which the sentences composing a text display some kind of mutual independence and do not occur at random. In other words, all linguistic items formulating a sequence of sentences must be meaningfully connected according to the grammatical rules of the text language.

2. Coherence refers to the contents of the text, the textual world, which have to be mutually accessible and relevant. Cohesion and coherence are text-centred notions designating operations directed at the text material.
3. Intentionality concerns the text's producer's intention and attitude to constitute a cohesive, as well as a coherent, text to attain the producer's goals and plans as a basic intention behind producing such a text. Unlike the two previous standards, intentionality is a user-centred notion which is the focus of textual communication carried out by the producers and receivers of texts.
4. Acceptability is concerned with the text's receiver's attitude towards the text's contents (i.e. cohesiveness, coherence, knowledge of the world, social, cultural settings, desirable outcome, etc.). In my view, this standard and the previous one can be classified as external factors of textual interaction, whereas the rest of the standards can be called internal factors. The presence of the external factors dramatically affects the interpretation of texts.
5. Informativity concerns the contents of the text in terms of the occurrences presented by the author and their impact on the receiver (i.e. expected vs. unexpected; known vs. unknown).
6. Situationality is what makes a text relevant to a certain situation or occurrence.
7. Intertextuality concerns the way in which the use of a certain text depends on the knowledge of another text or texts.

To the analysis of texts, these standards should be fulfilled because each can function as a purpose of communication. To De Beaugrande and Dressler, these seven standards must be met because non-communicative texts are valued as non-texts. Furthermore, De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) add a number of other principles, called regulative principles (Figure 2.3), which control textual communication. Here only three are outlined. These form a fundamental part of the textual interaction of writer/reader as a major factor in the analysis of opinion texts and editorials.

### ***Regulative principles for textual communication***

1. Efficiency depends on using the text in communication with the least effort on the part of participants (De Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 34). That is to say, communication is achieved using the minimal resources of attention and access which contribute in easing the process of textual comprehension.
2. Effectiveness works in the other direction. It depends on the text leaving a powerful impression and creating favourable conditions for attaining a goal. It 'elicits processing depth...intense use of resources of attention and access on materials removed from the explicit surface representation' (ibid).
3. Appropriateness is the harmony between the setting of a text and the manner in which the standards of textuality are maintained. In other words, it 'determines the correlation between the current occasion and the standards of textuality such that reliable estimates can be made regarding ease or depth of participants' processing'.



**Figure 2.3** Regulative principles of textual communication.

In my opinion, De Beaugrande and Dressler's approach, though inadequately investigated, allows a more liberal analysis to texts than traditional discourse analysis methods; the approach highlights the relationship between author and readers which is not pronounced in much earlier works. In other words, the aforementioned principles outlined above acknowledge the producer's and the

receiver's roles in the textual interaction process which are essential in the interpretation of opinion texts for example. Despite De Beaugrande and Dressler's fine description, their work did not receive adequate analysis or criticism by linguists although, in my opinion, an insightful approach to modern text linguistics which are characterised by their critical approach to texts.

Therefore, with various advances in text studies, many fascinating and challenging approaches to discourse analysis appeared that they became essential theories to approaching texts on multidisciplinary grounds which led to the development of critical linguistics.

## **2.5 Critical linguistics**

'Critical linguistics' is a type of discourse analysis that mainly focuses on media discourse, the type of discourse to be investigated in this study. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an outgrowth of the work of Fowler and Kress, the British and Australian pioneers of critical linguistics, and converges on the approaches of the British discourse analyst, Fairclough, and the Dutch text linguist, Van Dijk (cited in Bell and Garrett 1998: 6). Most of the research produced in critical discourse analysis during the 1980s and 1990s is oriented into media discourse which makes CDA the standard framework for approaching discourse studies of media texts. Thus, the focus of the present study is on research on media discourse which takes a CDA approach. Leading discourse analysts favour the use of a CDA approach when analysing media texts, such that media data form a high proportion of major works published in the CDA journal *Discourse and Society* (Bell and Garrett 1998: 6). Furthermore, because the media play a crucial role as discourse-bearing institutions, they are a particular issue for CDA.

CDA focuses on the socio-political nature of media texts and it reveals the role of discourse in reproducing or challenging socio-political dominance. Of course, this involves discovering and bearing witness to unequal relations of power which

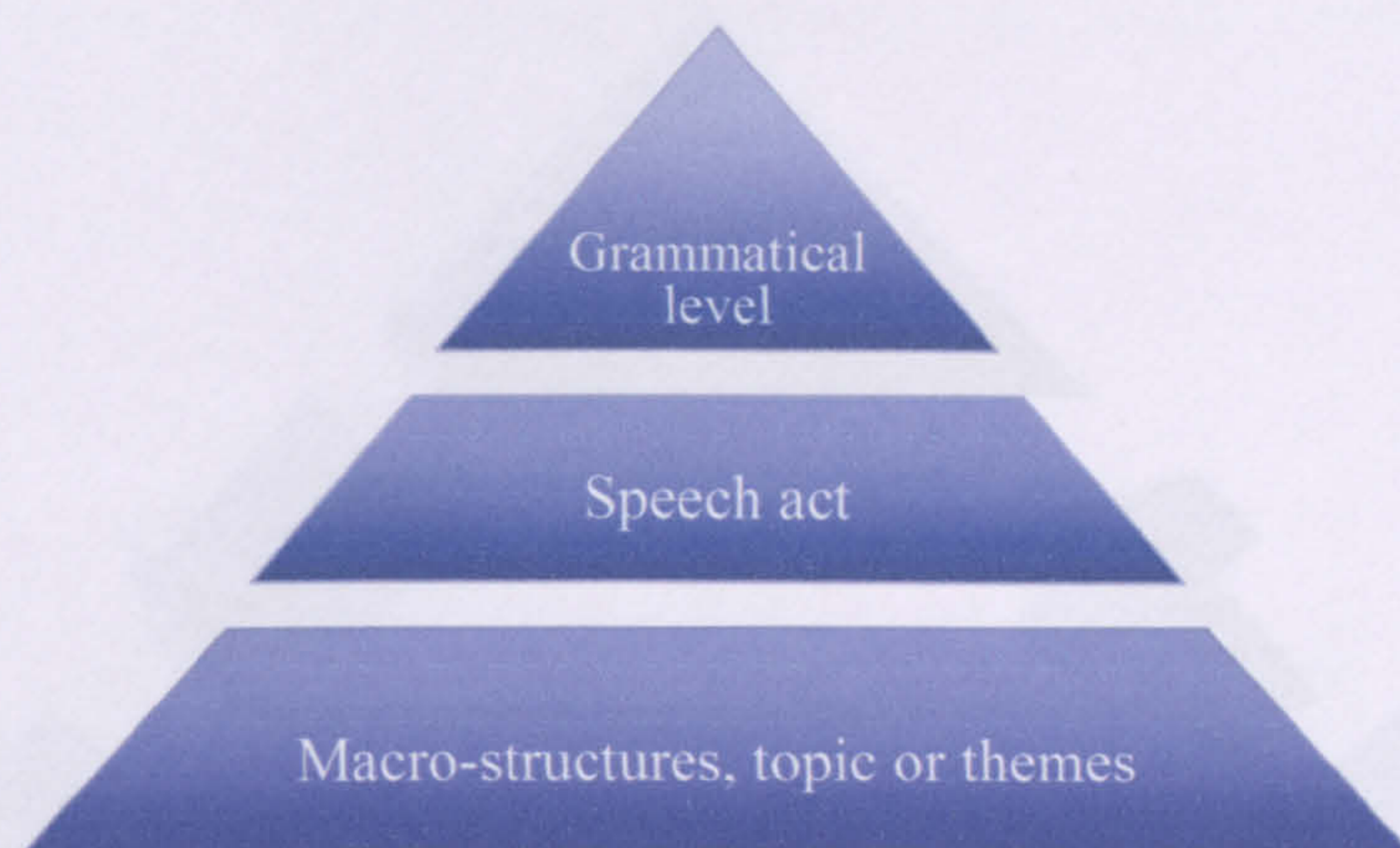
underlie means of linguistic interaction in society. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the role of opinion discourse in enforcing the inequality of power between cultures. Although Critical Discourse Analysis is criticised (ibid), it sufficiently embraces the field of media discourse and is a natural tool for socially active research since it offers the potential for applying theoretically sophisticated frameworks to central issues. The main advantage of CDA is that it does not confine itself to one single discipline but features a shared perspective encompassing a range of approaches. Relevant to the present study are the approaches of Van Dijk, Bell and Fairclough.

### **2.5.1 *Van Dijk's macro-structure***

Van Dijk identified three levels of textual structure (Figure 2.4). The first is the grammatical level that covers the phonological, graphematic, morphological, syntactic, semantic and lexical features of texts. The second level is that of the speech act while the third level is that of macrostructures: topics or themes which are expressed indirectly by larger stretches of text.

The macrostructure is a large-scale statement of the context of a text and defines its global coherence. It is characterised by a hierarchical organisation, defined by macrorules which represent what we understand intuitively by summarising a text, (Graddol & Boyd-Barrett 1994: 26). The macrorules are subjective and their meanings are assigned by readers' knowledge of the world.

The macro-structure of a text is its overall organisation in terms of themes or topics (Fairclough 1995: 28) and is central in the analysis of 'thematic' structure. This is an hierarchical organisation which means that a major theme can be identified from a whole text and is then divided and subdivided into more specific themes.

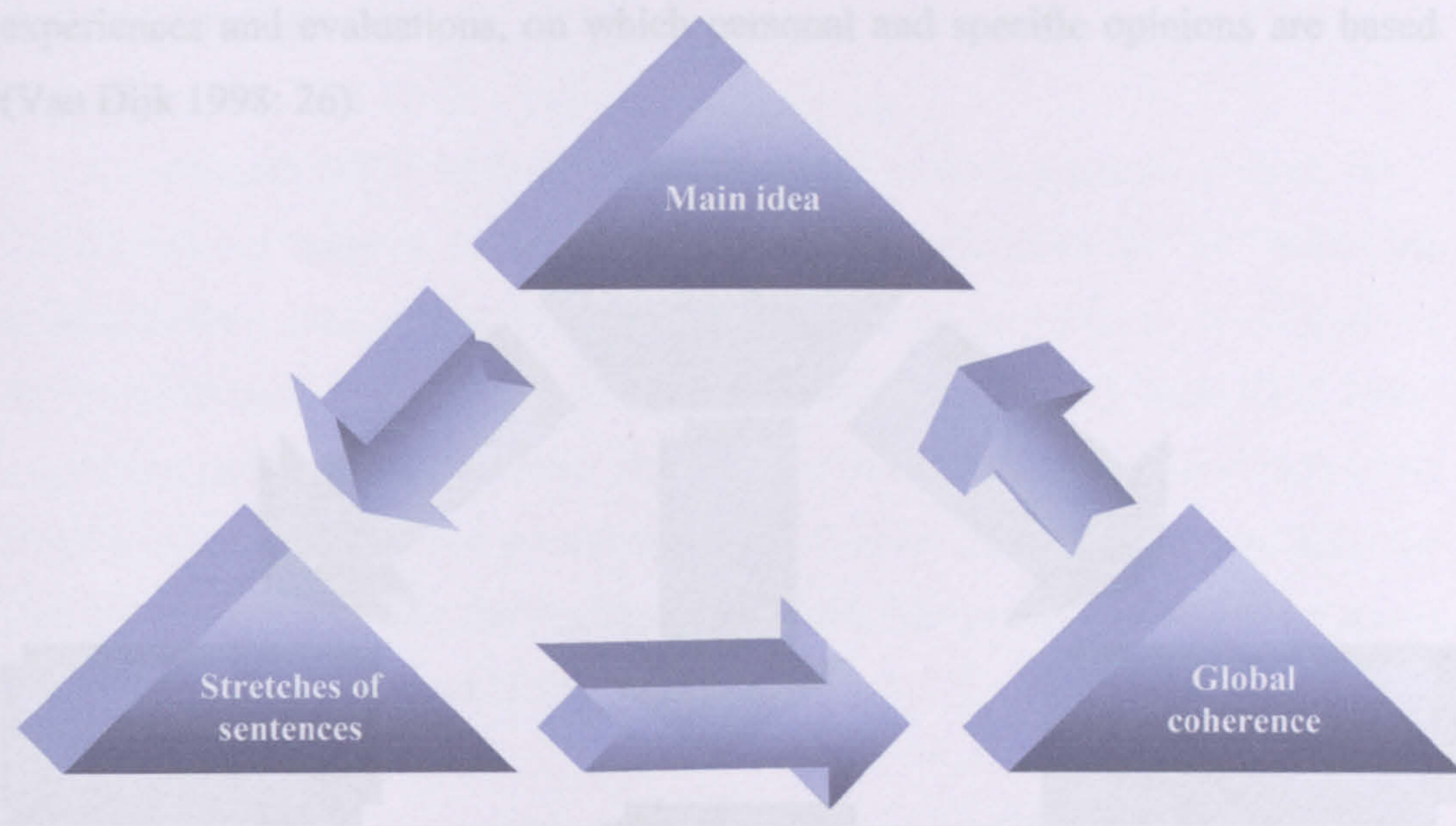


**Figure 2.4** Levels of textual structure

This macro-structure suggests that text construction has to begin with a major idea (Figure 2.5), which develops progressively into the detailed meanings of individual sentence-length stretches. From this detailed meaning, it should then be possible to extract the main idea back again from the text through certain operations such as 'deletion' and 'generalisation'.

Van Dijk stressed that 'text linguistics' cannot be subjected to one method or theory of analysis. On the contrary, it is applicable to any work in the science of language devoted to the text as the primary object of enquiry. He holds the position, like other text grammarians, that a text grammar is formulated and designed to deal with features of the text which a sentence grammar cannot tackle.

Van Dijk contributed to the study of news language through several publications. His theory of discourse is combined with the discourse of news and the semantic structure of texts. In his approach, the concept of discourse is integrated into the dimensions of production, content and comprehension. He gives an account of the diachronic dynamism of the communication process. By this he means that 'text has history before it is realized as text and after it has been realized and commodified' Graddol & Boyd-Barrett (1994: 26). Van Dijk recognised that text is not only utterances but also has a context.



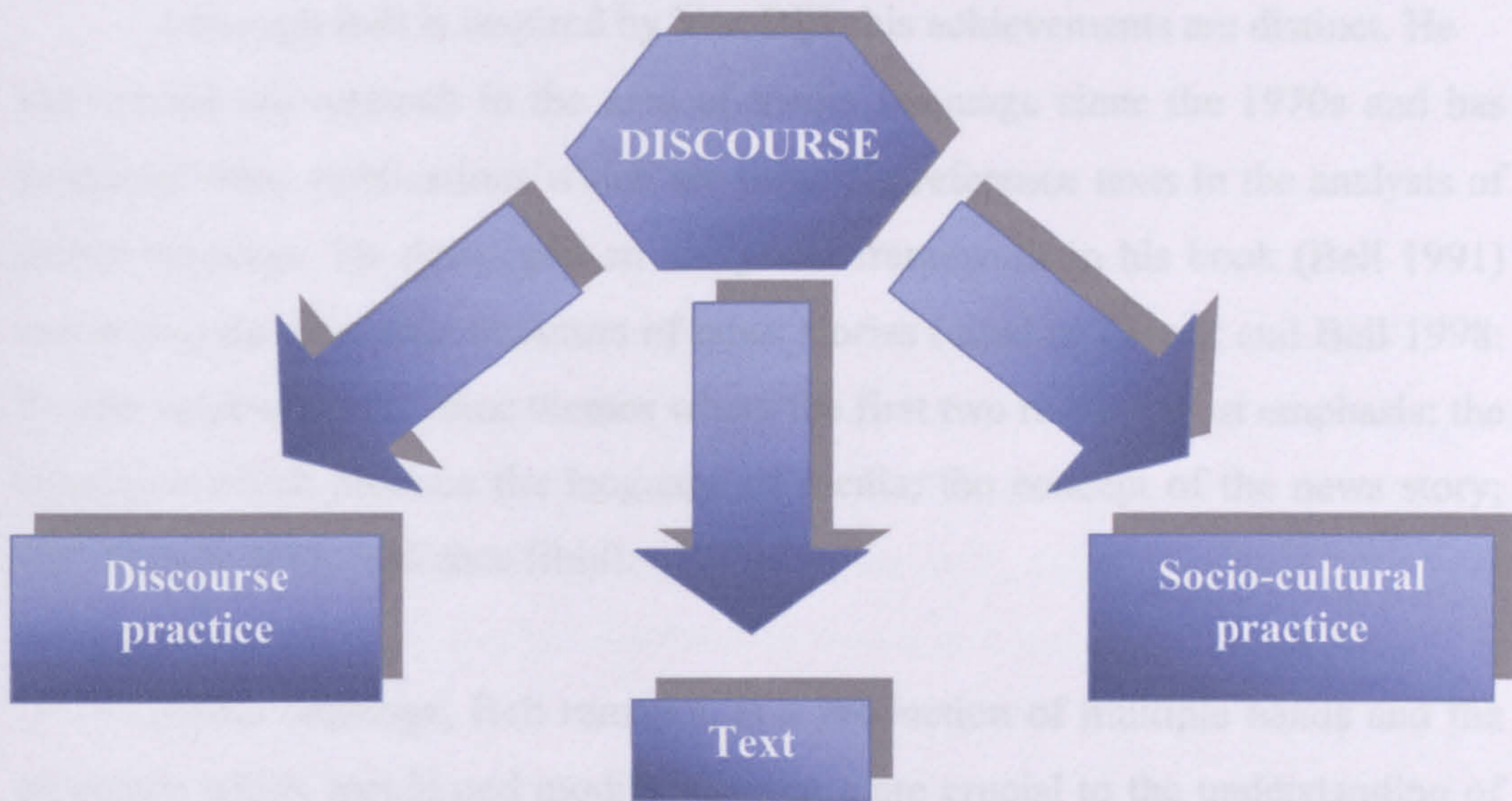
**Figure 2.5** Van Dijk's concept of Macro-structure

The main feature of originality in Van Dijk's approach is his concentration on the more immediate features and processes of text production and reception. He argues that media messages have been ignored or marginally dealt with even though they should be regarded as the central object of mass communication research. Moreover, Van Dijk's approach is one of the most significant models for analysing media discourse and is referred to as the 'socio-cognitive' model, (Figure 2.6). His model links media texts to context and he analyses the practices of news and news comprehension; he also emphasises social cognition (how cognitive 'models' shape production and comprehension).

Van Dijk's approach to the analysis of opinion discourse stems from a theory of ideology which consists of three components. These bridge the gap between the micro and the macro levels of discourse structure (Van Dijk 1998: 23-24), namely: the social functions, cognitive structures and discursive expression and production. In my view, one of the most important notions in Van Dijk's socio-cognitive theory that cannot be ignored when approaching opinion discourse is the idea of 'mental models'. In simple terms, this means the representation of people's socially shared opinions or attitudes, and personal



experiences and evaluations, on which personal and specific opinions are based (Van Dijk 1998: 26).



**Figure 2.6** The socio-cognitive model.

These models, according to Van Dijk (ibid) (1995), are personal, subjective and context-bound in the sense that: 1) they feature what individuals know and think about specific events and 2) they account for the fact that such events and actions are subjectively interpreted (Van Dijk 1998: 27). Therefore, such mental models cannot be ignored when analysing opinion-based discourse such as editorials and opinion articles in the press, particularly since models are the interface between social representations, and social practices and discourse (ibid).

Furthermore, Van Dijk's analysis aims to show the relationships between the two processes: the process of production, the process of comprehension both of which are embedded in the social practices. This approach tackles the social factor, which is essential to text comprehension and interpretation, a central issue in the present work. Therefore, reference to Van Dijk in the course of this study may be inevitable as it is significant in investigating the powerful linguistic tools used to manipulate readers' attitudes in opinion and editorial texts in newspapers.

### **2.5.2 Allan Bell**

Although Bell is inspired by Van Dijk, his achievements are distinct. He has carried out research in the area of media language since the 1970s and has produced many publications which are principle reference texts in the analysis of media language. He developed an analytical framework in his book (Bell 1991) examining the discourse structure of news stories (cited in Garrett and Bell 1998: 9). His volume covers three themes where the first two receive most emphasis: the processes which produce the language of media; the concept of the news story; and the role of the audience (ibid).

Media language, Bell remarks, is a production of multiple hands and the processes which mould and modify this genre are crucial to the understanding of the form and content of eventual news stories (cited in Garrett and Bell 1998: 9). The fact that Bell combines mixture of careers as a practising journalist and linguist enabled him to provide a clearer picture of actual news stories and the way they are processed by journalists.

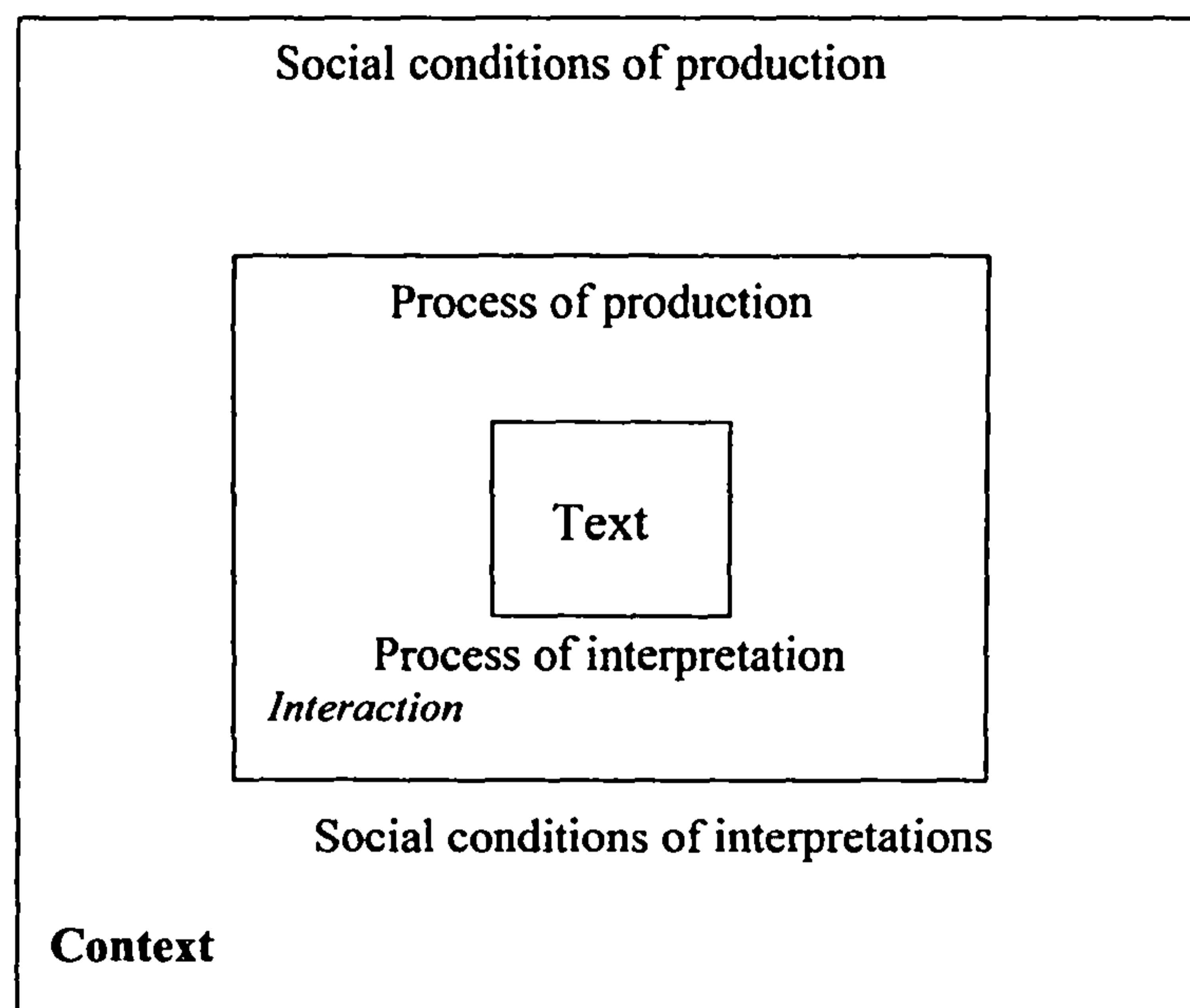
Bell's analysis of examples of one-sentence stories from British newspapers reveals that journalists are faced with discourse complexity since they have to pack as much information as possible in single sentences. He analysed event structure and discourse structure which he applied to a newspaper story. He examined the vocabulary used in the one-single story sentence. Due to the condensation of information into a little space, Bell observed, problems tend to arise such as inconsistency, incoherence and ambiguity within the story which can cause conflicts among the various story producers, i.e. journalists and co-editors; these can obstruct the reader's comprehension of the text.

Bell's analysis of news stories (Bell 1998: 101) revealed the character of the stories from which its production and potential reception are inferred, which are the basic objectives of communicating news stories. With these objectives, this study is related to Bell's analysis as it is related to other approaches to media

discourse analysis, such as Fairclough's approach below in terms of their emphasis on the process of production and the process of reception.

### 2.5.3 Discourse as social practice: Fairclough

Fairclough's model of analysing media, like Van Dijk's, consists of three components. The first of these is the micro and macro levels and the interpersonal elements in a text; the second is the analysis of discourse practice in terms of how the text is constructed and distributed; while the third dimension is social practice where the analysis of discourse is related to power and ideology (Figure 2.7).



**Figure 2.7** Discourse as social practice  
(After Fairclough, 1989: 25).

Fairclough maintains that linguistic phenomena cannot be separated from social conventions. That is to say, they are usually determined socially and have social effects. For example, as Fairclough (1989: 23) demonstrates, when family members perform any linguistic behaviour, they are actually communicating socially by the social relations of the family; they are also keen to maintain those relations. Therefore, no account of the processes of production and interpretation

will be complete if the ways in which they are socially determined are ignored. This argument implies that language should also be regarded as a social practice, one that is conditioned by other non-linguistic parts of society (ibid: 24).

These social conditions, Fairclough concludes, shape the resources people use when producing and interpreting texts and they are valid to the description of varieties of media discourse. However, their applicability to editorials has not yet been assessed. Furthermore, even though the approaches to discourse analysis above differ in their treatment of texts, they all acknowledge the persisting relationship between the text and its participants, i.e. authors and readers. The emphasis on such relationship is a foundation for the present study.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

The discussion above has highlighted the traditional linguistic approaches to text analysis; they are concerned with the analysis of single sentences unlike the view of modern approaches to texts which promote the analysis of long stretches of text. One of the early approaches to texts involved studying the minimal units of the language systems (i.e. structural models). These systems are identified as systems of sound, form and meaning. Each of the minimal units in each of these systems has the property of distinctiveness. However, this approach has nothing to offer to the study of linguistics because, in text analysis, we are firmly concerned with whole unities of texts and their relation to their context. Later, Harris attempted to provide an extended analysis to text by employing the notion of the distribution of the morphemes. His approach was rejected by Chomsky who emphasised the notion of transformations which link the deep structure of the language to the surface structure. Chomsky's ideas of competence and performance were briefly discussed.

Furthermore, three other approaches to text analysis were also reviewed, starting with Halliday and Hasan's model of cohesion as one of the major approaches to text analysis. Also, Van Dijk's two main theories are of interest to this work, i.e. macro structure and socio-cognitive model (the relation between the

processes of production and comprehension and their relation to the socio-cognitive practice).

Because the study intends to focus on media genre, reference to critical discourse analysis is made because of its relevance in approaching media discourse. Many linguists approached media discourse from a critical discourse analysis perspective because it offers opportunity to engage other discipline and spheres as texts being analysed. Therefore, the chapter presented three of the pioneering theorists in critical discourse analysis, such as Fairclough, Allan Bell and Van Dijk. Van Dijk's approach to media texts is innovative, thorough and stimulating due to integrating theories of ideology with the discourse. It is one of the approaches that inspired this study in many respects, however, in this work, text is the primary focus and through which the attempt to examine the pragmatics of discourse is intended.

Consequently, the study regards opinion discourse of newspapers a field that can expose social, cultural, historical factors, more than news reports for instance, though the latter gained more attention and analysis. Thus, the present research attempts to unravel some of the factors underlying the presentation in opinion discourse, which is manifest in the discourse in relation to contexts of war and conflict between different cultures.

As such, the latest series of conflict between the West and the Muslim-Arab world are deemed a suitable context to conduct such a task which seeks to enable us account for the opinion writers' socio-cultural relation with the representation in opinion discourse. In order to perform the task, Arabic and British newspapers are selected as representatives of the two cultures in conflict. However, needless to say, the analysis would be inadequate or rather incoherent if the media in general and the press in particular in the Arab and the British societies are not visited prior to the analysis taking place. Hence, the following chapter (Chapter 3) provides such a background.

## *Chapter (3)*

### **The Print Media**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The mass media is a crucial source in representing various concepts of reality in societies. It is a 'textual practice' to make sense of the world around us, and this is made possible by media texts we read or view, Meino & Richardson (1994: 1). There is no doubt that the print media, in particular, can greatly expand our knowledge about things and topics that we may not be able to observe ourselves instantly. Most of the information we receive about history, science, health, forests, oceans, etc. is transmitted to us through the media and which we tend to trust. We end up as dependent on different media sources to enrich our minds with what we consider to be genuine accounts of facts and history.

It is crucially important, therefore, to pause and examine the information being released by the various media sources. It is equally important to enquire about the nature of the media we are dealing with and from which people, nowadays, get acquainted with what they consider realities of life. This requires, firstly, the provision of a definition of the media, with emphasis on the press; this will follow in Section 3.2. Secondly, because the present study focuses on newspapers opinion discourse of Arabic and British newspapers during conflicts and wartime, the background of newspapers in these two cultures will be given in this chapter in Sections 3.4 and 3.5 respectively.

### 3.2 What are the media?

Linguistically, the term ‘media’ is the plural form of ‘medium’ which is a vehicle through which language, such as speech, writing and signs, is transmitted. ‘Medium’ is also defined as an intervening object or substance through which something travels or acts (McArthur 1992: 648). Abū Işba<sup>6</sup> defined media as: the various ways through which multiple audiences are communicated with efficiently as well as promptly and speedily (Abū Işba<sup>6</sup> 1999: 45). These different media forms are able to deliver news, information, entertainment, opinions and values, and are even able to formulate public opinions and develop new attitudes and responses that previously mass audiences did not have. These media forms are: the press, radio, television, cinema, books, audio and visual records, and the Internet (ibid).

McArthur (1992: 647) defined media as: ‘a collective term for newspapers, broadcasting, and other vehicles of mass communication’. He refers to McLuhan, a Canadian communication theorist, who regards media as highly influential selectors, manufacturers, shapers and even fabricators of news and views (ibid). Either deliberately or arbitrarily, these seem to be basic functions of all media forms. Each medium, however, differs in the way the message of its content is conveyed to audiences and this study will only concern itself with the discourse of opinion and editorials in the printed press medium.

### 3.3 The Press

There are different meanings associated loosely with the term ‘press’<sup>1</sup> and here, concern will be only on the **printing press** in its current sense as the collective of newspaper coverage, a term which was developed between the seventeenth and the

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<sup>1</sup> Rugh (1979: xv) includes radio and television under ‘press’.

eighteenth centuries out of the phrase ‘liberty of the press’ (ibid: 804). Because its influence on political and social institutions is immense, this led the press to be labelled worldwide as ‘the Fourth Estate’ (ibid) (Muruwwa 1961: 18).

In Arabic, ‘the press’ refers to الصحافة, a derivation from صحف ‘newspapers’ and the plural of صحيفة (newspaper), which is the material on which words or symbols are printed. The lexeme صحافة (press) terminologically refers to the art of documenting daily events accurately, promptly and eloquently in order to inform, direct and/or entertain the public with regard to their various interests (ibid). Thus the press here is treated as the print media or the newspapers’ material, content and coverage. Muruwwa (ibid) states that if the press is mishandled, it can be a double-sided weapon. That is to say, as the press informs, instructs and entertains, it can equally misinform, mislead and stir public sentiments within a community regarding serious issues and affairs that are best treated with composed reaction and response.

In this respect, this study tends to delve into the pragmatics<sup>2</sup> of the press in terms of the way the messages of opinion and leading articles are delivered during critical circumstances which can greatly influence readers’ perceptions of the world and its entities. Looking at the different means by which readers are communicated with in the press eventually helps in developing a more constructive media literacy which is the perspective from which we view media messages (Potter 1998: 5). This perspective is built by our knowledge structure, which is the knowledge we get from the media and from the real world, which, in turn, activates our observation of the multiple meanings a single media message can have (ibid: 16). Hence, as we encounter the press every day, it is essential to give an account of the history of the ‘newspaper’ as industry, as well as an indispensable source of knowledge. This will take place in the following section.

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<sup>2</sup> The study of linguistic phenomena in terms of their usage, properties and processes (Verschueren 1999: 1).



### *Historical background of newspapers*

The desire of humans for knowledge is one of the needs which has secured the survival of the human race and the print media is one of the means through which this need is fulfilled. Print has been the medium for spreading news and information to the masses throughout human history. According to the World Association of Newspapers (WAN)<sup>3</sup>, the earliest recorded appearance of newspapers took place around 59 B.C in Rome where *Acta Diurna* (Daily Events), a daily sheet<sup>4</sup>, was published on the orders of Julius Caesar to inform the citizens of social and political events and government issues. These were written on large white boards and displayed in public places, such as baths. The earliest known printed newspaper, however, appeared in Beijing, China, in the eighth century and was hand-written.

In 1447, Johann Gutenberg invented the printing press, marking the era of the modern newspaper, enabling the exchange of ideas and knowledge, and thus defining Renaissance Europe. Newsletters were published, providing news relevant to trade and commerce, for the benefit of the merchant class. In 1556, readers paid a small amount for *Notizie Scritte* which was published by the Venetian government.

Regular and frequent publications of modern newspapers began in the first half of the seventeenth century in some European countries like Germany, France, Belgium and England. The news contained in these periodicals, though, was mainly from Europe though it occasionally included information from North America and Asia. English and French papers<sup>5</sup> reported unfavourable news items about each other's political affairs so local issues were rarely covered in the early half of the Twentieth century. Many other newspapers continued to be published during the

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<sup>3</sup> [http://www.wan-press.org/article.php?id\\_article=2821](http://www.wan-press.org/article.php?id_article=2821)

<sup>4</sup> Now, a newspaper is considered a daily if it is issued at least four times a week, United Nations 2005 ([http://unstats.un.org/unsd/cdb/cdb\\_dict\\_xrxx.asp?def\\_code=234](http://unstats.un.org/unsd/cdb/cdb_dict_xrxx.asp?def_code=234))

<sup>5</sup> such as the British *London Gazette* founded in 1665, which is still published as a court journal, and *Gazette* founded in 1631

eighteenth century, among which was the oldest Russian newspaper, still in circulation: *St. Petersburg Vedomosti* (1728), and the English daily *The Daily Universal Register*<sup>6</sup>. Censorship was at work during this period since citizens were not permitted to discuss issues encouraging opposition to the government, though the reporting of the beheading of Charles I (1625-1649) at the end of the Civil War was still announced in newspaper headlines despite attempts to suppress this on the eve of the execution. In the sixty-sixth year of the eighteenth century, Sweden was the first country to issue a law to protect the freedom of the press.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, according to the International Newspaper Marketing Association (INMA)<sup>7</sup>, newspapers were transformed with the rise of the middle class when purchasing a New York newspaper for one US penny instigated the first mass market for newspapers. The use of the telegraph began as a tool for business transforming far-away stories and many major newspapers of the world were founded: *The Guardian* in England in 1821, *Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun* in Japan<sup>8</sup> in 1871, *al-Ahram* (The Pyramids) which was established in 1875 in Egypt, and many other newspapers. New York issued the first illustrated daily newspaper in 1873 and, by the end of the Century; photographs appeared in newspapers in halftones. Huge publishing buildings were fashioned by major influential media barons<sup>9</sup> who enhanced the position of newspapers; they also played a role in disseminating revolutionary propaganda.

Newspapers continued to be the primary provider of information in societies until broadcast radio appeared in the 1920s which led newspapers to re-evaluate their role. Newspapers faced a challenge with this alternative low-cost media source which would lead to the toppling of its industry. Therefore, editors endeavoured to lift the

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<sup>6</sup> This paper became *The Times* (of London) on January 1788

<sup>7</sup> A Brief History of Newspapers. <http://www.newspaper-industry.org/history.html>

<sup>8</sup> This is the first published newspaper in Japan; the world's no 1 country in circulation of newspapers today; according to WAN, as cited by answers.com website.

<sup>9</sup> William Randolph Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer, and Lord Northcliffe, had influential power within the media industry.

newspapers to create a more appealing form and content which eventually allowed newspapers to adapt to the presence of radio. Soon afterwards, television was launched which caused newspaper circulation to drop to one newspaper for every three adults instead of one for every two (WAN, 2004). Despite the remarkable differences in method and appearance between television and newspapers as information providers, some newspapers, such as *USA Today*, adapted to the television revolution by introducing colour as a new form, while content was also designed to include stories similar to the ones featured in television, by being short and quick.

Now, despite the rapid and immediate daily release of information, incited by thousands of Internet websites and hundreds of satellite TV channels, newspapers still remain a powerful medium for the reporting of events and the analysis of news items which play a major role in shaping the life we live. In fact, I believe that the Internet has helped in maintaining the relevance of newspapers by making them digitally accessible.<sup>10</sup> This makes celebrating the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of newspapers in 2005 a symbol of a promising future for newspapers around the world. As Mr. Timothy Balding, the WAN Director General declared: “We’re not only 400 years old - or rather young - but we are globally enjoying great health and can presumably look forward to the next century or so, at least, with optimism”<sup>11</sup>.

Unfortunately, it seems that this optimistic vision occurred simultaneously with the rise of newspaper sales due to critical political conflicts since the beginning of this millennium and to which Mr. Balding referred in his comments about the aforementioned anniversary. He stated: “Today, more than a billion people a day, across the planet, read a daily newspaper in print - a figure, not incidentally, that has risen nearly five per cent in the last five years”<sup>12</sup> (ibid). This suggests that it is not

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<sup>10</sup> According to WAN, around one billion people in the world read a newspaper daily, <http://www.wan-press.org/article6476.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Newspapers: 400 Years Young, <http://www.wan-press.org/article6476.html>

<sup>12</sup> *ibid*.

only the role of commercialism and the market that have increased the circulation of newspapers, as has always been the case; but it also suggests that the dramatic effect of new conflicts have contributed to the flourishing of the print newspaper industry in this modern technological age. However, despite the fact that the print newspaper industry is likely to rejoice in this anticipated financial gain, it is the factors which lie behind the profits that must be emphasised and addressed.

More precisely, since the new century began, the world press has been focussing on the unprecedented political events which have affected the economic status of the world as a whole along with the social status of particular cultures. As the attacks on the USA on September 11, 2001 emerged, the Western and Arab Muslim worlds engaged in conflicts, not only on a political stage, but also on cultural and social ones too. These events have chiefly contributed to highlighting the significance of the sales increase of printed newspapers and, subsequently, the increase in readership during the past five years, as previously stated by WAN. Newspaper readership increased in societies, such as the Arab-Middle East, which had low circulation figures prior to the attacks, while other societies, such as the United Kingdom, recorded even higher readership figures, as will be seen shortly. It is interesting to note here the role of the printed media discourse in these two parts of the world in representing the conflicts of the new millennium and their effect on the ideological beliefs of their respective cultures. This interest arose due to the Western/British colonial influence on the media of the Arab world and also because both societies were involved in these conflicts as their respective press demonstrated and as this study aims to illustrate in due course (Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

Therefore, first, it is worthwhile to present a background of the press in the Arab world and in the United Kingdom to offer an understanding of the opinion discourse of newspapers (the focus of this study) in these two diverse cultures and the factors determining the linguistic representation of the new conflicts in such a discourse. The navigation through the background of the Arabic media in this chapter

will inevitably outweigh the one related to the UK. This is due to my belief that the Arab world has undergone, and still undergoing, different complex developments on political, social, cultural grounds during the second half of the last century and in the current one which, in turn, has shaped the future of the media in this culture unlike any other. Therefore, I begin by offering an overview of the Arab press.

### **3.4 An Overview of the Arab Press**

Generally, mass communication in the Arab world has not been satisfactorily explored despite the rapid political development that has been taking place during the past several decades. Therefore, it is difficult sometimes to provide an aggregate overview of the development of mass media in the Arab world because of the diverse political, social, cultural and economic systems of each Arab country. However, two main aspects that are shared by almost all these countries are religion and language. This means that even though each Arab country might have its own unique political and economic identity, each is still connected to the other parts of the Arab world by Islam and the Arabic language. Therefore, Islam and Arabic identity are two important factors which determine, to a great extent, the character of the press in the Arab world.

Alterman (1998: xii) states that, in the coming years, this Arab identity is likely to be shaped into a new form by the influence of the media system in the region. Arabs across the region, now with new technology, are allowed to receive information at the same time in an unprecedented way. This fact will have a unifying effect on Arabs, not only Arabs living in the Arab world, but it may also reintegrate Arabs living in Europe and North America into the Arab intellectual life (ibid: xii). This is particularly true with regard to the influence of satellite television broadcasting and the Internet which are increasingly weakening barriers of nationality.

The Arab world comprises eighteen politically independent states stretching from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Persian-Arab Gulf in the east (map below). They have a combined population of 300 million people and their annual combined economies surpass 1 trillion U.S. dollars<sup>13</sup>.



Map 3.1 The Arab world<sup>14</sup>

In modern times, throughout the world, television remains the most accessed media form since it disregards the literacy barrier that can hinder, for example, newspaper readership which in turn results in low newspaper circulation. In the year 2000, the aggregate illiteracy rate across the Arab world, (Table 3.1) was estimated at 38.7 per cent (Sakr 2001: 5) which made the television, particularly with the emergence of satellite stations, a more dominant medium even in urban parts of the Arab world (ibid). However, the superb technology used to transmit satellite broadcasts to any part of the globe, makes the press advantaged in reaching only the elite groups of any given society (Rugh 1997) (2004), (Sakr 2001), who are able to

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.answers.com/arab%20world%20population>

<sup>14</sup> [http://www.morainevalley.edu/ctl/MiddleEast/images/Map\\_Arab%20World%202.jpg](http://www.morainevalley.edu/ctl/MiddleEast/images/Map_Arab%20World%202.jpg); the red marks refers to the Arab world capitals

examine, scrutinise and analyse the press material rather than just passively consume it. However, I believe it is not merely the medium, i.e. TV, newspapers, or the Internet, etc., which directs our reaction one way or another, it is the viewer's or reader's willingness and ability to employ criticism or scrutiny of the material he/she receives from the various media outlets.

Country	Literacy rate, adult total (% of people age 15+)	Literacy rate, adult male (% of males age 15+)	Literacy rate, adult female (% of females age 15+)
Algeria	70	79	61
Bahrain	89	92	85
Egypt	58	68	47
Iraq	40	56	24
Jordan	91	96	86
Kuwait	84	85	82
Lebanon	87	93	82
Libya	82	92	72
Morocco	52	64	39
Oman	76	83	67
Palestinian territories	89	NA	NA
Qatar	83	81	85
Saudi Arabia	78	85	71
Sudan	61	72	51
Syria	77	90	64
Tunisia	74	84	64
United Arab Emirates	78	76	82
Yemen	50	70	30

**Table 3.1** Literacy rates in the Arab world in 2003

*CIA World Factbook, 2004*

The press, like other media forms in the Arab world, has gone through various phases and is likely to encounter new phases in this century as a result of political, social, ideological, legislative and economic challenges that are more persistent than

ever before (Abu Isba' 1999: 15). The history of newspapers, in its modern sense, stretches back in the Arab world to the early eighteenth century. However, in the sense of its being a vehicle for transferring information and news, it stretches back to more than a millennium, i.e. since the pre-Islamic era (Muruwwa 1961: 73). Pre-Islamic Arab literature which "constitute the privileged poetic legacy of the ancestors" (Ghazoul 2006: 114) was more than a millennium ahead of mass media in the region so that, by the appearance of the first newspaper, Arabic literature had already established a strong tradition in the world of mass media (Rugh 1997: 8).

The dominance of Modern Standard Arabic across the Arab world, Verschueren (1999: 117) comments, which is closely related to the Classical Arabic of the Quran, is governed partly by its practical usefulness in diversified linguistic landscape. Such a fact allows Arabic newspapers to employ a unified form of the language that is understood all over the Arab world that is distinct from locally spoken dialects of individual countries. The thirteen centuries of Arabic language preservation from breaking up into mutually unintelligible dialects, the American historian Michael Hart stated, is attributed to the centrality of the Quran in the religion of Muslims i.e. Islam (cited in Ahmad 2006: 177). The French Orientalist Renan<sup>15</sup> declared that the Arabic language is regarded as the most astonishing event of human history that cannot be defined as undergoing early or late stages, rather its identity remained unique throughout history (cited in Ahmad 2006: 177). It is the impact of the Quran on the Arabic literature, Zaydan<sup>16</sup> commented, which bestowed such uniqueness of the language (cited in Ahmad 2006: 177).

Arguably, this rich indulgence with the finest form of language through which the Arabs' political, social and cultural observations were and are reflected may instigate the assumption that if literacy, (i.e. the ability to read and write), alone is adequate for a full understanding and interpretation of written discourse such as the

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<sup>15</sup> Ernest Renan (1823-1894).

<sup>16</sup> Jurji Zaydan (1861-1914).



press messages, for instance. Therefore, perhaps viewing literacy in a broader sense and realising its different levels would be more apt because more than just reading and writing is needed to understand the effects, that can be cognitive, moral, aesthetic or emotional, of media on us (Potter 1998: 17). This is not the place, though, to delve into media literacy and the skills required to attain it but the following statement by Potter (ibid) sums up neatly the skills needed to acquire media literacy:

Developing media literacy can be illustrated by an eight continuum of Acquiring Fundamentals, Language Acquisition, Narrative Acquisition, Developing Scepticism, Intensive Development, Experiential Exploring, Critical Appreciation, and Social Responsibility. Our movement from lower to higher stages requires the active application of more sophisticated skills and development of more elaborated knowledge structures. Because the strength of our knowledge structure varies from topic to topic, we will find ourselves moving around from stage to stage as we continue to expose ourselves to media messages.

Highlighting the notion of literacy is significant in raising the awareness of the factors underlying the production of media messages that we encounter every day, including feature articles or opinion columns in the press, the genre to be investigated in this study. Some of these factors may be a manifestation of the media systems of individual societies, to which we turn in the next section.

### **3.4.1 Types of media systems in the Arab world**

In order to be able to understand the way the press operates in each Arab country, it is important to highlight the different media systems under which newspapers function in the Arab world. This is because of the different realities each individual country inhabits i.e. political, economic and social and so on. Societies in the Arab world, like other world societies, have struggled with problems of media control and freedom. Now, with technical advances in various means of communication, the problems of media control and freedom are regarded as critical by governments and politicians because they believe that media instruments have a

growing power to affect the political processes in societies. Rugh (2004: 121) characterises media systems in the Arab world into four types, (Table 3.2), which he considers all Arab countries fall under, namely: **the mobilisation press, the loyalist press, the diverse press and the transitional press** (the latter emerged at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century). There are three features shared by these four media types while, at the same time, each is distinguished by certain categorisation based on political, economic and other realities that prevail in each individual country. The four media types exhibit the following common features (Rugh 1979: 31-33); (Rugh 2004):

- No explicit criticism of the policies of the government.
- No criticism of the top rulers in the state in any way.
- No diversity whatsoever on important political issues among the newspapers of one particular country (also Rugh 2004).

	<b>Mobilisation</b>	<b>Loyalist</b>	<b>Diverse</b>	<b>Transitional</b>
<b>Press characteristics</b> Ownership Variety View of regime Style and tone	Regime agents Non-diverse Strong support Active	Private Nondiverse Support Contentious	Private Diverse Pro and con Passive	Mixed Diverse Pro and con Diverse
<b>Political conditions</b> Ruling group Public debate Public opposition	Revolutionary None Non-existent	Traditional None Non-existent	Various Active Established	Various Active Limited
<b>Countries where system prevails (2003)</b>	Syria Libya The Sudan	Bahrain Oman Palestine Qatar Saudi Arabia UAE	Lebanon Morocco Kuwait Yemen Iraq	Algeria Egypt Jordan Tunisia

**Table 3.2** Typology of Arab print media systems  
(After Rugh, 2004: 253)

### **3.4.2 Ownership and media control and freedom**

The press within the transitional system, the media type found in Egypt for example, is uniquely characterised by containing a mixture of elements favouring governmental control and also elements providing some measure of freedom of expression and diversity. There are privately owned newspapers in this system, as well as newspapers owned by the government, and these typically have more influence on public debate and have higher circulations than the private ones (Rugh 2004: 122). In the mobilisation system, there is a harmonious relationship between the government and the press. The press does not practise direct criticism of the ruling government; rather this is done in a subtle and indirect way (ibid: 29-41). In return, although governments do not actually own the newspapers themselves (ibid: 29), they regard the press as an important tool in supporting their political agendas via newspapers. Countries like Iraq and Libya, for example, come under this system.

The loyalist newspapers, the type found in Saudi Arabia, are characterised by their consistent loyalty to and support for the ruling government, despite being privately owned. In addition, they adopt similar stances on different issues. The diverse press, on the other hand, is characterised by the significant diversity among the newspapers of the same country. This diversity is represented in the newspapers' political tendencies, contents and styles. This type of press, found in Lebanon, Kuwait and Morocco, enjoys relative freedom so that the news and opinions of newspapers can easily be unsupportive of the government in power (Rugh 1979: 89).

### **3.4.3 The role of colonialism on the development of the press in the Arab world**

For over a century, the Middle East has been treating the mass media as one of the products imported from the West as an impact upon the region (Kamalipour

and Mowlana 1994: xvi). In the Saudi Aramco World website<sup>17</sup>, it is pointed out that, despite the commonly held view that it was Napoleon who introduced the printing press and the Arabic type to the Arab world when he invaded Egypt in 1798, the story of Arabic printing, the website declares, stretches back to 1311, when the Papacy established chairs for the study of Arabic and other oriental languages at three European universities and in Rome<sup>18</sup>.

#### 3.4.4 Early Arabic newspapers

There have always been close ties between the Arab information media and politics. Early Arab newspapers were merely official government publications, except for a few<sup>19</sup>, telling people, as well as bureaucrats, what the government wanted them to know (Rugh 1979: 6). Even the newspapers published under the French and British rule<sup>20</sup> in the Arab world were also governmental products. For example, both newspapers, *La Décade Egyptienne* and *Le Courier de l'Egypte*, French newspapers, printed in 1798 on Napoleon's presses, served only the French rule and were only linked with the Arab world by place. These papers ceased publication with the withdrawal of the French from Egypt (Muruwwa 1961: 149)<sup>21</sup>.

The trend of political influence on newspaper publishing was at work when the first native Egyptian newspapers appeared in 1827 and 1828 i.e. *جurnal al-Khidaiwi*, and *الوقائع المصرية al Waqa'i' al Masriyyah*, respectively. They

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/198102/arabic.and.the.art.of.printing-a.special.section.htm>

<sup>18</sup> Ibid

<sup>19</sup> Which were published by private individuals and these appeared only in Egypt 1867, Lebanon 1858, Morocco 1889 and Syria.

<sup>20</sup> When the British occupied Iraq between 1914 and 1917, they published *Iraq Times* and *Basra Times* newspapers which were both in English and rallied for the British government at the time (Muruwwa 1961: 215). *Baghdad Times*, another newspaper in English, was published in 1918 and it was intended to serve the British colony, under which rule *al-'Arab* the Arabic daily newspaper was published in 1917 and was intended for Arabs and continued to be published until the Second World War.

<sup>21</sup> According to French historians, Muruwwa (1961: 148) states that the first Arabic newspaper was *al-Tanbeeh* which was published in 1800 by orders of Napoleon and its publication stopped two years later, i.e. with the French withdrawal from Egypt.

were governmental publications and included official government guidance and authoritative editorials besides news and entertainment. The political character of the Arabic newspaper was also created as a means to oppose colonial rule when the British intervened in Egypt in 1882 (Rugh 1979: 52-53).

The first Arabic dailies, which were authoritative and politically influenced, appeared in the nineteenth century in different countries one after another. By 1816, the first newspaper, *Jurnal al-Iraq*, appeared in Baghdad and was published in Arabic and Ottoman-Turkish. In the 1820s, newspapers appeared in Cairo (mentioned above); in 1847, they appeared in Algeria; and in subsequent years in Beirut (where the first Arabic daily was published in 1873), Tunis, Damascus, Tripoli (Libya), San'a, Casablanca, Khartoum and Makka in 1908 (ibid: 2). Generally, the nineteenth century witnessed a boom in the private Arab press, though this was limited to Syria, Lebanon, Morocco and Egypt. *Wādi al-Nīl* in 1867 and *al-Ahrām* in 1875, both of which appeared in Egypt. *Hadīqat al-Akḥbār* appeared in Lebanon in 1858 and, in 1889, *al-Maghrib* appeared in Morocco.

Moreover, a sense of Arab nationalism emerged more powerfully in the first half of the twentieth century which was also partly driven by the colonial presence in many parts of the Arab region, i.e. in the Arab Middle East and North Africa. In North Africa, (Suleiman 2003: 11) the struggle for independence against the French colonial power, for example, was associated with a language issue in the sense that the struggle involved seeking to eliminate efforts to promote French over Arabic, as well as rejecting the Otherness of Arabic i.e. the Arabisation *ta'rib* 'تعريب' (ibid). In the Arab Middle East, despite the different colonial attacks on it, the Arabic language did not lose its position in North Africa. In other words, Arabic was a means of moving toward political-cultural emancipation from colonialism (Chejne 1969: 100).

In the second half of the twentieth century, this Arab nationalism, according to Rugh (1971: 6) (2004), was also mainly a product of the Arab-Israeli conflict

which has significantly preoccupied the Arab world's political, as well as social, lives for decades. This national cause, governments believe, justifies their control over the mass media in their countries. Rugh (ibid) comments that the Arab governments attribute their political control over the mass media, including newspapers, to the need for national unity at a time when the region is facing both external and internal challenges which cannot be overcome in the presence of division and conflict which the media tend to create, i.e. by opposing the governmental policies. The struggle between Israel and the Arab nations was a foundation which shaped Arab foreign policy and also stirred up Arab patriotism.

But it is important to argue whether or not this sense of nationalism, per se, has a role to play in promoting propaganda against other cultures during war and conflicts and, if it does, is it true that language can lead nations as far as war, as Dascal (2004: 232) states: "...propaganda...shows that words can be used actually to wage war", and "...the media's presence has often the effect of stressing differences and emphasising conflict" (ibid: 229). The language of leading articles and opinions in Arabic and British newspapers will be discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 to examine if their discourse contributes to the incitement of propaganda and resentment towards the Other during this century's conflicts.

### **3.4.5 Modern press in the Arab world**

During the 1990s new forms of media in the Arab world were becoming innovative. When the first radio and television broadcasting began in the Arab world, newspapers had been produced for more than a century. Radio listening began in the 1920s, while television viewing did not start until the late 1950s. However, during the last decade of the twentieth century, the Arab world rapidly moved towards the modern media scene when satellite broadcasting became common and popular in

most of the Arab countries, though with varying degrees of availability (i.e. it was more readily available in the Gulf area than in Egypt and Syria, for example).

Arab satellite broadcast television stations emerged, breaking down the existing tradition of censorship in the Arab countries' local television stations (Alterman 1998: xi). These stations, such as al-Jazeera for instance, were a remarkable diversion in the region and provided their viewers with freedom in offering open debates on subjects, such as secularism and religion, for example, that had previously been absent from the Arab media. This freedom and escape from censorship found even better prospects in the medium of the Internet which is getting more difficult to challenge.

Country	Number of Internet users (2000)	Number of Internet users (2004)	Percent of population (2004)	User increase between 2000-2004
Algeria	150,000	500,00	1.56	233.3%
Bahrain	40,000	195,700	28.9	389.3%
Egypt	450,000	2,700,000	3.55	500.0%
Iraq	12,500	25,000	0.1	100.0%
Jordan	127,300	457,000	8.1	259.0%
Kuwait	150,000	567,000	25.1	278.0%
Lebanon	300,000	400,000	10.6	33.3%
Libya	10,000	160,000	2.84	1.500%
Morocco	200,000	800,000	2.48	300%
Oman	90,000	180,000	6.2	100.0%
Palestinian territories	35,000	145,000	3.99	314.3%
Qatar	30,000	126,000	15.0	320.0%
Saudi Arabia	200,000	1,500,000	5.8	650.0%
Sudan	30,000	56,000	0.14	86.7%
Syria	30,000	220,000	1.22	633.3%
Tunisia	250,000	505,500	5.07	102.2%

United Arab Emirates	735,000	1,110,200	44.0	51.0%
Yemen	15,000	100,000	0.5	566.7%

**Table 3.3 Internet use in the Arab countries<sup>22</sup>**

In the last few years, the Internet has been providing the Arab world, as the rest of the world, new dimensions through information technology that did not previously seem possible. The use of the Internet has been increasing during the last decade with a massive increase in the amount of information received by highly educated Arab readers and viewers, (Table 3.3). Alterman comments that this will result in large numbers of Arabs interpreting information in more sophisticated way and in a highly educated manner (ibid: xii), aided particularly by their exposure to Western same media outlets, such as the CNN or the BBC.

In addition, the Internet is now a major medium through which most of the other media sources can be accessed (i.e. television, radio, newspapers, books...etc.) which results in the integration of cultures. Clearly, this integration implies that the Muslim-Arab and the Western cultures are now exposed to each other's news media which will certainly reflect, to a great extent, the values and ideologies of their respective cultures and which accordingly will affect people's judgments concerning these other cultures as well as their own. In my judgement, this exposure can lead into two directions. That is to say, it could either serve to bridge gaps between the conflicting cultures or it could rupture any links that could be made for better future relations. Thus, the new media technologies will have great political importance and

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<sup>22</sup> Source: Arab Reform Bulletin, December 2004 (Vol.2, Issue 11) from the following sources:  
Internet World Stats (<http://www.internetworldstats.com>)  
Nua Internet Surveys ([http://www.nua.com/surveys/how\\_many\\_online/m\\_east.html](http://www.nua.com/surveys/how_many_online/m_east.html))  
International Telecommunication Union ([http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/at\\_glance/internet03.pdf](http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/at_glance/internet03.pdf))



its role in influencing societies cannot be denied. This is because they may have more direct political and social impact on people everywhere than ever.

Alterman (ibid) states that the future shape of the Arab media will influence the manner in which media changes manifest themselves. He argues that changes in the Arab world media will be quick if such media are proved to be commercially viable. This is, he explains, because the market-driven content, (i.e. the interests of the varied population of individuals) will determine how the Internet market will flourish, rather than the interests of the governments' policies. But to what extent can the interests of people and markets be allowed to sketch out the future of media revenue at the expense of the future of our social and cultural existence? In other words, to what extent should newspapers, for example, and particularly their opinion and feature discourses be allowed to manipulate and redesign the world around us for the sake of profit and freedom of expression?

Moreover, is it morally and socially acceptable for so-called freedom of expression to be let loose with no constraints to regulate it, especially in conflict-related opinion discourse, where different nations or cultures are involved? Unfortunately, newspapers are one of the media which habitually use language to gain national credence and/or economic success. Therefore, it is important to take into account the different factors from which the linguistic choices of each individual newspaper are derived as these affect readers' perceptions of the world. Thus, the following section provides a brief overview of the Arabic newspapers used in the analysis of opinion discourse in this study, to allow an understanding of the process of production that is simply a product of words.

### 3.4.6 Three Arabic dailies

The Arabic-language daily press has advanced remarkably in the past two decades. The Arabic press falls into two main groups: the national and the international dailies. The national dailies are distributed locally and many are also available overseas. Both international and national dailies, with the exception of *al-Ahram*, are broadsheets and some are produced to a technically high standard; some may be printed in colour and some have weekend reviews or colour supplements. The internationals are edited in London, printed remotely in major world capitals using satellite communication, and are distributed simultaneously in Europe, the Middle East, the USA and, in some cases, in Japan.

Muruwva (1961: 228-229) explained that the reason for the existence of Arabic-language newspapers abroad lies in two main factors. The first being the presence of colonialist powers (i.e. the English, French, Italian and Russian) wishing to be the ruling body in Arab lands during the nineteenth century (when Arabic countries were under Ottoman rule). As such wishes were fulfilled, Arab politicians and writers found an opportunity in the colonialist capitals, such as London and Paris, to publish Arabic newspapers, thereby either to a) Serve the colonialist body; as owners of these newspapers believed that the interest of their own countries would be fulfilled through cooperation with the ruling power. This was the stance of all Arabic newspapers (47 newspapers and magazines) which were issued pre World War 1 (1914-1918); or to b) Escape the oppression of the Ottoman Empire and promote its opposition by seeking support from the foreign capitals abroad, i.e. homes where Arabic papers were published before WW1<sup>23</sup>. In general, most of the Arabic newspapers, issued in the various European capitals before and after World War 1, served primarily the governments of those foreign capitals (ibid). This reflects the

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<sup>23</sup> As was the case in France (Arabic newspapers reached 34 newspaper and magazine), Britain (14 newspapers and magazines), Italy (4 newspapers and magazines) and Russia (2 newspapers and magazines).

integration between politics and the print media which is still endemic in the world of the media, allowing mere politics to overrule the professionalism practice of media.

In addition, the fact of Arabs migrating to the large American cities searching for better living opportunities was the other main factor in establishing Arab newspapers abroad. The migration of Arabs to America at the end of the nineteenth century led to a considerable increase in the Arab community. In such circumstances, Arabs, therefore, gradually felt the need to issue newspapers that would speak to and for their community. These newspapers dealt with issues and news concerning the immigrant communities abroad and gave news from their home countries (ibid: 229).

Thus, this thesis will examine two international dailies published abroad, specifically in London, i.e. القدس العربي *al-Quds al-Arabi* (Est. 1989) and الشرق الأوسط *al-Sharq al-Awsat* (Est. 1977) (*الحياة al-Hayah* and *العرب al-Arab* are also amongst the international dailies published abroad and are independent newspapers and both are also London-based); and one national daily, i.e. الأهرام *al-Ahram*.

*Al-Ahram* (Est. 1875) is published in Cairo but distributed simultaneously in major world capitals and it is often consulted by Arabs and non-Arabs alike. *Al-Ahram*, which was published by two Lebanese brothers, is the oldest of the three, while *al-Quds al-Arabi* is the youngest and was first established in 1989. Many Arab countries banned the circulation of the latter, including Egypt, the host of *al-Ahram*<sup>24</sup>; Saudi Arabia, the sponsor of *al-Sharq al-Awsat*; and Jordan due to its common criticisms of the ruling bodies or policies of Arab governments, as well as Western foreign policies<sup>25</sup> regarding Middle-Eastern related issues.

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<sup>24</sup> [http://www.aloufok.net/article.php3?id\\_article=747](http://www.aloufok.net/article.php3?id_article=747)

<sup>25</sup> A comparative look at Arab Journalism. The road map through Arab Eyes, Barak Barfi, May 27 2003

<http://www.hagshama.org.il/en/respurces/view.asp?id=1406>

The Egyptian press exhibits a mixture of both docility and subservience in the face of political realities (Rugh 1979: 44). It was during the current presidency, when restrictions and censorship were lifted, that the Egyptian press was offered even more freedom compared to the majority of the Arab and African countries. Although Egyptian newspapers are similar in content and in their treatment of news stories, they differ in their journalistic style and the type of readership they address. *Al-Ahram*, a private newspaper owned by the National Union (Amin and Napoli 2000: 179), for example, has a conservative style and attracts academics, businessmen and government officials. Its circulation is estimated at 900,000 (ibid: 180).

*Al-Sharq al-Awsat* is an international Saudi newspaper owned by the Saudi Research and Marketing Company; it is edited in London and printed at the same time in major world capitals. Although this daily is associated with the Saudi government, it is not a mouthpiece for the Saudi ruling body. The availability of this daily early morning paper on the newsstands everywhere it is printed makes it professionally well-respected in the sense that, according to its mainly Saudi readership (Alterman 1998: 9), it covers a variety of views, including news relating to the Saudi royal family. According to the Allied Media Corporation, the circulation of this newspaper is estimated at around 234,561<sup>26</sup>.

The two newspapers *al-Ahram* and *al-Sharq al-Awsat* mentioned above differ significantly in essence from the resource-limited *al-Quds al-Arabi* newspaper which represents a lively form of the Arab press in London. It is, however, not an important voice in the Arab countries because they have officially prohibited its distribution. Nevertheless, not only among expatriate Arab circles is this paper's voice regarded as important (Alterman 1998: 12), but also, with the availability of satellite channels, extracts from the newspaper's opinions and editorials may be read in press reviews of the day. Its readership is very modest compared to the other two dailies and is estimated at around 15,000, mostly limited to London, Frankfurt and New York. This

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<sup>26</sup> *Arab Reform Bulletin*, December 2004 (Vol. 2, Issue 11) Statistics on Arab Media

low circulation figure, which is partly governed by the restrictions imposed on the newspaper's distribution in Arab countries and its lack of sufficient paid advertisements, may explain the relatively unhealthy financial state of *al-Quds al-Arabi* which led its leadership to seek financial support from other states such as Qatar (ibid). It is interesting though that *al-Quds al-Arabi* is still in business despite the belief that low circulation of any newspaper drives it out of business due to the loss of advertising (Potter 1998: 229). But perhaps with the internet accessibility of such newspaper, low circulation is not always a sufficient indication for the newspaper readership and of course the same applies to other newspapers worldwide.

In addition, *al-Quds al-Arabi* has a policy of its own. Besides being extremely critical regarding the West in general and the US in particular, it is a loyal advocate of the Palestinian cause and even demonstrates support for the former Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein. This was very articulate in its editorial viewpoints during the wars on Iraq, as will be seen later in the course of this study's discussion. On the contrary, *al-Ahram* and *al-Sharq al-Awsat* were both very cautious about displaying explicit sentiments for the politics of the Iraqi president. Additionally, *al-Quds al-Arabi* is also distinguished from the other two in devoting a whole page every day to translations from the Israeli press.

Beside the printed version, the three newspapers, like most newspapers nowadays, offer an online version which makes them available on the day of publication to readers all over the world. Moreover, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*<sup>27</sup> offers a daily English version of the newspaper, though it is not identical to the Arabic one. *al-Ahram* offers *al-Ahram Weekly*<sup>28</sup> printed by al-Ahram Printing Press, along with other publications, all made available online. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*<sup>29</sup> appears only in Arabic despite the fact of its publication in London. All three newspapers provide an archive

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<sup>27</sup> <http://arabic-media.com/newspapers/europe/asharqalawsat.htm>

<sup>28</sup> <http://arabic-media.com/newspapers/egypt/ahram.htm>

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.alquds.co.uk/index.asp?fname=english%20dailys%20links.htm>

search facility for back issues which sometimes makes accessing certain articles easy, even though each newspaper differs in its archiving system.

One of the main features of these Arabic newspapers is the variety of editorial viewpoints and opinions of regular and occasional columnists which appear under the Opinion section, i.e. *الرأي* in *al-Sharq al-Awsat* and *al-Quds al-Arabi*, and under Columns, i.e. *أعمدة*, and Issues and Opinions, i.e. *قضايا و آراء* sections in the *al-Ahram*. The latter considers itself to be a forum for expressing the views of opinion makers and leading Arab intellectuals through whom the concerns and aspirations of the Arab nations are conveyed<sup>30</sup>. It is said that the one century's history of *al-Ahram* qualifies it as a reliable source for Middle East Arab correspondents, besides it is termed as 'authoritative' whenever the newspaper is mentioned in the Western press (Saudi Aramco World website)<sup>31</sup>.

Interestingly and most contradictorily, as newspapers seek to increase their circulation figures, which would normally entail enlarging their readership, there is always the tendency from governments, such as Egypt and other Arab Middle-Eastern countries, for example, (Amin and Napoli 2000: 186) to suppress the flow of information received by their public. This is highly difficult to achieve with the availability of an alternative source of communication, such as the Internet. This may suggest that nowadays, with the availability of the "unpaid-for" press, the message that newspapers will endeavour to deliver is more important than selling more copies (since profit is always achieved through advertisements).

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<sup>30</sup> <http://extra.ahram.org.eg/eng/index.htm>

<sup>31</sup> It might be important here to point out to an important factor which contributed to crediting *al-Ahram* as reputable. Holding the position as the Chief Editor of the newspaper during the ruling period of Gamal Abd al-Nasser, Mohammed Hassanein Haykal has greatly contributed to the excellence of the newspaper for increasing its circulation at the home country. He is considered by his fan to be knowledgeable of internal politics and gifted with unique style of writing. The paper's editor's columns and editorials were watched closely in the Arab world as well as in Europe and America in addition to his words which were frequently scrutinized by foreign diplomats.

September/October 1972, Volume 23, Number 5,

<http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/197205/the.authoritative.al-ahram.htm>, Written by Nancy B. Turck

More precisely, as the Western and the Muslim Arab worlds are engaged in conflicts since the attacks of September 11, 2001, both cultures are focusing on each others' follies and it is through the media, particularly newspapers, where these feelings and sentiments are more explicitly expressed. This study will discuss these attitudes as represented in the Arabic newspapers mentioned above, as well as in British newspapers. However, before such discussion takes place, a review of the status of the British press follows in the next section.

### **3.5 The Media in the United Kingdom**

#### **3.5.1 Profile of the nation**

The United Kingdom is made up of England, Scotland, Wales, and parts of Northern Ireland, while Great Britain refers to England, Scotland and Wales (Mckenzie 2006: 49) (see map below). After 1997, the centralised system of government changed direction in the United Kingdom due to Scotland leading a federalizing trend (followed by Wales and Northern Island). Scotland is also distinctive to the UK in terms of media (Tunstall 2004: 263).

The UK had a population of 59 million occupying 24 million households, according to the 2002 surveys Tunstall (2004: 262). Forty-nine million of the total population resides in England (Mckenzie 2006: 49) fifty percent of which is concentrated in just four of the 14 commercial television regions which are based on London, Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds (Østergaard 1997: 244) and London alone is occupied by twelve percent.

English is spoken by at least 95% of the population though Urdu and Welsh are also treated as first languages in the United Kingdom (Tunstall 2004: 262). It is also the language most widely used across the world in terms of political, financial

and media communication (Mckenzie 2006: 48). Certainly, such domination of English language in such spheres makes English written newspapers highly accessible worldwide unlike Arabic newspapers which are chiefly confined to Arabic speaking countries, which explains the high circulation figures of the former.



Map 3.2 The United Kingdom<sup>32</sup>

Mckenzie (ibid) states that there are two circumstances which contributed to English language propagation across the world, these are: 1) British colonisation and the establishment of the British Empire, followed by the emigration of British people to colonised territories which subsequently led English language to be spoken as official language in former territories in Africa, North America and Asia. 2) Media exports from the UK and the USA were and still the second main reason propagating

<sup>32</sup> <http://worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/europe/lgcolor/ukcolor.htm>



English language across the world, and in particular the export of the BBC World Service, which is an international radio network governmentally established to broadcast various programs from the homeland to British expatriates (ibid). The huge audiences for the BBC programs are not the only credit to the network but also the BBC radio which proved to be the only medium that could survive during wartime (Crisell 1997: 61). Media publications and programs including the BBC's are often targeted at audiences according to their social class (ibid).

### **3.5.2 Development of the British press**

Prior to the 1980s, British media policy in the twentieth century was characterised by slow and gradual change, a pattern which largely contrasts most of the West European countries in the same century. Key events in British media history were few but the main historical media events were the birth of the modern mass printing press with the launch of the *Daily Mail* which was the first half-penny national morning daily in 1896. Another key date was in 1955 (Østergaard 1997: 245), when a new ITV channel was launched, which was financed entirely by advertising; this also marked the beginning of Britain's television duopoly. Another major key event in media was the effective monopoly of British satellite television awarded to Robert Murdoch by the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1990 (Tunstall 2004: 262).

Gradualism policy in media development involved ensuring a decade or more intervals between national television channels. In 1936 BBC television began, but even when the Service restarted again in 1946, it was still semi-experimental and subordinate to radio (Østergaard 1997: 245). Afterwards, new conventional television channels appeared in 1955 (ITV), in 1964 (BBC-2), 1982 (Channel 4), and 1997 (Channel 5) (Tunstall 2004: 262). Access to television in the UK is high; approximately 99 per cent of the total households has a television set in 2003;

compared to six radio receivers for the average household in the same year (Mckenzie 2006: 152-153).

The penetration of satellite television and radio is also very high. Approximately 45 per cent of households had Satellite television penetration, while satellite radio coverage was around 95 percent of households in 2003 (ibid). In 2004, the internet penetration was at 58 percent of the population (ibid). A considerably high figure compared to the figures shown in the Arab world between 2002 and 2004, (Table 3.3) above. Such high figures in access to technological media reflect in turn, the decline in sales of newspapers industry which has remarkably dropped since 1975.

### 3.5.3 The position of newspapers in Britain

The history of newspapers in the UK during the twentieth century witnessed the disappearance of national old titles and the emergence of new ones. It is recorded that more than two dozen titles have been closed, or merged with papers that failed to survive, such as the *Daily Sketch* merging into the *Daily Mail* (Hagerty 2006: 50). Another factor which helped shaping the course of the British newspaper history is the big impact of influential newspaper bosses, such as Lords Rothermere, Northcliffe and Maxwell and others<sup>33</sup>. The influence of similar media figures is as well acknowledged in the current century such as the influence of Robert Murdoch of *The Times*.

The significance of newspapers is undeniable. Their role during the 20<sup>th</sup> century is vital because they were the principal public record for events, war, crime, diplomacy, business, sport and fashion, etc. They are also the principal medium for opinion, speculation and debate (Campbell 2006: 59). Paradoxically, while it is argued that the press is likely to be overthrown by television, Tunstall (1983: 69)

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<sup>33</sup> <http://www.eurocosm.com/Application/Products/Original-newspapers/newspaper-history-GB.asp>

noted, it is remarkably living on profitably, regardless of all the challenges imposed by the various forms of new mass media. He added (1996: 1-3) that, even in 'the video age', the national UK daily newspapers have remained substantially important. Similarly, Crisell wrote (1997: 27) that newspapers managed to survive with radio and actually their strengths in news reportage exceeded that of the radio. He also stated that new media cannot replace older ones, but they may alter the role of the latter that their function remains distinctive and irreplaceable (ibid).

Such a happy situation of newspapers does not entirely deny the fact of the decline in newspapers sales since the arrival of television. Between 1940 and 1950, newspapers daily sales recorded around 30 million, and dropped to 23 against population after the arrival of television (and the radio before that) and only 14 million national dailies were being sold in 1975 through to 1996 (Østergaard 1997). Sparks comments that retaining the pattern of decline in newspaper readership for forty years is an indication of a significant social phenomenon (Sparks 1999: 54). He argues that despite predictions for imminent collapse of the press are much exaggerated; the decline is factual but taking place rather slowly.

#### **3.5.4 Newspapers ownership and structure**

The high literacy rate in the UK makes newspapers a living challenge but the status of newspapers sales is still an issue in the past few decades and is attributed first and foremost to the press market. During the last two decades, the ownership of 14 national newspapers out of the total of 19 British national newspapers (ten dailies, nine Sundays) had changed at least once. There is also a sharp polarisation between upmarket quality (broadsheet) newspapers, which are financed mainly by advertising, and downmarket tabloid newspapers, which are funded by sales revenue (Tunstall 2004: 264).

The mid-market newspapers, such as the *Daily Express*, have suffered big losses since the 1950s and in the 1990s, marketing expenditure reached new extremes which led to sharp cutting of prices (from 45 pence to 20 pence) during 1994-1995 which was initiated by News International's *Sun* and *The Times*. *The Times* is one of the five quality published daily and have a parent Sunday newspaper. The other four quality national dailies are: *Daily Telegraph*, *The Independent*, *Financial Times*, and *The Guardian* all of which also have a Sunday counterpart.

Newspapers	Circulation		Content
	1997*	2002**	
<i>The Times</i>	747,750	720,000	Serious
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	1,124,640	1,021,000	Serious
<i>The Independent</i>	257,010	231,000	Serious
<i>The Guardian</i>	408,790	408,000	Serious
<i>Financial Times</i>	312,723	479,000	Serious
<i>Daily Mirror</i>	3,062,766	2,188,000	Entertainment
<i>Daily Star</i>	657,040	620,000	Entertainment
<i>Daily Mail</i>	2,152,874	2,477,000	Entertainment
<i>Daily Express</i>	1,237,300	958,000	Entertainment
<i>Sun</i>	3,789,168	3,473,000	Entertainment

Table 3.4 Circulation figures of the UK national daily press in 1997 and 2002

The *Sun* on the other hand, is one of four sensational tabloids (*Daily Express*, *Daily Star*, and *The Star*) and is the most widely circulated among the tabloids and

\* Figures shown are of 1997 provided by Audit Bureau of Circulation, (Sparks 1999: 47)

\*\* Figures shown are of 2002 provided by World Press Trends, (Mckenzie 2006: 152)

the other national dailies too, while *The Daily Mirror* is another tabloid but is a serious one. Each of the five tabloids has a Sunday counterpart.

Table (3.4) above, shows the circulation figures of the ten British national dailies as of the years 1997 and 2002. The figures may reflect the decline theory in circulation figures particularly of the serious newspapers. Bromley states, however, that despite the decline in total circulation of the UK national dailies since the 1950s, almost sixty percent of the UK population still reads a national daily newspaper and this gives the UK the world's highest newspaper readership (cited in Bromley and Cushion 2002: 160). They state that in the UK on September 11 of 2001, for example, while sixteen million viewers watched television screens at peak times, around thirteen million people read a national newspaper. In addition, Bromley and Cushion explain that since the 1920s, the British national dailies published for distribution throughout the UK have accounted for the majority of daily circulation. They attribute such a factor to the flexibility of this print medium which enables it to reconstruct itself to meet social and cultural changes which are driven by the market and commercialism (ibid).

### 3.5.6 Three British quality dailies

The present study focuses on three of the UK's national dailies, namely, *Daily Telegraph*, *The Independent* and *The Times*. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, *The Times* is the oldest of the British newspapers which began as a two and a half penny broadsheet founded in 1785 as *The Daily Universal Register* and was changed to *The Times* after 940 editions<sup>34</sup>. *The Independent* is the youngest of the three first founded in 1986 (only three years before the Arabic newspaper *al-Quds al-Arabi*), while the *Daily Telegraph* was first published in 1855 (around twenty years older than *al-Ahram*). *The Times*, which is internationally referred to as *The London Times*,

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<sup>34</sup> [http://www.birthdaynewspapers.co.uk/times\\_newspaper\\_history.htm](http://www.birthdaynewspapers.co.uk/times_newspaper_history.htm)

converted from a broadsheet format (i.e. the large size) to a compact format following the trend of *The Independent* newspaper. The *Daily Telegraph* is the only of the three that is still in its traditional broadsheet format. *The Times* is a right-wing and a strong supporter of the conservatives, however, its support to the new Labour in the last two elections was due to its owner's alliance with the Prime Minister Tony Blair<sup>35</sup>.

*The Times* has long been recognised as one of the world's greatest newspapers<sup>36</sup>. Priding itself on being the 'paper of record' (Campbell 2006: 61), *The Times*' reputation was helped greatly by contributions from significant figures in the fields of literature, science and politics. Campbell (ibid) reveals the reason behind historians reliance on *The Times* other than on other newspapers to be due to the paper's indexing feature that is absent in other papers.

*The Times* newspaper was the first to send special correspondents abroad and correspondents to cover conflicts. Soon after announcing its plans to launch a United States edition, such an edition began publishing in June 2006. *The Times* and its sister newspaper *The Sunday*, were purchased by Robert Murdoch's News International, after which ownership the 'paper of record' legacy ceased to be the case (ibid). Soon after his ownership of the paper, Murdoch replaced the paper's editor William Rees-Mogg with Harold Evans in 1981<sup>37</sup>. Being a Centre Left newspaper, in its advertising campaign in 1990s, *The Independent* newspaper accused its two right-wing rivals, i.e. the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* of reflecting the views of their proprietors, i.e. Rupert Murdoch and Conrad Black<sup>38</sup>. Known also as *the Indy*<sup>39</sup>, *The Independent* was named the national newspaper at the year 2004. When it was first launched in 1986, it appeared with the slogan "it is. Are You?"

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<sup>35</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Times](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Times)

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9072520/The-Times>

<sup>37</sup> [http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/The\\_Times/History#Circulation](http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/The_Times/History#Circulation)

<sup>38</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Independent](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Independent)

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.independent.co.uk/>

In 2005, the *Daily Telegraph* was the highest selling British broadsheet with 904,955 average daily circulation compared to 692,581 for *The Times*, and 261,193 for *The Independent*. The right wing politics of the *Daily Telegraph*, and the personal links between the paper's editorial team and the conservative party (the Tories) led the paper to be jokingly referred to as the *Torygraph*<sup>40</sup>.

The *Daily Telegraph* was the first national newspaper introducing online version of the paper in 1994. *The Times* has its own online version of the newspaper which is laid out in the same fashion of the printed newspaper<sup>41</sup>. *The Independent*, like the other two newspapers, offers archival search facility through which accessing back issues is made easy. *The Telegraph*, however, differs from the other two in making access to its archival material free of charge to subscribers only. The archival material of *The Times* is made accessible to subscribers that is subject to prepaid charges enabling the download of full texts of desired articles. In *The Independent*, accessing back issues of news items or commentaries is made possible via the portfolio material, the viewing of which is subject to charges paid in advance through the BT click' n Buy service, for example.

Notably, the editorial body of *The Independent* endows the paper with the uniqueness of mind and clarity of voice. It denies the paper's influence by proprietors (while accusing *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* of such practice) or political affiliation. The editor of Chief adds that the paper is characterised by its excellence in writing and conviction in opinion. Such self-assurance extends to the online version of the newspaper which the Online Editor attributes independence of values and interpretation. Moreover, while lacking the electronic version of the paper by which *The Times* and *Daily Telegraph* are characterised, the Online Editor of *The Independent* takes pride in the paper's 'Day in a page' feature, which provides access

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<sup>40</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Daily\\_Telegraph](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Daily_Telegraph)

<sup>41</sup> <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/section/0,,6969,00.html>

to the full online headlines of one day displayed in a single page. Such a feature allows the accessing of the newspaper's headlines as far back as to the year 1999<sup>42</sup>.

The availability of archival search in the websites of the three newspapers drew the attention to the richness of material that can be explored and analysed in relation to the context of the present study. However, such wealth of material requires overwhelming time consumption only to search for documents scattered between the newspapers websites (Campbell 2006: 63). Still, the experience of searching through the various newspapers websites imposed by the nature of this project has definitely been a part of the study's amazing adventure.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

This chapter demonstrated that the press is a significant medium in the world media that can readily adapt to technological advancement. Such strong establishment has its roots in history when a newspaper first appeared as a single sheet and expanded to different formats in terms of the density of quantity and the variety of quality.

Furthermore, the chapter highlighted the various media systems in the Arab world which are chiefly shaped by political factors. In addition, the diversity in media systems in the various Arab countries is integrated by the use of an identical language through which Arabs preserve their identity that is established through the culture's dominant Islamic character. Despite the cultural identity shared by the Arab states, the newspapers of such culture still exhibit diversity of perspectives which are determined by each country's unique political scheme.

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<sup>42</sup> [http://www.independent.co.uk/multimedia/archive/00171/Independent\\_Mediapa\\_171542a.pdf](http://www.independent.co.uk/multimedia/archive/00171/Independent_Mediapa_171542a.pdf)



The press in the United Kingdom has also been visited, highlighting the character of the media system in the country. The chapter toured the major newspapers in the UK and unhurriedly explored the newspapers to be explored in this study. The two distinct political stances of newspapers in the UK, i.e. right and left wings determined the study's selection of newspapers demonstrating such a variety. With such a selection, it may be possible to account for diverse perspectives which the present study intends to examine through the opinion discourse of the British and the Arabic newspapers selected for such a task.

The comparative nature of this study intends to locate the character of both cultures, i.e. Arabic-Islamic and Western, within the language of their respective newspapers, i.e. the opinion discourse. To allow such investigation taking place, I present in the following chapter (Chapter 4) the conceptual framework and the methodology via which the examination of opinion discourse of Arabic and British newspapers will be approached.

## *Chapter (4)*

### **Approaching Opinion Discourse during Political Conflicts**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This study deals with a crucial property of discourse which demands the analysis of the discourse of newspapers opinion columns and editorials on a rhetorical basis, which is the main ground this particular genre is built on; namely, rhetorical representation. I shall account for rhetorical representation as one of the semantic properties of discourse, and examine its manifestations in terms of three dimensions: the rhetorical structure (viz. discourse construction of the semantic content); lexical selectivity; and specific enforcement expressions which I refer to as the structural enforcement. This theory of rhetorical representation will then be applied to an analysis of Arabic and British newspapers opinion articles and editorials in relation to the three consecutive conflicts that have emerged at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Specifically, my selection of opinion texts is restricted to some articles which appeared during the first week of the outbreak of each of the following conflicts: the attack on the World Trade Centre on September 11 of 2001 in the US; the war on Afghanistan which began on October 7 of 2001, and the second war on Iraq beginning on 20 March 2003.

As stated in Chapter One, this study aims to show how cultural, religious and social realities do intervene in the linguistic production of op-eds in newspapers. It focuses on the rhetorical employment of semantic features in such discourses which reflects the persuasive strategies being used to lead to a preferred reading of the texts. Burton states that: "Conscious and persuasive mass communication is an obvious example of the intentional kind of preferred reading" (Burton 2002: 213). He also comments that: "The way the message is handled in a given medium can cause us to prefer one reading of it, one meaning, above other meanings. In effect, this is a kind

of bias in the way that the message is put across” (ibid). Hart, on the other hand, believes that the meaning of a text resides in the reading and not in the text. He explained that a text does not bear one single meaning, but rather, a range of possibilities which are defined by the text and its readers (Hart 1991: 60). He added, “Personal experiences and individual identities are diverse and texts therefore have potential for multiple meanings” (ibid). However, this may not be applicable to the nature of opinion texts which are originated to deliver a particular message and hence a particular attitude towards the subject matter of the text. The authors' influence to generate a preferred reading may be easier to define when comparative investigation is carried out between the opinion discourses of different language of different cultures in circumstances engaging both cultures while affecting them in different ways.

Therefore, through parallel observation of the newspapers of two linguistically diverse cultures, the study aims at showing a systematic linkage between language and socio-cultural ideologies. These ideologies are represented through authors' intentional use of powerful linguistic resources in favour of manipulating readers' attitudes which, during conflicts, could have a negative effect on the relation between cultures that can be simply avoided if authors and editors wish to. Thus, it is important to realise that if “unintentional messages are still the responsibility of those who construct them into material” (Burton 2002: 212), intentional messages, would certainly make their authors accountable.

I was inspired to carry out this study partly by my deep interest in discourse analysis in general and in media discourse in particular. Pioneering approaches to media discourse from a critical discourse analysis perspective, particularly Van Dijk's (1985), (1991), (1998) have had great influence on this research, although the approaches of other critical discourse analysts are as equally fascinating (Bell 1991), (Fairclough 1995 b) and (Fowler 1991).

In this chapter, I shall shed light on the theoretical framework to be implemented in this research. The chapter will highlight the categories of the framework according to which the parameters of the framework are classified. The importance of designing such a framework for investigating opinion discourse stems from employing a strategy to persuade that is strikingly patronising in favour of reaching the audience's hearts and minds. In this respect, op-eds share the persuasive intent that characterises advertisements (Khalil 2000: 23-24). This makes investigating their language a crucial task, for they aim to influence readers' beliefs, attitudes and behaviours, particularly when conflicts with other nations are involved.

It is important now to spell out and define the discourse to be investigated which I confine to opinion articles and editorials which both appear under the opinion section of Arabic and British newspapers. Some of the opinion articles examined are texts signed by regular columnists of a particular paper whose views may represent the paper's stance regarding a particular issue (although this varies in degree with regards to the Arabic or the British papers). Editorials express the paper's main stance regarding the context of the article. Moreover, an examination of the representation of opinion is examined in articles signed by visiting writers whose views, most of the time, reflect the newspaper's viewpoint regarding the issue addressed in such opinion articles.

As a convention, in this work, I shall refer to concepts (e.g. terror, freedom, democracy, etc.) by using 'single quotation marks'. Otherwise, exact words, phrases, and sentences cited from newspapers, books or other sources will be given in "double quotation marks" unless they are indented. Moreover, polarisation of groups involved such as Them (Us), Our group (Their group), In-group (Out group), etc. will feature capitalised initials to refer to the social groups representing cultural distinctiveness. The words 'terror' and 'terrorism' will be used alternately since they are widely used as such.

In addition, I will be applying eight distinct colours, four to be assigned to the Arabic newspapers and four to the British, to highlight the exact words, phrases and propositions believed to carry ideological significance based on manner of representation, i.e. 'good' or 'bad'. All the colours chosen are meant to underline the newspapers' manipulative use of language in portraying groups and/or individuals and their respective cultures in order to persuade readers to view the world through such portrayal which may be exaggerated, or perhaps unjust. The colours are applied in my discussion according to the scheme presented in the following table (Table 4.1):

British newspapers		Arabic newspapers	
Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Us_____ <b>Green</b>	Us_____ <b>Brown</b>	Us_____ <b>Blue</b>	Us_____ <b>Orange</b>
Them_ <b>Yellow</b>	Them___ <b>Red</b>	Them___ <b>Light blue</b>	Them___ <b>Pink</b>

**Table 4.1** Colour coding representing groups and cultures

## 4.2 Background to the study

On Tuesday, September 11 of 2001, all world media reported the horrific attack on New York's World Trade Centre's twin towers after two hijacked airplanes flew and crashed into them causing their collapse and the death of around three thousand people. The attack was immediately headline news, and the story continued to dominate the news media exclusively for months thereafter, particularly with the hastily announced US plans to retaliate militarily against the nation or the groups responsible once known<sup>1</sup>. The amount of coverage was staggering<sup>2</sup>, both in printed

<sup>1</sup> 'Aid Workers rush to Pull out of Afghanistan':

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/wtccrash/story/0,1300,551102,00.html>; also, 'FBI claim to have found direct links between hijackers and Bin Laden':

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/wtccrash/story/0,1300,552472,00.html>.

and broadcast news media. The event was given 'top story' status on all television and satellite news broadcasts, particularly on the US' 24 hours Cable News Network (CNN), which, at some point, fed other media outlets.

All world media beyond the United States also rushed to cover the events and reporters raced to take the lead in reporting events and their impact on the American population and government. The media were continuously feeding global audiences with sentimental images, and repetitive, tragic video and audio recordings of the very event as a sign of prompt journalistic practice. However, the concern about the event was soon shifted to focus on the group responsible for this act of violence, incited by the American patriotism. Immediately after the attacks on the World Trade Centre, the US news media networks, such as the CNN, announced a state of war which was stated by the US authorities to be against 'terror', a war which had many episodes afterwards against an invisible enemy.

But the unfolding drama was not confined to the television screens. The press was equally captivated. Thousands of articles appeared in world newspapers in the aftermath of the American crisis and similar degree of coverage occurred during other turning points in the affair, particularly as US military strikes were underway. The press focus was then directed towards those responsible for the attacks, concluded by the US authorities to be an Arab Islamic group, 'al-Qaeda', (lit., the Base) based in Afghanistan. The US political philosophy was to launch air strikes against this nation which accepted to be a haven for such groups. At that point, the relationship between the Arab-Muslim and the Western worlds became tense and this was extensively transmitted through the press of their respective cultures, each expressing their attitudes towards such a plight. Although, Arab Muslim nations expressed their deep sympathy with the loss of victims in the US, their press lamented the consequence of the US military plans against an impoverished nation, which had already suffered

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<sup>2</sup> 'War on Terror: Mainstream Media' : <http://www.globalissues.org/Geopolitics/WarOnTerror.asp>, 27 October 2004; also 'Same Old Jibes and Polemics', : <http://www.mideastnews.com/press21.html>, Adel Darwish, 21 September 2001.

many conflicts in the near past. Nonetheless, all Muslim and all Arab nations agreed to be in alliance with the US in its plans as a sign of good intention and a willingness to eliminate 'terrorism', particularly because of 'terrorist' acts believed to have been undertaken in the past by Islamic groups in various parts of the world against American interests<sup>3</sup>.

Moreover, a much stronger alliance with the US was specifically declared by the United Kingdom which echoed the US in considering the attacks being against the Western world and which required a prompt military response<sup>4</sup>. The British press expressed these official views, which continued to be in support of the US, during different episodes in the 'war on terror'.

The Western world and the Arab Middle East continued to be engaged in political struggles in the name of this 'war on terrorism' which placed the Arab-Muslim world constantly under scrutiny and surveillance<sup>5</sup>. This led eventually to the US launch of military strikes against Iraq who, it was claimed were in possession of weapons of mass destruction. It was feared that such weapons might form a threat to Western nations including the UK. Although such claims were not verified, the UK became a dominant participant in the debates of the war on Iraq, including the issue

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<sup>3</sup> The USS Cole Bombing in the harbour of Aden, October 12, 2000: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USS\\_Cole\\_bombing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USS_Cole_bombing); and also the attack on the World Trade Centre in 1993: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/february/26/newsid\\_2516000/2516469.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/february/26/newsid_2516000/2516469.stm), for example.

<sup>4</sup> "Blair Calls for War Fight against Terror": terrorism...: [http://www.guardian.co.uk/wtccrash/story/0,1300,550524,00.html#article\\_continue](http://www.guardian.co.uk/wtccrash/story/0,1300,550524,00.html#article_continue).

<sup>5</sup> 'The War against Terror Continues', Islam must not be seen as the enemy: <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/waronterrorism/story/0,1373,1324038,00.html>, Leader, The Observer, October 10, 2004; also,

'Arab/Muslim American News in the Aftermath of September 11 Tragedy:

<http://www.bintjbeil.com/E/news/aa.html>; also 'Causes of 9/11: Muslim Militant Extremists?':

<http://cfrterrorism.org/causes/muslim.html>, and also, 'Race, Civil Rights, and Immigration Law After September 11, 2001: The Targeting of Arabs and Muslims':

[http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=365261](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=365261)

Human Rights after September 11: <http://www.hrw.org/campaigns/september11/>

of a dossier indicating the real threat Saddam posed to UK interests<sup>6</sup>. Despite the invalidity of such claims, as these were refuted<sup>7</sup> by the chief inspectors of UNMOVIC (the United Nations, Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission) which consequently led to the UN's disapproval of such a war<sup>8</sup>, the military action still went ahead; also despite the worldwide demonstrations in the Western and Muslim worlds aimed at preventing the war<sup>9</sup>. The Arab–Muslim reaction towards the progress of events intensified, which was bitterly reflected in the press of their cultures and also in the press of the Western world too, particularly the UK, which recorded the highest number of demonstrators against the war. The reactions of the Arab and the UK press, however, were somewhat different in that they reflected points of agreement as well as remarkable diversity in opinions and views regarding the conflict and its participants. In addition, the press of both cultures incessantly continued to cover and analyse developments in the conflicts which were still in motion as this study was being completed.

### 4.3 Statement of the problem

Generally, opinion columns and editorials express opinions which normally embody certain ideological manifestations. This suggests that the ideologies of individual

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<sup>6</sup> Official Publications Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction, Intelligence and Assessment. (2003: 31, 34).

<sup>7</sup> "Iraq and Weapons of Mass destruction", National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 80, February 11, 2004: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB80/>; also Briefing of the Security Council, Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC, Dr. Hans Blix, February 14 2003: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB80/wmd30.htm>, 'The Status of Nuclear Inspection in Iraq', Dr. Mohammed El Baradei, February 14, 2003: <http://www.iaea.org/>

<sup>8</sup> (the current war was a violation of international law and the United Nations Charter) <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2003/sc7707.doc.htm>

<sup>9</sup> Saturday, February 15 2003 witnessed international march against the war on Iraq in most world countries including London, Spain and Arab countries such as Egypt, and the US <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/2765041.stm>; also <http://edition.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/02/15/sprj.irq.protests.europe/>. <http://edition.cnn.com/2003/US/02/15/sprj.irq.protests.main/>; also: 'The World Rises up against War': [http://www.iacenter.org/f15\\_rept1.htm](http://www.iacenter.org/f15_rept1.htm).



journalists influence their opinion and in turn influence the structure of the opinion discourse. There are a number of reasons for the frenzied Arab and British press interest in covering and commenting on these conflicts. One reason is possibly due to the past historical struggle between the Western world and Islam which made this conflict appear to be a continuation of such a struggle and which seemed a rich material for the Arab and British newspapers to cover, particularly after the American president's announcement concerning the nature of the conflict<sup>10</sup>. Another is the abstract 'war on terror' motto given to the series of conflicts in which sides are vaguely identified, which left the media with an opportunity to construct enemies and determine the good and the evil in line with their own tastes. The military power and dominance of one side in the conflict and the fragility of the other also made the coverage of the events resonate. These main reasons agreeably matched the common practice of the press of craving for substantial news items to cover which, at such crucial times leads to the incitement of particular sentiments and attitudes towards the cultures involved in conflicts; these attitudes were articulated clearly through the opinion columns and editorials of the newspapers.

Accordingly, this reflects the main role of the media during such calamities; Serberney states that "While the media in ordinary times help to structure and order the everyday, in times of crisis their role in allaying anxiety is even crucial." (Serberney 2002: 220 citing Silverstone). Thus, it seems that the anxiety and apprehension created by the press plays a role in shaping readers' perception of the world and its entities which are simply inspired by the strategic deployment of language (Silberstein 2002: 1).

In other words, since September 11, the Arab press and the British press have been hyperactive as demonstrated by the degree of coverage, but more importantly by the type of coverage: the heated narratives positioning good versus evil; and the use

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<sup>10</sup> On September 16 2001, President Bush claimed that the war is going to take a while "This crusade, this war on terrorism, is going to take a while." ' President George W. Bush, September 16,2001: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html>.

of evocative, powerful and emotive language reflected the views of the two cultures which were notably controversial. This is one of the reasons which urged the researcher to undertake such a task and to attempt to investigate the language of the British and Arab newspapers in framing the twenty first century's conflicts, in a representation driven mainly by each culture's social, and religious adherences.

#### **4.4 The Importance of the study**

A saying in journalism states: "the news columns belong to the reader; the editorial columns belong to the editor" (Rivers and Schramm 1969: 2). In other words, the reader is allowed to demand the news to be as fair and impartial as human judgment can make it while the editorials and the syndicated columns are the editor's territory. In my view, this may suggest that readers have no power but to accept all information submitted by authors of newspapers' opinion discourse, an assumption which highlights the sensitivity of these texts as an arena where only the authors of the texts are dancing.

Hence, this requires examining the techniques which writers chiefly utilise in opinion and editorial texts to enforce their viewpoint and which, at the same time, are extensively exploited in the press, particularly during such major political conflicts, which have cultural, religious and social implications. And this is another reason which inspired me to carry out this research which also highlights an important aspect of the study.

The importance of this study lies in: its focus on the language of opinion discourse in newspapers, an often neglected field compared to news reporting or advertisements, for instance. Investigating the language of this genre is important because opinion columns and editorials are utilised to express perspectives on cultural

beliefs, attitudes and values, and it is essential to avoid using this medium to create backlashes between cultures already engaged in conflict.

The second thing is the study's intention to discover if there are any shared values that exist across the perspectives of the Western culture (represented through Britain) and the Arab culture (represented through some Arab-Middle Eastern countries) that might be useful in bridging the cultural gaps and promoting better relations for the future. Thus, the study aims at highlighting the factors, i.e. historical, religious, cultural, political, etc, underlying opinion discourse rather than suggesting solutions for such complex deeply-rooted ideologies.

Moreover, the comparative approach of the study is another feature of its importance, in the sense that the comparison is not about making a judgment as to which discourse is better or worse, but rather about how newspapers' opinion discourse of two distinct cultures is similar or different during conflict. By comparing, the study aims at identifying and evaluating the familiar Self through the unfamiliar Other to overcome the tendency to unfairly evaluate the cultural values of the Other according to the cultural values of the Self (Mckenzie 2006: 7). With such an attitude, the study tends to promote better relations among cultures in conflict simply through discouraging the provocative use of language which only reflects that media are neither neutral nor common-sensed, nor rational mediators of social events, but essentially help to reproduce pre-formulated ideologies to encourage continuity of clashes with Other culture(s).

Thus, the milieu of focus here is the Arab and British press and their representation of conflicts which emerged as the sun of the twenty-first century was rising. The research is primarily concerned with analysing some linguistic techniques used by editors and writers of comments and opinion columns which function as vehicles for powerfully enunciating their opinions in contexts of conflicts and war. More precisely, the study assumes the following **hypotheses**:

1. Editorials and opinion columns are laid-out in a structure constructed in a way that is established on a rhetorical basis and displays a remarkable significance in conveying persuasively their ideological messages.
2. The naming and the attribution strategies which are assigned to the Other's culture as opposed to Our culture (i.e. the author's) and which are demonstrated through an attentive selection of lexical items in opinion texts, play a significant role in constructing stereotypes and reflecting ideological patterns.
3. The writer's tendency to create a dramatic beginning and ending to opinion articles by activating emotive language serves powerfully to engage readers and urge them to accept the whole message of the piece.

Ultimately, the study seeks to encourage the promotion of a discourse that balances between historical and circumstantial realities which may inevitably affect future realities.

#### **4.5 Research questions**

Based on the above hypotheses, there are chief and minor research questions to be addressed:

##### **Main research questions:**

1. Does opinion discourse reflect upon the ideological polarisation between the sides in the conflict, i.e. Our group and Their group?
2. On what grounds is the relationship between Us and Them presented in the discourse and do these grounds emphasise the identity of the newspaper's respective culture?
3. Do newspapers of the same society differ in the linguistic representation of viewpoints in terms of the relation with the culture of the Other and on what grounds does such discrepancy exist?

4. Does the discourse of opinion and editorials during wartime with the Other reveal and expose systematic ideological beliefs and values of the newspaper's culture towards the Other?

**Minor research questions:**

1. Does opinion discourse reflect upon the religious dynamics pertaining to conflicts, or is it solely the political intricacies that are addressed?
2. Does the author reflect his/her national identity in editorials and opinion texts and how is this identity brought forward and does it play any role in evocatively manipulating readers?
3. Are there common journalistic features between Arab and British press editorials during wartime?

#### **4.6 The scope of the study**

This study is restricted to opinion discourse in the Arabic language newspapers dailies (*al-Ahram*, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, and *al-Quds al-Arabi*) and the British newspapers dailies (*The Telegraph*, *The Independent* and *The Times*) in the same political environments. A mixture of editorials and commentaries from the opinion sections of the newspapers' websites were selected on the grounds of the relevancy of their headlines; that is to say, headlines revealing reference to conflict and/or participants during the first week of the outbreak of the particular conflict.

The articles selected include opinion columns and/or editorials concerning September 11 of the year 2001 when the attacks on New York in the US took place, followed by the war on Afghanistan in October 7 of the same year, and events in March 20 of 2003 which witnessed the war on Iraq. The selection is based on the significant opinion discourse during the above conflicts in enforcing the ideological divergence between the

East and the West, the manner of which, is feared, might lead to a wider rupture in the relations between the cultures; especially with the rapid and major changes in world policies which have affected journalistic practices to a remarkable degree since September 11 2001 onward<sup>11</sup>, and which led eventually to the escalation of other clashes.

The Arabic language editorials and opinion columns were personally translated to convey the nearest possible meaning taking into account the individual situational contexts of each piece in question; still, advice was sought when difficulty was encountered. Since in this particular study it is the semantic representation which is being investigated, the translation focused on the rhetorical meaning of linked propositions rather than on individual words or single sentences, in which case translation might have been different. Furthermore, since syntactic investigation is not a focus of this study, literal translation was intentionally avoided.

#### **4.6.1 Why the British press?**

The British press, instead of the American press, for instance, has been selected for this study due to the following three factors:

##### **1. Political factors**

- The UK was a major ally of the US, supporting and reflecting the Western stance as an intermediary between the Western and the Arab-Muslim worlds<sup>12</sup>;
- The significant mismatch between the British public's inclination and their nation's policies at certain phases of the conflict highlights the question of 'democracy' in a 'free' civilised country. And these two factors were prominently present in the British newspapers.

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<sup>11</sup> 'World in Crisis, Media in Conflict': <http://www.mediachannel.org/atissue/conflict/>.

<sup>12</sup> "Prime Minister grilled, Paxman style, by Arab TV."  
(<http://news.independent.co.uk/media/article161174.ece>).

## 2. Journalistic factors:

- The relative neutrality and objectivity observed in the press of the UK, that is not equally detected in the majority of US newspapers (perhaps due to the fact that the US is an immediate agent in all contexts of the conflict), is another factor pertaining to the selection of the British press. The US' media bias and propaganda (during the conflicts addressed), as observed by leading journalists<sup>13</sup>, affected the credibility of the US media<sup>14</sup> particularly considering the increase in the number of journalists dismissed during their coverage of the conflict since its outbreak. Thus, selecting British newspapers, in my opinion, would provide a typical Western stance rather than a biased superficial account of the US press which was thought best avoided by the researcher.
- Similarly, no newspapers were selected from those Arab and Muslim states involved directly in the conflict (i.e. Afghanistan or Iraq) as they were likely to exhibit a great deal of bias and propagandist attitudes; hence, such newspapers were completely avoided. Instead, the selection of other Arabic newspapers was based on their circulation and their social or ideological relevance.

## 1. Linguistic factors:

- The above two factors combined with the researcher's residency in the UK and her modest knowledge of and extreme interest in British English;
- The unique utilisation of rhetoric in representing the conflicts mentioned, motivated the present researcher purposefully to select the British press which is remarkably diverse as well as vibrant, which makes this press a good candidate for such a study.

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<sup>13</sup> (Borjesson 2002); also <http://www.islammemo.cc/west/PrintNews.asp?IDnews=64>.

<sup>14</sup> W. Rugh attributes the decline in US credibility to the US policy in the Arab-Israeli conflict and also to the effect of ten years of sanctions on Iraqi civilians (Rugh 2004).

#### 4.6.2 *Why the editorials and opinion columns?*

Tannen (1998: 93) pointed out “...editorial judgement and opinion should be separated from straight reporting of news and labeled for what they are.” She continued “what Clinton or Gingrich said or did is fact; *why* they said or did it is interpretation. And why the journalist thinks it is important is yet another level of interpretation. All these levels are needed, but they should not be mixed up” (ibid). By no means do I intend to approach the first two levels mentioned above because, as linguistics based study, I aim to focus only on the latter level of interpretation, or more accurately, the persuasive employment of language as a journalistic practice in opinion and editorial discourses.

It is agreed that newspaper or magazine editorials do not only contain words and statements occurring in isolation from the outside world, but are governed by beliefs, attitudes and social representations; in return they are representations of ideologies which are embedded within the authors' opinions. These opinions, Van Dijk indicates, vary in their ideological presuppositions (Van Dijk 1998). This means that the ideologies of journalists influence their opinions and in turn, influence the discourse structure of the opinion articles. This is because, in essence, the editorial material of the self-regulated media industries is governed by constraints which “define what kind of paper and program we receive” (Burton 2002: 88). This argument suggests that there is a clear link between ideology, opinion and the way they are linguistically presented in the discourse in all of which the author is a central participant.

Furthermore, sometimes when diversity in newspapers (right-wing or left-wing, for instance) exists within one single society, discrepancies between the opinions expressed in their editorials and opinion columns are more likely to arise. The differences between editorials (Coulthard 1994: 292) rely on the individual's evaluation of the world by the newspapers in question and also on each newspaper's



assumption of the reader's knowledge of events and states of affairs, besides the system of evaluation each newspaper adopts. Interestingly, this diversity among the newspapers of one culture may serve to uncover the prejudice and tendency to construct stereotypes within the newspapers of that culture. This tendency is normally absent from news reports which rely on news agencies for providing their material and not on individuals or particular institutions with certain ideological adherences, and this is one of the factors which interests the researcher and makes editorials and opinion texts unique and worthy to explore.

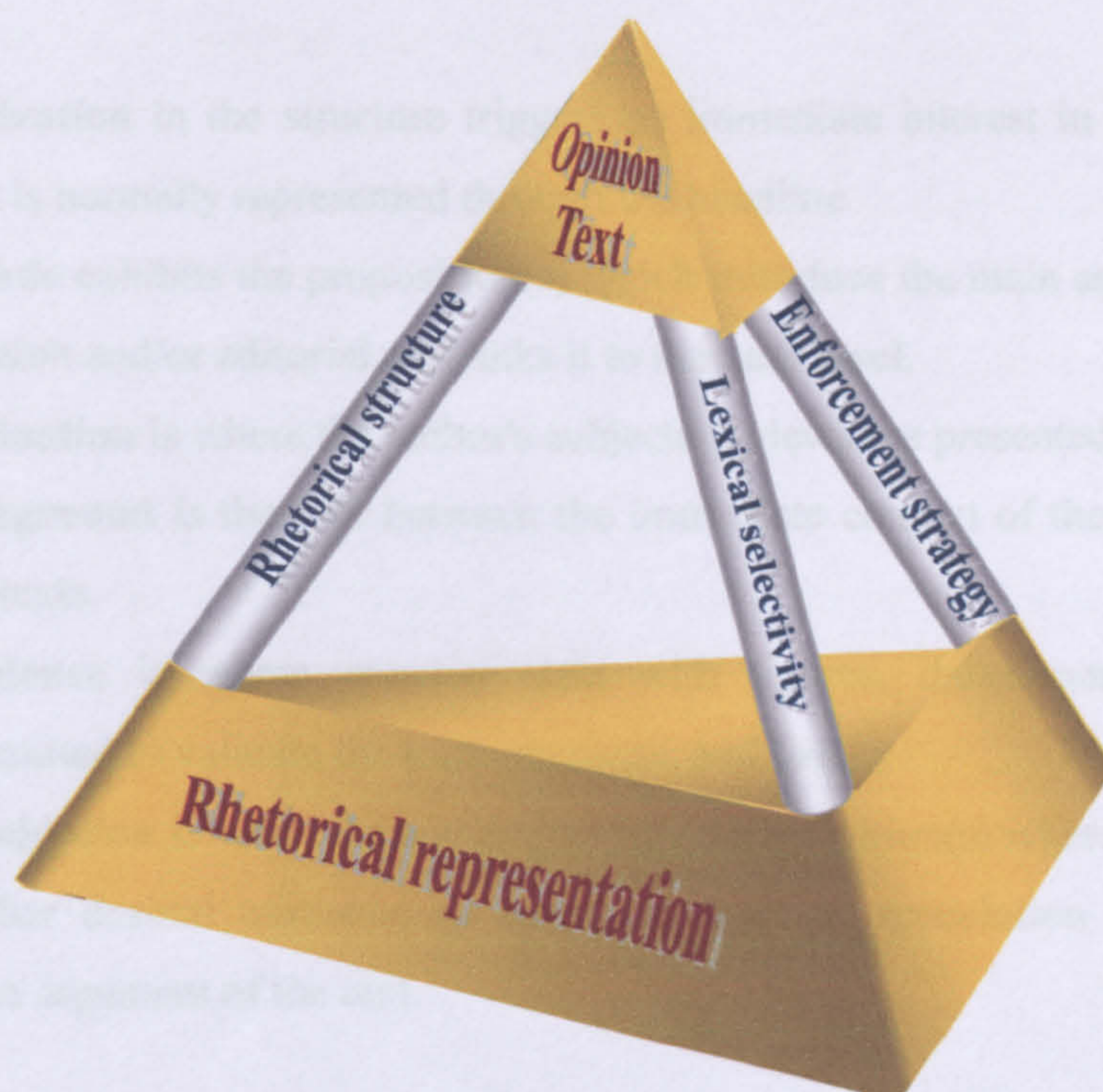
#### **4.7 The methodological approach of the conceptual framework**

Discourse analysis allows one to examine text in terms of language use from all possible perspectives. Investigating opinion and editorial texts from a critical discourse analysis approach seeks to uncover the political, cultural and social implications of the texts investigated by exposing these implications and make possible a challenge to the status quo. The traditional text analysis approach (discussed in Chapter 2) ignores these implications and keeps them hidden thereby supporting whatever status quo the texts are a cultural product of. Hence, this research is primarily concerned with analysing the linguistic techniques used by writers of opinion discourse in delivering their intended messages and thereby examining the rhetorical representations of the Self and the Other's beliefs, values, norms and actions...etc.

In the study, I tend to analyse not what the six Arabic and British dailies reported on the three conflicts within a week of their outbreak, but something of how their opinion sections responded to these events. I intend to analyse the language in editorials and opinion articles in relation to some parts of the discourse which exhibit some rhetorical features used for persuasive purposes. The analysis approach is

linguistically oriented since the language of opinion discourse has the capacity to unveil social and cultural realities behind the rhetorical representation. In addition, the approach is by no means expected to develop a certain understanding for the intricacies of each culture in which the media systems operate.

This demands employing a sophisticated method that goes beyond the simple bias detection associated with conventional content analysis. Here, the rhetorical analysis of the semantic contents of the discourse structure and its propositions to account for the rhetorical representation in opinions is suitable to meet the challenges posed by the two different languages, and the different political and cultural settings that have unique and complicated historical backgrounds. To do this, in my analysis, I will be implementing a three-parameter framework illustrated in the pyramid below (Figure 4.1):



**Figure 4.1** The persuasive strategy pyramid of editorial and opinion discourse

Each parameter in the proposed pyramid consists of some semantic traits to be explored; they contribute to revealing 1) the global meaning of opinion and editorials and 2) the semantic macrostructure of topic and themes which ultimately identify the persuasive strategy employed in these texts. Thus, editorials and opinion articles will be investigated through the following three parameters (Figure 4.1). Each of these parameters is subdivided in the framework according to the following scheme:

#### **4.7.1 Rhetorical structure**

This structure represents the rhetorical layout of propositions which are intended to influence the reader's reception of the opinion piece. Normally, such propositions address the reader's intellect; it is formed from six levels, namely: motivation, prelude, evaluation, background, evidence and anticipation.

- 1. Motivation** in the structure triggers an immediate interest in the piece and that is normally represented through the headline
- 2. Prelude** exhibits the proposition(s) which introduce the main argument of the opinion and/or editorial and links it to the next level.
- 3. Evaluation** is where the author's subjective views are presented.
- 4. Background** is the link between the immediate context of the text and past contexts.
- 5. Evidence** is where concrete data with figures, dates, names, etc. are submitted to validate the text's message, and finally
- 6. Anticipation** is when the author presents a proposition(s) where he/she states his/her desired outcome, or expresses fears or speculation regarding the main argument of the text.

The construction of the structure of only these six levels is based on their semantic bearings and rhetorical relevancy to the interpretation of the core texts,

although other levels could possibly be added. In addition, having listed the parameters in the above order does not necessarily mean that they always appear in such an order, however, the first two are bound to appear in the order listed above.

#### **4.7.2 Lexical selectivity**

The second parameter is the propagandist selectivity of lexical items which is a predominant feature of any discourse expressing values and beliefs. The use of words that are ideologically packed carry great power in arousing peoples' feelings rather than relying on simple vacant words which have no ideological manifestations. As an example, if a Landlord informs his tenant that the next door neighbour is an 'extremist' the word can have a strong negative effect on people living next door. The substitution of a phrase such as 'a strongly religious man' for 'extremist', however, may lessen the tenant's apprehension level.

Although, words in isolation still do have meanings, they can be meaningless and pragmatically distorted if the context of occurrence is not realised. This is because the use of a particular lexical item is determined by the situational contexts in which it falls. Therefore, writers and authors of opinion discourse pay great attention to their choice of the lexical items, particularly because of the persuasive nature of their texts. Again, as with the other parameters, my analysis of lexical choice here focuses on the semantic function of the items in the discourse, since it forms the core content of opinion expression. Moreover, the analysis includes the investigation of two strategies, namely, the naming strategy and the attribution strategy.

### **a) Naming strategy**

This strategy is manifested in the author's use of particular names and/or labels, to identify individuals, groups, a nation or a culture etc. according to race or colour and so on to suggest superiority or inferiority, for instance. Adopting 'unacceptable' naming strategy towards particular groups or cultures is likely to cause offence (Reah 1998: 55) or even create a feeling of hostility particularly if adopted on the part of one culture against another, for example.

Here I am concerned with naming strategy pertaining to the names and labels given to the sides in a conflict which may result in creating particular propagandistic ideologies, or stereotypical images which are part of opinion expression. During wartime, politicians incite such negative name-calling to intimidate the Other, which encourages newspapers to adopt such methods. The Nazi propaganda chief used such 'unpleasant' or rather 'offensive' name-calling in the past, Josef Goebbels for example when he referred to Jews as "untermenschen" or sub-humans (Conserva 2003: 14). It was also used by Churchill, the Prime Minister of Great Britain during World War II when he called Hitler a "bloodthirsty gutter snipe" (ibid). During the war on Iraq in 2003, the Information Minister of Iraq also repeatedly used the term علوج ('ulūj, i.e. decadently vulgar) as intimidating name-calling to refer to the American soldiers. Such a mode of naming is extensively adopted in newspapers as this study aims to illustrate in the light of this strategy.

### **b) Attribution strategy**

Attribution strategy is manifested in the descriptions or the qualities assigned to individuals, groups, a nation, or a culture, etc. In investigating this strategy, four schemes of expressing the shared attitudes and ideologies through opinion-stating will be considered; i.e. the scheme of polarisation, and the scheme of positive Self

description and negative Other description. The polarisation of the Self only involves the author's culture, and so do We, Us, Our, etc.; and in turn, the polarisation of the Other will involve the counter culture, and so do They, Them, Their, etc. I am tempted to approach these schemes from Van Dijk's perspective, i.e. the **ideological square**, which roughly represents the evaluative structure of the above schemes (Van Dijk 1991).

Thus, the attribution strategy of my framework theory will deal with the semantic roles assigned to 'Us' as opposed to the ones assigned to 'Them'. In other words,

- 1) **'We'** are depicted as **actors** of roles and qualify for the attributions, when such **acts** or such attributions are **good**; whereas
- 2) **'They'** are depicted as **actors** of roles and qualify for the attributions when such **acts** or attributions are **bad**. This entails that:
- 3) **'Their'** **bad** actions and attributions are normally **emphasised**, whereas **'Our'** same kinds of action are de-emphasised; and while
- 4) **'Our'** **good** actions and attributions are **emphasised**; **'Their'** same kinds of action are de-emphasised.

The degree of emphasis is determined by the quality of the actions or the attributions involved in a given proposition(s), and by the frequency of such emphasis in the text. [More details on such strategies are discussed in Fowler (1991); Fowler *et al.* (1979) and in Van Dijk (1991)].

#### **4.7.3 Enforcement strategy**

Enforcement expressions promote the opinion piece to achieve the maximal rhetorical effect. Opinion discourse relies on many features to ensure the influential effect of the text's message, and the parts to be investigated under this heading are the

Opening and the Finale of opinions and editorials which I call **structural enforcements**. Although the opening and the ending of opinion texts and editorials are both addressed under the enforcement strategy, they function somewhat differently. That is to say, the persuasiveness in the Opening has an 'out-in' function while the finale has an 'in-out' approach. In other words, the Opening links the situational context with the discourse and according to which the opinion is expressed thereafter and this is the 'out-in' function. The Finale, on the other hand, functions to ensure that a preferred reading has been attained as the text being concluded, and that is the 'in-out' approach.

The **Opening** and the **Finale** represent, respectively, the very beginning and the ending segments of op-eds. They serve to engage readers emotively to the message of the text thereby acquiring their approval as the text takes off and as it lands. Although these two notions are investigated on a structural basis, they are not included among the rhetorical structure levels due to their redundancy to the intellectual spirit of the message of the text. However, they do display a significant deployment of emotive language which feeds the persuasion process in the opinion piece.

There are many features that could be investigated under the enforcement strategy such as parenthesis, quoted words and phrases and repetition, etc. However, such features require delving deeply into the ideological manifestations of such feature which might divert the study away from its linguistic nature.

Although the coherence of the text may not be affected by the absence of the propositions contained in the Opening and the Finale, including them according to their function contributes greatly to the enforcement of the texts' messages. These expressions function forcefully as a way of manipulating readers and, at the same time, they reflect the writer's eloquence and rhetoric in exploiting the power of

language to impose his/her cultural beliefs, attitudes and values during times of conflict.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have attempted to submit an overview of the approach to be implemented in this study in analysing newspaper editorials and opinion columns. I introduced the motive for conducting such a research, which was partially inspired by the media coverage of the attack on the World Trade Centre in the United States on (11/09/2001), followed by the war on Afghanistan on (07/10/2001) and the war on Iraq (20/03/2003). The press presented the West and the Arab-and Muslim world as the dominant sides in the three conflicts which were deemed to be a case of good versus evil.

Because newspapers' opinion columns and editorials are representations of the values of their respective cultures, it is important to encourage this medium to focus on promoting a civilised discourse which takes into account the merits of the enemy and not, only focusing on their blunders, and secondly, it is very important, therefore, to urge examination of this channel of communication to prevent inciting clash of cultures and/ or civilisations. These two notions ultimately, have given rise to three hypotheses:

- 1) The rhetorical structure of opinion texts plays an important part in the persuasion process of texts;
- 2) The deliberate assignment of names and attributions with negative connotations to Them as opposed to Us, which are driven by socio-cultural backgrounds, promote hostility and resentment towards the Other;
- 3) Creating a persuasive beginning and ending which may not affect the coherence of the text attends to the emphasis of the text's central message;



besides, authors do realise the effect of these expressions in creating a manipulative effect that is required for the approval of the author's opinion and attitude as the ideal.

Extracts from twenty-seven opinion and editorial articles, taken from the websites of the six newspapers (the three Arabic and the three British daily newspapers) have been analysed in this study. These articles are selected for their relevance to the conflict in question as they express a variety of more or less liberal and more or less conservative opinions of their respective cultures.

I have narrowed the analysis to a small number of articles to enable a thorough comprehension of the opinion pieces' global rhetoric rather than seeking to widen the selection which might result in fuzzy, vague and incoherent analysis. Therefore, not every opinion article or editorial is necessarily covered under all three parameters, although comparison will be applied between texts when and where relevant to the discussion. Furthermore, I have applied, however, the rhetorical structure framework on two editorials from the selection to account for a case study within which all levels of the structure are examined.

Finally, the theoretical framework I introduced in Section 4.7 will be the skeleton for the analysis of the three linguistic parameters, i.e. rhetorical structure, lexical selectivity, and enforcement strategy, in the following three chapters (Chapters 5, 6, and 7) respectively. These will feature the empirical application of such framework on the opinion discourse of the Arabic and British newspapers during the first three conflicts in the twenty first century. Thus, rhetorical structure will be the discussion of the next chapter in an attempt to account for the frame of the discourse before moving to the centre.

## *Chapter (5)*

### **Rhetorical Structure of Opinion Discourse**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter offers and exemplifies a framework for analysing the discourse structure of editorials and opinion articles. The focus of enquiry rests upon the representation of the three conflicts, which emerged at the beginning of the twenty-first century, through newspapers' commentaries and editorials, a newspaper domain which has been little studied to date. The chapter discusses the structure of the editorials in times of political encounters two sides (i.e. the West and the Arab-Muslim world). It examines samples of opinion texts from British and Arabic newspapers in their employment of a structure, i.e. rhetorical structure, by which the messages of texts are powerfully conveyed.

Print media productions are significant materials, able to readily expose a nation's cultural beliefs and values through well formulated language. As such, languages are representatives of their respective societies, particularly via channels provided chiefly for opinion expression. One of the reasons why studying the opinion discourse, particularly in times of war and conflict, should be undertaken is because opinion articles and editorials offer their writers and authors the freedom to commend or criticise, an opportunity that may not otherwise be readily available to a news reporting division. It is equally important to compare the employment of language in representing: 1) the newspapers' respective cultural beliefs and attitudes and also the counter culture's beliefs and attitudes; and 2) the opposing actors in the conflict. Such a study enables us to examine whether opinion discourse helps to contain, or promote conflicts simply by the power of mere words.

## 5.2 Discourse structures of media discourse

It has been assumed, in current theories of discourse and classical rhetorics that certain types of discourse exhibit conventional structures (schemata) that go beyond the structures accounted for in grammar (Van Dijk and Kintch 1983: 235). Such structures organise the discourse into relevant categories according to their function in a given discourse type. In metrical theories, for instance, there are the phonological, graphical and morphological structures based on metrical organisation, which also characterise several levels of discourse (ibid). Moreover, the narrative structures of Labov and Waletzky (1967) that characterise stories into the categories of: setting, complication, resolution, evaluation and coda comprise the best known theory of discourse schema (cited in Van Dijk and Kintch 1983: 236). However, Bell (1998) argued that Labov's (1972) is one of the most familiar structures for story analysis which is applied to news stories; there are six elements in the structure, namely: abstract, orientation, action, evaluation, resolution and coda (cited in Bell 1998: 67).

Van Dijk and Kintch (1983: 236) introduced a superstructure or schematic structure for analysing news discourse of Western newspapers (ibid: 244) which goes beyond the traditional linguistic organisation of discourse, (usually grammatical and semantic organisation) and focuses on the cognitive properties as well. They assigned certain categories to their schematic structure which they aimed to facilitate the comprehension, storage and the retrieval of discourse. Such a structure is based and ordered on the communicative importance of news stories which they call 'relevance structure'. Some of the categories of this structure are: headlines, lead, event, previous information, context, background, explanation, consequences and comments (Van Dijk and Kintch 1983: 242-244).

Moreover, as far as Van Dijk's contribution to the interdisciplinary discourse analysis of media texts is concerned, in 1988 he published a theory of news in the press (as discussed in Chapter 2). His work included the analysis of

various newspaper genres, such as international news reporting and opinion and editorials (cited in Garrett and Bell 1998: 7). Although in his approach, Van Dijk does introduce different levels in the structure of opinion discourse which originally bear ideological orientation (Van Dijk 1998: 31-44) and which cover a wide range of dimensions, in my view, though stimulating, they are vaguely categorised. That is to say, the various levels and dimensions in his discourse structure theory are loosely listed without proper categorisation (i.e. similar categories are not included within a single level, such as implications and presuppositions under the pragmatic level, or lexical items under the semantic level, for instance) which makes handling the texts impractical and unfocused.

It is worth mentioning that despite the relevance of Van Dijk's approach to the present study in terms of dealing with opinion discourse structure and content, which is the focus of this chapter too, it is not the ideal approach to be adopted. This is because Van Dijk's framework for examining textual expressions of the socio-cognitive embodiments in opinion discourse has profound ideological orientation (Van Dijk 1995) which is not the basis on which my proposed opinion discourse structure is developed.

As outlined in the previous chapter (Chapter 4), the structure of opinion discourse proposed here is based on the rhetorical power embedded in the linguistic representation of opinion discourse and editorials by which authors and writers aim to win the assent of the audience to a preferred reading. This highlights the delicacy of the task assigned to editors and writers of opinion columns which imposes professional constraints and requirements in fulfilling their duty to transmit their messages convincingly to readers.

An interesting element about opinion articles and editorials in newspapers is that they not only offer a narrative commentary discourse on stories taking place at some point in time, nor are they simple reflections of the author's views of cultural and personal experiences: they are a combination of both. This makes the structure of their discourse a delicate one. This is because news stories told to

the media are often expected to have certain schemata governed by common elements of attribution, time place and events, etc (Van Dijk and Kintch 1983), which make it viable to develop a structure for news stories. In the case of editorials these elements are not necessarily present.

In commentary texts, readers are cognitively led to share the authors' personal stance on events that could seem arbitrarily unstructured, unlike news reporting for instance. Interestingly enough, the persuasive nature of editorials requires a powerful and well-formulated structure to enable authors to represent their own viewpoints and values as social and cultural norms; this is initially achieved through the rhetorical structuring of the opinion material which is put forth by authors and writers of op-eds.

In addition, opinions in the press are important social presentations of culture, politics and social life, enforcing the values of their particular society when their authors feel lost or politically disoriented. Therefore the importance of opinion texts partially lies in the importance of media discourse in general. In other words, because media discourse reveals a great deal about a society and the character of a society (Bell 1998: 64), empirical as well as descriptive analysis of its various genres should not be underestimated; and opinion discourse is one of the predominant genres which deserves close analysis though inadequately studied.

Thus, having a clear understanding of the structure of editorials and opinion commentaries in culturally and linguistically diverse newspapers, hopefully, will enable us to analyse their content more satisfactorily. This is made possible by close analysis of opinion texts which is a foundation for my attempt to unpack the ideologies underlying the textual representation of such pieces. This is more apparent when authors of editorials and opinion columns in a particular society represent the social values of other societies' beliefs and values when a conflict is in progress.

Such an analysis shows that even editorials of linguistically and culturally distinct newspapers share a common basis on which opinion texts are produced. The main task here is to show how opinion texts and their authors' own societal experiences operate in reflecting, not only the values of other societies, but also of their own. Furthermore, to allow a satisfactory examination of the data, it must be noted that editorials and opinion texts normally consist of feedback and observations on social or political contexts transmitted to audiences through one or more media genres. Thus, prior knowledge of the textual context is normally prerequisite to the concise reception and comprehension of opinion texts.

The present investigation of discourse structure is unique in: 1) its comparative approach to the languages of two distinct newspapers (i.e. Arabic and British) during critical times (i.e. the three conflicts in the early twenty-first century) each representing distinct cultural beliefs and ideologies; and 2) its focus on the very function of editorials and opinion articles, i.e. the influential manipulation of readers' attitudes, which are not only carried through the linguistic representation of social and cultural attitudes, but even through the rhetorical structuring of the discourse.

### **5.3 Defining 'rhetoric'**

To be able to comprehend what is to be discussed in the course of this chapter, the notion of rhetorical structure requires a definition of the term **rhetoric** as a starting point. Western scholars in different fields of human sciences (such as psychology and linguistics, for example) tend to link rhetoric with the Ancient Greeks and Romans and say little, if anything at all, about the place of rhetoric in the Arabic spoken and written discourses. Such significance is typically imposed by the classical Arabic language legacy since the pre-Islamic era, which was reflected upon in Chapter 3.

### 5.3.1 *Rhetoric in Arabic terms*

In Arabic, the term , بلاغة 'rhetoric', is a noun derived from the root بلغ which literally means 'arrived at target'; and مبالغة, or literally **exaggeration**, in doing something, refers to achieving the best means to reach the best ends. The noun, i.e. rhetoric بلاغة (balagha) is termed as such because through such skill 'meaning is conveyed until it is fully and powerfully comprehended by the receiver' (ʿAtīq 1985: 7). Rhetoric is a property attributed to the language and not to its user. Therefore, in Arabic, it cannot be said that someone is 'rhetorical'; rather his/her speech or style is so. In fact, approaching 'rhetoric' from an Arabic perspective requires a separate work for it inevitably leads to delving into other branches of linguistics (syntax, morphology, literature, for instance) which is not my intention and this study is not a place for such an adventure. However, reference to the terminology of rhetoric is intended to highlight the position of the notion in Arabic particularly as the study is shortly to launch a comparative journey with English that espouses a perspective of 'rhetoric' that is inspired by Aristotle.

### 5.3.2 *Aristotle's rhetoric in modern terms*

As was introduced in the overview chapter (Chapter 2), rhetoric is an approach to text linguistics adapted by Greek and Roman rhetoricians. Aristotle defined rhetoric as "...the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever....rhetoric,...appears to be able to discover the means of persuasion in reference to any given subject. That is why we say that as an art its rules are not applied to any particular definite class of things." (cited in Cockcroft and Cockcroft 2005: 4).

According to Cockcroft and Cockcroft (ibid), there are three main categories classified by Aristotle, from which the authors derived 'three permanent working principles of persuasion'. I refer to their principles because they seem to

touch the basis of the rhetorical approach in this study. These principles are: *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*, or, in the authors' simpler terms: 'persuasion through personality and stance'; 'persuasion through the arousal of emotion'; and 'persuasion through reasoning', respectively. Aristotle explained that persuasion through moral character is established through: the communicator's personality and character (normally during spoken discourse) and stance (the persuader's position or viewpoint about the discussed issue); while persuasion through reasoning involves establishing our judgement driven by the persuader's speech and its contents. Persuasion through emotion accounts for putting the audience into a certain emotional frame of mind (cited in Cockcroft and Cockcroft 2005: 15-16) which suggests that the judgment we make is determined by the emotion we go through which can be triggered by the writer's exercising of rhetoric.

Although these three persuasion principles are manifested in the analysis of the rhetorical structure of op-eds due to their rhetorical orientation, they are not a focus of inquiry in this study in their own right. Nevertheless, the components constituting the rhetorical structure may include certain characteristics on which the principles are classified (i.e. stance, reason and emotion).

#### **5.4 Structure and parameters**

The structure proposed for opinion discourse here is based mainly on the cognitive progression of discourse content in terms of the elements needed to reach a coherent frame which covers the semantic substance of opinion texts. It consists of elements needed to describe the discourse of editorials and opinion articles according to their semantic content which account for the main argument in a typical opinion piece. The structure consists of six rhetorical levels forming the structure's proposed cube (Figure 5.1) and each embedding an explicit or inferred coherence relation between propositions or a group of propositions; these levels are namely: motivation, prelude, evaluation, evidence, background and anticipation.



These parameters are coherently linked which allows them to form a meaningful and rhetorical whole. In other words, if the propositions representing these coherently linked parameters are extracted from a given op-ed, they can be independently sufficient in producing a meaningful and coherent summary of the text without the need for the rest of the opinion piece (which may be useful for enforcement purposes, as will be discussed in Chapter 7). It is worth mentioning, however, that not all the elements of this structure are necessarily present in every opinion text and editorial. At the same time there are levels in the structure, i.e. motivation, prelude, evaluation and evidence, the presence of which in a text is necessary to allow the persuasive function to take place and hence the message to be rationally convincing.



**Figure 5.1** Rhetorical structure cube of editorials and opinion texts during conflicts

The top of the narrative structure of an opinion text would normally feature an incitement element urging readers to gain initial interest in the piece.

This is the **motivation** relation which would effectively occupy the headline. The **prelude** is another feature in opinion discourse which is presented in a proposition that links the text's subject matter addressed in the headline with the rest of the text. This relation functions as linking the previous relation with the main argument of the text that is triggered by a particular situational context.

The other levels of the structure then tend to follow, irrespective of order. The **evaluation** level is the assessment of the argument and/or the participants in the text from an authorial stance. Furthermore, expressing opinions on some states of affair, or on participants and their values, would entail some sort of evidential support to validate the author's argumentative stance and this is presented in the **evidence** level. In addition, most opinion writers tend to offer a **background** to relate the immediate situational context of the text with immediate or past ones which may extend to include historically related contexts. Finally, as observed in the data analysed, most editorials and opinion texts conclude with **anticipation**, offering an authorial intellectual suggestion of a resolution to the text's context rather than departing while the text's chief objective remains uncompleted, i.e. the writer's or the paper's perspective to be known.

Interestingly, the discourse structure of news stories proposed by Van Dijk and Kintch (1983) comprises elements similar in their function to the elements of the proposed rhetorical structure. However, the schematic categories of their structure for news stories are ordered by communicative importance (Van Dijk and Kintch 1983: 243), while the schematic categories of the structure of opinion texts are constructed, not only according to their communicative importance, but also according to their rhetorical function in persuading readers.

Finally, the introductory and concluding segments of opinion articles, which may or may not be embedded within the structure, are usually dramatic enforcements of the authors' observations expressed by their personal emotions in relation to the issue addressed; the text is normally wrapped up with a dramatic ending to maximise the reception effect. These two parts of opinion texts serve

intuitively to engage the reader and enforce the author's stance, rather than contributing practically to the plot of the text. Therefore, they will be discussed in Chapter 7. In the following discussion, the presence and validity of each of the proposed parameters will be examined in the light of the Arabic and British data collected.

Examining the various parameters of the rhetorical structure of such pieces will be illustrated using headlines and extracts from opinion articles from Arabic and British newspapers; the sentence numbering is for ease of reference (e.g. S7, or S20) and takes into account where the quoted sentences appear in the full text. Reference to various propositions in a given text may occur to account for the author's coherence of opinion where relevant. Moreover, in this chapter, and the following chapters, the authorship of respective texts will be indicated by stating the name of the text's respective author followed by the paper's name after the quoted extract. When only the newspaper's name appears following an extract, it reflects the paper's opinion (i.e. editorial), unless reference is made to particular editors, for communicative purposes.

#### **5.4.1 Motivation**

The motivation relation is a coherence relation in which the writer expresses a proposition(s) to increase the addressees' willingness to accept the directive communicated in other upcoming propositions. The earlier motivation is stated, the more effective it is in achieving the persuasion effect intended by the opinion piece.

If we examine the motivation relation in the rhetorical structure of some Arabic and British opinion articles and newspaper editorials, we find that it is usually featured as the headline or, in other cases, as the introductory section of the opinion piece i.e. the lead. This is sometimes aided with powerful cartoon graphics to increase the reader's curiosity to read the text. It can be signalled by

its rhetorical deployment of propositions that affect a particular audience (the implied reader).

The implied reader is normally expected to share the author's cultural background as the basic means of interaction. In opinion discourse related to political conflicts, the reader and the author may also share the same ideological backgrounds i.e. religious, social and political. The author relies on these common grounds in communicating with his/her reader and through inviting the audience to share his/her observations regarding world issues; similarly, these grounds are the reader's motive for selecting one particular newspaper from among many others. The motivation part may or may not be the topic of the text, though it may provide a hint only of the author's consistent attitude towards the issue or the participants in the text at hand.

Motivation in opinion pieces is manifested in the powerful employment of language, that is to say, the use of particular terms or phrases which are attention-grabbing and which may sometimes exhibit the use of rhetorical devices such as figures of speech or metaphors for example. Furthermore, the motivation relation can also be achieved by the particular employment of syntactic features, such as the use of a particular tense or a particular combination of words, to enforce a particular interpretation.

Opinion discourse constitutes another front in a given conflict, that is to say, when the culture of the writers places them on one side of the conflict, they find themselves in a position between substantiating the uprightness of their culture and its values while demonstrating justice and decency. In practical terms, readers, as intellectual representatives of their society, in return, are inclined to be flawlessly pictured in the media, even if this means disagreement with reality. This, in my opinion, is a central predicament in conflicts since each side in them believes its stance to be irreproachable. However, by examining opinion texts, we will be able to see and judge their writers' utilisation of the discourse which normally starts off with the headline.

Two days after the war on Afghanistan began in October 07 of 2001, an opinion article in *The Independent* was headlined as follows:

**This is a caring war - we weep as we bomb**

Terence Blacker, *The Independent*, (10/10/2001).

The cynical tone of the headline is a common feature in *The Independent* and here in this article, (Appendix B), it is marked by the juxtaposition of opposites that is caring / war, and weep / bomb. The early motivation is appealing to the typical reader of *The Independent* who has an anti-war stance and the author feeds on this attitude by portraying the war on Afghanistan as false and deceptive by disguising the cruelty of war and describing the act as (caring). Such rhetorical use of opposites is an effective way of creating the motivation required to urge the reader to read the text.

Another level of motivation here is signalled by the grammatical operation. The use of the pronoun “we” twice reflects the shared cultural responsibility in waging this deceptive war, created by the phrases “we weep” and “we bomb”. At the same time, this is perhaps meant to encourage a national reaction on political grounds to stop such war and such pretence. Furthermore, the use of the present tense presents the information as facts which make the proposition contained in the headline highly acceptable. In fact, the effect of the present tense and the juxtaposition of opposites in phrasing headlines to create motivation is a strategy adopted in Arabic newspapers as well, as appears in the headline of the following Arabic editorial.

العدالة الأمريكية تحرق العراق

American **justice burns** Iraq

Abd al-Bari Atwan, Chief Editor,  
*al-Quds al-Arabi*, (22/03/2003).

Firstly, the combination of opposites is utilised in this Arabic editorial headline as in *The Independent*. It appears in the declarative phrasing of the headline and is signalled by the use of **justice** that **burns**. The term “justice” which would generally have a positive connotation of righteousness, for instance, is combined with the verb “burns” which has a connotation implying destruction. Such juxtaposition of opposites is usually intended in a cynical sense. Here it is meant to portray negatively the war on Iraq by implying its illegitimacy. The entire editorial bluntly expresses opposition to the war and attempts to share such an attitude with the Arab reader and particularly one who holds the paper’s typically negative view towards the American policy on Muslim and Arab nations. This combination of opposites aims at enforcing the sarcastic attitude of the paper towards a particular enemy, i.e. the US, by actually suggesting that, it is in the name of American justice Iraq is being destroyed, *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, (22/03/2003).

Secondly, the element of motivation in *al-Quds al-Arabi* is created also by the use of the present tense, as is the case with *The Independent* (i.e. “weep”, and “bomb”). *Al-Quds al-Arabi*’s editorial represents a sorrowful present reality by the use of the present tense **burns** which also suggests the continuation of Iraq’s agony. As such, the syntactic form of تحرق (burns) bears an underlying semantic significance, which signals the underlying deep structure embedded within the surface structure of the lexeme. Such reliance on syntactic features in such a significant level of the structure reflects Chomsky’s transformational grammar theory, a scheme by means of which Chomsky approaches text analysis.

All of the different techniques employed for motivation are intended to raise the sentiments of the Arab national reader against the American policy in the current conflict which continues to be emphasised throughout the editorial. Notably, the Arabic and British newspapers mentioned above, display differences as much as they show similarities in terms of their ideological representation, that is to say, in the representation of the conflict. For example, while *The Independent's* headline (10/10/2001) reflects its culture's share of responsibility in the Afghanistan conflict by stating **we bomb**, *al-Quds al-Arabi's* (22/03/2003), represents the conflict in Iraq as the sole responsibility of an Other (i.e. the American policy: **American justice burns**). This again is governed by the relatively moderate attitude of *The Independent* towards issues related to foreign policies and conversely, by the *al-Quds al-Arabi's* intense attitude which is displayed by its constant scepticism towards American foreign policy in the Middle East. The difference between the two papers is also marked by *al-Quds al-Arabi's* inclusion of cartoonish graphics with comments alongside the text which is typical of the paper whereas such feature is absent in *The Independent*.

Other examples of motivation in headlines are presented in the form of a rhetorical question which does not require an answer as much as it expresses denial and irony towards a particular issue. An example of this can be found in the Arabic and British opinion samples. Following the march that took place on February (15/02/2003), organised as a symbol of opposition to the war against Iraq, an opinion column appeared in the *Telegraph* with a headline that read:

If this was a **peace** march, why did Saddam get no **stick**?

Barbara Amiel, *The Telegraph*, (17/02/2003).

Of course, as mentioned earlier, a conflict-related opinion text will not be cognitively interpreted unless the situational context of its utterance, assumed by the author at the time, is known to the reader. The motivation in the above headline is established through the conditional clause in the first part of the

headline “if this was a peace march...” while the apodosis in the second part raises a rhetorical question “...why did Saddam get no stick?”, (Appendix C), regarding the validity of the march. The question addressed does not require an answer for it is meant ironically to imply that 'it was Saddam's guilt that should have been demonstrated against in the anti-war march', which the text also goes on to elaborate. This meaning might not have been inferred if the headline simply read: (this was not a peace march because Saddam got no stick). Phrasing the headline in the original format, reflects the contradiction between the purpose of Our act of 'marching', i.e. **peace** and the absence of demonstrations against the cruel acts of Saddam Hussein represented literally by the lexeme **stick**, on which basis the author suggests the invalidity of the march's rationale.

The original headline would be appealing to the typical *Telegraph* reader who is alleged to be anti-Eastern. This rhetorical formula increases *The Telegraph* reader's willingness to read the article by resentfully implying the dishonesty of the demonstrators and the disproportionate operation of the march in the sense that only one side of the conflict was demonstrated against, i.e. the US and its allies and not the other side (Iraq). The rhetorical question “...why did Saddam get no stick?” implies that the peace march demonstrations only represented the illegality of the war and displayed scornful demonstrations against the US leadership and its allies while displaying no opposition “no stick” denouncing the cruelty of the Iraqi leader, on which basis, the paper believes, the war must be waged. As such, in addition to the semantic connotation embedded within the lexeme “stick” which represents the material object to which demonstration posters are attached, a further meaning may be inferred from such selectivity in the headline. That is to say, the selective use of the item “stick” might also suggest the instrument used for whipping if interpreted literally particularly as the attitude towards the subject, i.e. Saddam, preceding such an object becomes clearer further in the text which adds a rhetorical power at such a semantic level.

Clearly, headlines are designed to invite readers' early interest in material expressing opinion by exploiting various rhetorical devices. They are utilised to



imply various propositions through succinct and expressive use of rhetoric which the above *Telegraph* headline demonstrates. Hence, the employment of rhetorical questions is a powerful means of creating a motivating departure point with such rhetorical concessions that can be also expressed as a relation of unexpectedness between propositions that incites a reader's curiosity to find out (the contra-expectation) in the light of some other propositions (the concession) as the following *Independent* headline shows:

President Bush **is right** to condemn Iraq's treatment of captured soldiers - but his outrage **rings hollow**

*The Independent*, (25/03/2003), (Appendix C).

It is interesting to note that the title features an early authorial stance of evaluation marked by the lexical item **right** which carries an evaluative function and meaning. This headline conveys what the central message of the text might be, i.e. the president's outrage. In this clause, motivation is manifested in the second part which expresses unexpectedness (expressed by "but") between the two propositions in the headline containing the adjectives **right** vs. **hollow**.

#### 5.4.2 Prelude

The lengthy headline begins with the approval of one act of the president's and ends with the disapproval of another. The headline might have been intended to gain a Western reader's initial positive reception of the editorial. The reader is left with no hint whatsoever on what "hollow" might imply unless he/she reads on. However, the reader expects the text to be centred on the second part which implies a mismatch between two actions of the president's (i.e. as his condemnation is justified, his outrage is unjustifiable). Obviously, phrasing the headline as such creates a stimulating effect and more suspense than if the headline simply read: 'President Bush's outrage over Iraq's treatment of captured soldiers rings hollow' which is an understatement and has less stimulation for the Western reader in general and *The Independent* reader in particular. In other words, the alternative reading may suggest that there is only something wrong with the president's outrage, which might result in an unfavourable reading to a

Western reader. Therefore, to acquire the reader's attention and enthusiasm to read on, the original headline appears to suggest first and foremost the right stance of the West as represented by the president of the world's most powerful nation, i.e. the US.

In addition, another aspect of the president is presented cynically by the particular choice of the verbal phrase "rings hollow" which expresses a cognitive relation of contradiction in terms of legitimacy, being "right" (valid) versus "hollow" (inapt). Expressing such unexpectedness between propositions is a recurrent feature in *The Independent's* editorial headlines. It is a feature that proves powerful in establishing the acceptability of the piece and also arouses readers' curiosity to seek further information on the main argument of the opinion article, hinted at in the headline and communicated in subsequent propositions. Such communication with the argument is firstly brought forward by the prelude, which introduces the text's topic as an argumentative issue, the discussion of which follows below.

#### **5.4.2 Prelude**

The prelude is the proposition(s) in which the writer introduces the text's topic that makes it worthy of comment and also hints to the reader of how the text will develop. Typically, as the reader begins to read a text, he/she has expectations about what might happen in the text later and the coherence relation of the prelude fulfils the reader's need for such an element, otherwise it may lead the reader to drop the text at an early stage which, in turn, does not fulfil the writer's aim. A text which leaves no idea of how it might develop would not be properly engaging for readers as it might be poorly informative (Hoey 2001: 20).

Although the prelude in opinion discourse is the introductory proposition(s) to the text's main argument; it may or may not be the opening lines of the text. Such opening lines of opinion texts or editorials are usually dramatic

and emotionally expressive of the author's personal experience and attitude towards an issue (though the prelude might still be expressed in emotive language). The prelude functions as a logical introduction to the topic of the opinion article besides it offers a brief description of why such an issue is worth addressing.

Ostensibly, every media genre has a clear purpose for its production. For example, some are meant to inform, like news stories; some to entertain, like films and TV series; others to persuade as is the case with advertisements, editorials and opinion columns. Hence, as any product featured in an advertisement is accompanied with a comment about why it is worth purchasing, (which could be the sleek appearance of a watch, the hand-crafting of an ornament, the soothing effect of an aroma oil etc.), so do opinion articles. They include a proposition(s) indicating their value which is normally triggered by a particular situational context and hinted at in the title.

One of the features of the prelude relation is that it usually appears in a declarative form characterised by straightforward propositions and, in some cases, may include reference to the main participant(s) in the text; and above all, it unpacks some of the headline's vagueness. This reflects the fact that headlines in commentary texts are normally representations of the prelude relation but they are not necessarily valid representations of the lead as is the case with news stories (Bell 1998: 83).

Considering *The Independent* editorial above from (25/03/2003) for instance, the headline alone "President Bush is right to condemn Iraq's treatment of captured soldiers, but his outrage rings hollow" might suggest that the text would address the issue of the Iraqi prisoners held in American custody at that particular time. Yet, not until sentence (22) in the seventh paragraph will readers have found what the disclaimer in the headline "but his outrage rings hollow" refers to:

(22) The removal of hundreds of prisoners to Guantanamo Bay, however, and their subsequent treatment there, constitute one of the reasons why the Bush administration lost so much of the foreign sympathy that flowed to it after the attacks of 11 September. (23) It also contributes to the international unease that made it so difficult for President Bush to build a truly broad coalition for the war on Saddam Hussein.

*The Independent*, (25/03/2003).

Only by reading the prelude segment (S22) of *The Independent's* text above is the subject matter of the text introduced. Only then, the unexpectedness between Bush's acts in the headline "is right to condemn", versus "...his outrage rings hollow" are comprehended; besides it unravels some of the uncertainty in the title. In the above propositions forming the prelude, the grounds on which the president's outrage is unjustified are explained i.e. "the removal of hundreds of prisoners to Guantanamo Bay..., why the Bush administration lost so much of the foreign sympathy..." Such propositions introduce the main thematic argument of the editorial and from then on it follows by constructing other related propositions which at the same time construct the other levels in the rhetorical structure.

Although the prelude is meant to introduce the argument of the text which readers expect to appear early in the opinion text, in the above *Independent* headline, it appears more than half way through the editorial, a tactic through which the author aims to achieve a thoroughly persuasive effect. Such delay results in providing a contextual parallel assessment of both parts of the argument addressed in the headline (i.e. assessing the president's rightful justification in contrast with his outrage). Therefore, providing a balanced assessment in the aforementioned instance could justify such delay in introducing the prelude which might also result in creating suspense. Indeed, an element of suspense is a key rhetorical ingredient in persuasive discourse such as opinion and editorial articles that is also present in Arabic language newspapers as the following article demonstrates.

A few days after the war on Iraq in March 2003 started, the chief editor of *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, gave his article the following headline:

و هل يجوز تصوير الأسرى العراقيين؟

And is it legal to **broadcast pictures of Iraqi prisoners?**

Abd al-Rahman al-Rashid, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, (25/03/2003).

In a context related to *The Independent's* editorial above, this *al-Sharq al-Awsat* opinion (Appendix C), also addresses the issue of captured soldiers and prisoners. In conjunction with the effectiveness of the rhetorical question discussed previously, although the rhetorical question in this headline does not require an answer, the author offers an introduction to why he addressed this particular topic (i.e. broadcasting pictures of Iraqi prisoners) as a worthwhile argument. After a personal, lengthy and sentimental introduction, which creates suspense, al-Rashid introduces the issue with a direct conditional clause and states the following:

(4) فاذا كان عرض الاسرى الاميريكيين في حوزة العراقيين على شاشات التلفزيون عملا غير قانوني، فلماذا لا يقال الشيء نفسه عندما عرضت صور الاسرى و القتلى العراقيين في ام قصر قبل ثلاثة ايام.

Abd al-Rahman al-Rashid, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, (25/03/2003.)

If **broadcasting pictures of captured American prisoners** on television screens is considered an illegal act, why then is **the broadcasting of pictures of Iraqi prisoners and casualties** in Umm Qasr, three days ago, regarded otherwise?

Rephrasing the headline, the conditional clause in the above propositions featuring the prelude is followed by another rhetorical question (the first appeared in the headline) which might have been meant to emphasise the paradox in the American conduct regarding their prisoners of war versus the Iraqis'.

The ironic question in the headline assumes shared attitudes driven by nationalism. This is the key to attracting the reader at a time of controversy regarding the broadcast of war prisoners' photos. The writer's strategy in maintaining relations with his readers is demonstrated in his presentation of the rhetorical question that is echoed in the prelude. The propositions contained in the prelude above embody assumptions of shared values which can be difficult for Arab readers to dispute (i.e. the broadcast of Arab (the Iraqis) prisoners' photos, by US media, particularly when it is accompanied by the US' outrage regarding the broadcast of their prisoners' photos by Arab media). Thus, shared ideological beliefs contribute to urging readers' agreement with the 'nationally unacceptable' and disproportionate American attitude regarding the broadcast of Our and Their photos of war prisoners which increases readers' interest in the text's subject matter.

This element of cultural and social identity in *al-Sharq al-Awsat*'s editorial is the author's key in gaining a readership for his opinion. Al-Rashid aimed to arouse the reader's sense of 'Arabness' through demonstrating American conduct as nonsensical in relation to Iraqi prisoners which he urges readers to perceive as intolerable. Despite international belief in the brutality of Iraq's leadership, the writer here is rallying on the sense of 'Arabness' regardless of the nationality background of Our prisoners. Therefore, by denouncing the American treatment of Iraqi prisoners, he calls for Arab unity in despising such acts of a nation represented as a superpower and claiming adherence to international laws which he refers to in the opening of his editorial:

(2) كنت أتوقع أن يأتي النقد ضد محطات التلفزيون العربية في جوانب أخفقت فيها، مثل احتكار وجهة النظر لصالح الحكومة العراقية، و التحريض المتعمد لإلهاب مشاعر الناس. و لكن ما أثار حفيظة الحكومات الغربية و كذلك المؤسسات الحقوقية و الإعلامية ضد وسائل الاعلام العربية هي صور الاسرى الأمريكيين، معتبرين ان عرضها على شاشات التلفزيون مخالفة خطيرة لاتفاقية جنيف الدولية، التي تلزم الدول المتحاربة بقواعد في التعامل مع الأسرى.

Abd al-Rahman al-Rashid, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, (25/03/2003).

I expected criticism to fall on the Arab Television channels in relation to their partiality in presenting only the Iraqi regime's perspective as well as arousing the public's sentiments. However, what has triggered the Western media's fury was the broadcast of American prisoners' photos considering such an act a blatant violation of the Geneva Convention which imposes certain laws in regards to prisoners of war.

The author here incites both resentment against an Other, i.e. the US, for its disparity during the struggle with Iraq; and sympathy for Iraqi prisoners, as Arabs, in an attempt to arouse nationalism. Equally, such nationalism also has a presence in British newspapers in relation to the broadcast of war prisoners' photos; however, they did so in a different manner.

Addressing the issue of the Guantanamo prisoners instead of Iraq's as the matter of *The Independent's* (25/03/2003) text above: "President Bush is right to condemn Iraq's treatment of captured soldiers, but his outrage rings hollow" for example, may reflect the author's national identity in the sense that only the US was in charge of Afghanistan's prisoners, and not the British. This is presented by the use of nouns and/or pronouns referring to the US, its president and administration (e.g. Sentences "(18) The fact is that Iraqis are not the only foreign combatants in US custody"; "(22)...the **Bush's administration** lost much of the foreign sympathy"; "(23) ...made it so difficult for **President Bush** to build a truly broad coalition..."; and "(26) **The American authorities** resisted all efforts by foreign governments and human rights organisations to have **their** 'detainees', as **they** term them, recognised as prisoners of war", *The Independent*, (25/03/2003).

In addition, because Britain was a major ally to the US in its conflict with Iraq, again, the editorial emphasises the impossibility of any UK violations taking place in such a conflict; and that the British forces, along with the American's, treat prisoners in nothing "(13) ...other than exemplary fashion in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of the Geneva Convention" which is, in a way, enforced by the newspaper's insistence on the legitimacy of the conflict.

Furthermore, not only is half of the article devoted to enforcing the flawlessness of US and British forces, the editorial, rephrasing the headline, still mitigates president Bush's behaviour, which reveals a sense of cultural identity: "(17) For all his pledges that the US would treat Iraqi prisoners of war humanely, however, Mr. Bush's words rang **just a little hollow**", *The Independent*, (25/03/2003). Such sense of culturalism justifies the author's reservation in utterly criticising the American president despite listing his administrations' violations regarding the Guantanamo prisoners which are regarded by an opinion column<sup>1</sup> in the Arabic newspaper, *al-Quds al-Arabi* on (26/03/2003) as 'scandalous breaching' of the Geneva Convention.

Additionally, the prelude of *The Independent's* editorial above (25/03/2003) shows pride in such cultural identity by emphasising the justice of the American president as a Western leader, first by addressing him with his proper last name and title, while only addressing the Iraqi president by his full name with no title "Saddam Hussein" or as "the Iraqi regime" and "Baghdad". Apparently, such a way of addressing a country's leader may reflect, not only disregard for such leader, i.e. the Iraqi president, but also the racial boundaries created politically between the Western world and Iraq. Furthermore, unlike the *al-Sharq al-Awsat* editorial above, *The Independent's* editorial, as mentioned previously, denies any violations on the part of the British and Americans against the Iraqi prisoners:

(13) Now, there are no grounds at all for fearing that the several thousand Iraqis said to have been taken prisoner by US and British forces are being treated in anything other than **exemplary fashion, in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of the Geneva Convention.**

*The Independent*, (25/03/2003).

The hypothesis of possible ill-treatment of Iraqi prisoners by British and American forces is completely refuted (this of course was before reports on

<sup>1</sup> Krichen, M. (26/03/2003), *al-Quds al-Arabi*:  
<http://www.alquds.co.uk:8080/archives/pdf/2003/03Mar/26MarWed/Quds19.pdf>;



American and British violations of Human Rights against Iraqis in Abu Ghraib prison which emerged one year later<sup>2</sup>). The denial is expressed in clear and transparent language based on the writer's personal opinion that is also expressed in (S16) containing a presupposition (highlighted) attributing 'correct' treatment of prisoners to British and American forces:

(16) We must hope that the American and the British forces **continue to treat their prisoners correctly**, however many of them there may ultimately be and however great the temptation to do otherwise.

*The Independent*, (25/03/2003).

This statement (16) reflects the newspaper's endeavour to maintain a positive representation of the respective culture despite the reservations mentioned in the prelude with regards to the US' president.

The above discussion of the prelude level in the structure of opinion discourse demonstrates the role of this element in linking the headline with the body of the text. Nevertheless, readers still require a sense of intellectual judgement and an assessment of the argument. This is normally expressed in the other levels of the rhetorical structure to which I turn next, irrespective of order. Therefore, evaluation is the next level to be examined.

#### 5.4.3 Evaluation

In this level of the rhetorical structure, the author presents a proposition(s) thereby expressing his value judgement regarding the factuality or the desirability of another proposition(s) stated in the opinion text. Labov and Waletzky state that "unevaluated narratives lack structural definition" (cited in Cortazzi and Jin 2000: 107). To that effect, Hunston and Thompson (2000: 5) define evaluation as the

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.un.org/apps/news/storyAr.asp?NewsID=10964&Cr=Iraq&Cr1=&Kw1=abu+ghraib&Kw2=prison&Kw3=>

writer's expression of his/her attitude or position towards, opinion on or feelings about propositions or entities in relation to his/her text. Although evaluation in texts is not confined to a particular position in narratives, here the focus is on evaluation after the argument has been put forward which would normally form the theme of the text that has been hinted at in the headline, as well as introduced in the prelude. Labov and Fanshel suggest that evaluation may overlap other elements of the structure causing a delay in the narrative while, at the same time, holding readers in suspense, anticipating what is to come (cited in Cortazzi and Jin 2000: 107). At the evaluation level, two functions are normally performed and they may do so simultaneously: opinions are expressed where writers reflect the value of their culture and community; and relations between writers and readers are built and maintained (Thompson and Hunston 2000). Evaluation also contributes to the organisation of the discourse, which accounts for a third function of the evaluation level in the rhetorical structure.

The purpose of investigating evaluation in opinion discourse in conflict times is that they are simply meant to express opinions and convince readers to take the same position. Thus, there are different acts of evaluation and each of them expresses a communal value system (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 6); and each goes towards building that value system which, in turn, is the component of the ideology which lies behind every text.

Evaluation in texts provides us with descriptions of arguments or participants throughout the text and is not confined to one particular part of it. Labov uses the term 'point' to refer to the point of the discourse that is manifested in the evaluation part of a narrative discourse (cited in Thompson and Hunston 2000: 12). Thompson and Hunston (2000), however, mention several points where evaluation tends to cluster in narrative discourses. They list five positions: the abstract, the beginning of the narrative, the coda, the end of the narrative, and just before the narrative denouement. However, the evaluation level in the rhetorical structure falls after the argument of the text has been introduced; this usually takes place at any point after the prelude.

Moreover, it is relevant here to touch upon Sinclair's notion of the 'planes of discourse' on which his model of evaluation in text relies (Hunston 2000: 176). It is not my object to delve rigorously into such a notion, but reference to such planes of discourse will be bypassed in the course of the discussion of evaluation. Sinclair distinguishes between the interactive and the autonomous planes of discourse. In his model, on the interactive plane, the writer indicates and signals to the reader how a particular proposition contributes to the global meaning of the text. It is the interaction between the writer and his/her reader which the text reflects and constructs at this plane (cited in Hunston 2000: 176). For a writer to signal a counter-expectation, within propositions for instance, he may use the conjuncts, *however* or *but* for instance, to separate consecutive sentences which indicate to the reader that what is stated before the conjuncts is a concession and what follows is an assertion (Thompson and Zhou 2000: 132). This use of conjuncts marks the relationship between neighbouring propositions and illustrates 'the interactive plane'.

On 'the autonomous plane', the text is viewed in terms of its contents and of what it conveys about the world and its entities (Hunston 2000: 176): whether the death of someone is an *accident* or a *crime*, whether a referee is *partial* or *impartial* and so on. In other words, to Sinclair, the former plane is about the text's construction, while the latter is about the text's contents. However, I would prefer to describe the interactive plane as the relationship between propositions within a text, while the autonomous plane is the relationship between the text's propositions and the world.

I will attempt to examine the evaluation and the remaining parameters of the proposed structure, by concentrating on two editorials from the collected Arabic and British newspapers samples. The selection of these two samples is based on the papers' related situational contexts and because of their methods in employing authorial stance. The Arabic piece is taken from *al-Quds al-Arabi*, the headline of which appeared in the nominal phrase: حرب ظالمة وغير أخلاقية (Unjust and Immoral War), *al-Quds al-Arabi*, (20/03/2003). The British piece is taken

from *The Telegraph* and is headlined in the prepositional clause: “In This War of Civilisation, the West Will Prevail”, *The Telegraph*, (8/10/2001).

It must be emphasised here that examining the discourse of opinion of British and Arabic papers does not necessarily mean that the British and the Arabs are in explicit political conflict, nor does it mean that the British and the Arabs share mutual hostility to one another due to, for instance, linguistic or geographical boundaries. In fact, the Arab-British relations in post-colonial period were generally characterised by mutual friendliness and affability. Unfortunately, at times when the world is politically divided into two wings, ideological discrepancies impose themselves, resulting in each side, driven by its communal ideological adherence, being led to struggle with its like for representing its values and beliefs as the ideal while dismissing the Other’s values and beliefs. In most cases, this kind of conflict takes the shape of a war of words. The task of the following discussion is to unveil the representation of beliefs and values through scrutinising evaluation schemes underlying opinion discourse.

The significance of the two editorials mentioned above is that they are both written in a transparent language, making it easy to account for the authorial stance. Also, both bear conservative ideological loyalty to their inherent beliefs and values. Specifically, *al-Quds al-Arabi* bears a conservative identity characterised by its loyalty to issues of Arab nationalism while being ever-critical of Western and Arab political leaders and the poor handling of Middle Eastern issues by foreign politics. *The Telegraph*, on the other hand, represents the right wing and is characterised by its loyalty to the West and alleged commitment to an anti-East stance.

To allow an adequate investigation of the two papers, I have organised the discussion by presenting the different parameters of the rhetorical structure exemplified from each text in turn. These two pieces were selected particularly for their similarity in form and content which make them perfect models of the rhetorical structure. By looking at the structure of *The Telegraph’s* and *al-Quds*

*al-Arabi's* editorials below as a whole, it can be observed that they are constructed from all the levels in the structure, though in a different order, which make the propositions constituting them form the summary of the text's plot.

I shall present below a translation of the extracts featuring the six parameters of the rhetorical structure as presented in the Arabic editorial preceded by the original extracts, while the British extracts, featuring the same parameters follow, shortly afterwards. I have highlighted the propositions (according to the colour codes provided in Chapter 4) to reflect the basis on which the writers of the articles build their structure:

حرب ظالمة و غير أخلاقية  
**Unjust and Immoral War**  
 Abd al-Bari Atwan, Chief Editor, *al-Quds al-Arabi*,  
 (20/03/2003).

#### Prelude:

لا أحد يتوقع أن يكون العراق المحاصر، المجوع، المخذول من أشقائه العرب ، نداً **للالة العسكرية الأمريكية الجبارة التي تستهدف تدميره ووضعته تحت الاحتلال، ولكن من حقنا أن نتوقع مقاومة عراقية تتناسب مع مكانة هذا البلد وتاريخه الحضاري العميق.**

(1) No one expects Iraq, the besieged, the starved, and let down by Arab Nations, to be militarily comparable to **the gigantic American war machine which aims at its destruction and occupation**; (2) we can expect **however**, an **Iraqi resistance that suits this land's profound historical civilisation and status.**

#### Background:

(4) **القوات الأمريكية الغازية ستسيطر على أجواء العراق، و سيكون لها اليد الطولى على الأرض، فهي تمتلك أكبر قوة جبارة في التاريخ، القديم منه و الحديث، (5) ولكن علينا أن نتذكر دائما أن نهاية الامبراطورية الفرنسية النابليونية بدأت على أبواب عكا، بينما بدأ انهيار الإمبراطورية السوفيتية على أيدي المجاهدين الأفغان.**

(4) **The American invading forces will have air supremacy over Iraq and it will possess the power on the ground for it represents the world's most superior power in all history.** (5) **However**, we have to remember always that **the end of the Napoleon French**

**Empire started at the gates of Acre while the fall of the Soviet Empire began in the hand of the Afghan mujahedeen.**

#### **Evaluation:**

(6) مسؤول عراقي قال لي بالحرف الواحد أن العراق على دراية بالفارق الهائل في الامكانيات العسكرية بين بلاده و أمريكا، مثلما يعرف جيدا مايمكن ان تسقط على بلاده من قنابل و صواريخ امريكية، (7) ولكنه اعد العدة للصمود و المقاومة، وبوصلته في هذا المضمار هو الشعب العربي الفلسطيني، وتجربته البطولية في مواجهة الدبابات والطائرات وآلة الدمار الإسرائيلية، سواء عندما صد العدوان الإسرائيلي على بيروت او في عملياته الاستشهادية في فلسطين المحتلة.

(6) An Iraqi authority has literally said to me that Iraq is aware of its disproportionate military capabilities compared to America's, as it is well aware of what might be inflicted on it by missiles and bombs, (7) nevertheless, it has prepared for resistance and steadfastness following the footsteps of the Palestinian Arabs and their heroism in confronting artilleries, aircrafts and the terrorist Israeli destructive machine both by forcing the withdrawal of the Israeli aggression on Beirut and by their martyrdom operations in the occupied Palestine.

#### **Evidence:**

(11) القوات الأمريكية متفوقة جوا و تستطيع ان تنتصر في الحروب التقليدية، (12) ولكن تجاربها في المدن فاشلة تماما، فقد هربت هذه القوات من مقديشو بعد سقوط 19 جنديا، وانسحبت من بيروت بعد اول عملية استشهادية اودت بحياة منتين من المارينز. وعجزت كليا عن خوض معارك تورا بورا، وأقلت الشيخ اسامة بن لادن وانصاره من يدها و هي على بعد خطوات منه.

(11) The American forces have air supremacy and are able to win conventional wars, **but its experience on the ground is completely unsuccessful.** (12) These forces have fled from Mogadishu following the loss of 19 soldiers and withdrew from Beirut following the first martyr operation, the casualties of which were 200 marines and totally failed to confront battles in Tora Bora, when Bin Laden and his supporters managed to escape where they were only few steps away.

#### **Anticipation:**

نقف في خندق الشعب العراقي، بامكانياتنا المتواضعة، ونضم صوتنا الى أصوات مئات الملايين من الشرفاء في العالم الذين يعارضون هذه الحرب الظالمة وغير الأخلاقية، ولعمري ان من يقف في خندق الشعوب وضد الظلم والاستكبار هو المنتصر دائما.

(23) We humbly stand at the side of the Iraqi people and we join the honourable millions who oppose this unjust and immoral war, (24) and

indeed **victory is ever due to whomever stands with the people against injustice and haughtiness.**

Abd al-Bar Atwan, Chief Editor, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, (20/03/2003), (Appendix C).

In This War of Civilisations, the **West Will Prevail**

John Keegan, Defence Editor, *The Telegraph*, (08/10/2001).

#### Prelude:

(12) Samuel Huntington, the Harvard political scientist, outlined in a famous article written in the aftermath of the Cold War his vision of the next stage hostilities would take. (13) Rejecting the vision of a New World Order, proposed by President Bush senior, he insisted that **mankind** had not rid itself of **the incubus of violence**, but argued that it would take the form of conflict between cultures, in particularly between **the liberal secular culture of the West** and **the religious culture of Islam**.

#### Evaluation:

(16) If I thought Huntington's view had a defect, it was that he did not discuss what I think are the crucial ingredients of any Western-Islamic conflict, their quite distinctively different ways of making war. (17) **Westerners fight face-to-face on stand-up battles, and go on until one side or the other gives in.** (18) **They choose the crudest weapons available, and use them with appalling violence, but observe what, to non-Westerners may well seem curious rules of honour.** (19) **Oriental by contrast, shrink from pitched battle, which they often deride as a sort of game, preferring ambush, surprise, treachery and deceit as the best way to overcome an enemy.**

#### Background:

(21) The difference in styles of warfare is borne out by **the facts of military history.** (22) **Western warfare had its origins in the conflicts of the citizens of the Greek city states who fought to defend the strictly defined borders of their small political units.** (23) **Beyond their world the significant military powers, however, were the nomads, whose chosen method was the raid and the surprise attack.** (24) **Once they acquired a superior means of**

mobility, in the riding horse, they developed a style of warfare which settled people found almost impossible to resist.

**Evidence:**

(29) The last exponents of **Nomadic warfare, the Turks, were not turned back from the frontiers of Europe until the 17<sup>th</sup> century.**

(30) **Thereafter the advance of Western military power went unchecked.** (31) **One Islamic state after another went down to defeat, until in 1918 the last and greatest, the Ottoman Empire, was overthrown.** (32) **After 1918 the military power of the Western world stood apparently unchallengeable.**

(33) **The Oriental tradition,** however, had not been eliminated. (34) **It reappeared in a variety of guises, particularly in the tactics of evasion and retreat practiced by the Vietcong against the United States in the Vietnam War.** (35) **On September 11, 2001 it returned in an absolutely traditional form.** (36) **Arabs, appearing suddenly out of empty space like their desert raider ancestor, assaulted the heartlands of Western power, in a terrifying surprise raid and did appalling damage.**

**Anticipation:**

(51) **September 11 was a declaration of war.** (52) October 7 was the declaration of a counter-offensive. (53) **The counter-offensive will prevail.**

John Keegan, Defence Editor, *The Telegraph*, (8/10/2001), (Appendix B).

Firstly, at a quick glance at the two samples above, interestingly, it is strikingly noticeable that both writers rely on the strategy of emphasising Our good and Their bad attributes in relation to past and present incidents. Apparently, this is imposed by the situational context of each article. That is to say, the Arabic article appeared as the paper's reaction to the military strikes on Iraq which it views as illegitimate; while *The Telegraph's* appeared as a rationalisation of the attack on Afghanistan being carried out as a response to the attacks on the US on September 11 of 2001.

Secondly, on examination, in the two editorials above, we find that in, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, evaluation appears after a historical background has been given, presenting historical events favourably. In *The Telegraph*, however, evaluation



takes place right after the prelude. Furthermore, both writers present the view of a political expert to support their arguments. Evaluation in each text is determined by its relation to the previous level. In other words, evaluation in opinion text is not only about spotting what authors generally think of a particular culture or an individual; it is also about their assessment of previous propositions.

### Prelude

(1) لا أحد يتوقع أن يكون العراق المحاصر، المجوع، المخذول من أشقائه العرب ، نداءً للالة العسكرية الأمريكية الجبارة التي تستهدف تدميره ووضعه تحت الاحتلال، (2) ولكن من حقنا أن نتوقع مقاومة عراقية تتناسب مع مكانة هذا البلد وتاريخه الحضاري العميق.

(1) No one expects Iraq, the besieged, the starved, and let down by Arab Nations, to be militarily comparable to **the gigantic American war machine which aims at its destruction and occupation**; (2) we can expect **however**, an **Iraqi resistance that suits this land's profound historical civilisation and status**.

Chief Editor, *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, (20/03/2003).

The prelude of the Arabic text (sentence 1) above, emotively introduces the text's argument with a reminder of the delicacy and fragility of the In-group's military condition in the current conflict, i.e. the imbalance in military power between Iraq and the US. To elicit sympathy, the author, a Palestinian immigrant in the UK, expresses the In-group's stance as victims not only as his own perspective, but also as an inclusively shared opinion signalled by لا أحد (no one). This particular introduction to the text's subject matter might have been intended to stimulate the Arab reader's interest in the piece i.e. by demonstrating the overwhelming victimisation of the In-group, aided by the emotive use of the words محاصر (besieged), مجوع (starved) and مخذول (let-down) which again emphasise the injustice and immorality of the war on Iraq (reflected also in the headline). This prelude, in fact, constitutes an assumption representing and re-stating other propositions in the text which account for the objective behind the text i.e. the hope of victory despite the vulnerability to defeat which is expressed in the clause: (however, an Iraqi resistance that suits this land's profound historical civilisation and status)

resistance that suits this land's profound historical civilisation and status) and which is echoed differently throughout the text.

The prelude of the *Telegraph* also makes reference to the vulnerability of the Western culture as long as a particular enemy is left loose:

**Prelude:** (12) Samuel Huntington, the Harvard political scientist, outlined in a famous article written in the aftermath of the Cold War his vision of the next stage hostilities would take. (13) Rejecting the vision of a New World Order, proposed by President Bush senior, he insisted that **mankind** had not rid itself of **the incubus of violence**, but argued that it would take the form of conflict between cultures, in particularly between **the liberal secular culture of the West** and **the religious culture of Islam**.

John Keegan, Defence Editor, *The Telegraph*, (08/10/2001).

The author, in the above extract, introduces the text's subject matter (Sentence 12) by his reference to a well-known political expert, Samuel Huntington, offering a positive evaluation of the expert's position in the Western world '...the Harvard political scientist...' (i.e. scientists are highly regarded and also Harvard is a renowned US academic institute). This is meant to credit highly this political figure. Interestingly, the information offered to readers, whether the information given is known or unknown to him/her, may lead to their acceptance of the author's position which eases the reception of the contained message.

Furthermore, the reference to Huntington's famous article, and relating its situational context to a present one, makes this editorial highly interactive. In the above *Telegraph* editorial, the author communicates his views of the world through the intertextuality factor, i.e. the standard of textuality proposed by De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981). They comment that if any of the standards of textuality are not met in a given text, the text is then considered non-communicative. The above *Telegraph* editorial is dependent largely on the knowledge of the Harvard political scientist's article 'Clash of Civilisation' as it

constitutes the starting point of the editorial which serves successfully in fulfilling the communicative process of textuality (particularly for being a relevant material with regard to the cultures participating in the conflict). Therefore, as far as the reader is concerned, this *Telegraph* editorial seems to meet the requirements of textuality on the coherence level. Seen from such a point of view, such fulfilment of the textuality standards makes this article a communicative one and this, in turn, facilitates the rhetorical structure to a better effect.

The positive evaluation of the political scientist in the above British sample is a prerequisite for the author's approval of Huntington's proposals in respect to his vision of conflicts between cultures. The text's rhetorical representation is launched from this introduction as it well represents the plot of the text: the nature of the conflict which is clearly stated in the last sentence of the prelude "(13)... it would take the form of conflict between cultures, in particularly between the liberal secular culture of the West and the religious culture of Islam." The last proposition in the prelude of this editorial and in its Arabic counterpart is the foundation for the evaluation.

The following extract represents the evaluation parameter of the Arabic editorial:

### Evaluation

(6) مسؤول عراقي قال لي بالحرف الواحد أن العراق على دراية بالفارق الهائل في الامكانيات العسكرية بين بلاده و أمريكا، مثلما يعرف جيدا مايمكن ان تسقط على بلاده من قنابل و صواريخ امريكية، (7) ولكنه اعد العدة للصمود و المقاومة، وبوصلته في هذا المضمار هو الشعب العربي الفلسطيني، وتجربته البطولية في مواجهة الدبابات والطائرات وآلة الدمار الإسرائيلية، سواء عندما صد العدوان الإسرائيلي على بيروت او في عملياته الاستشهادية في فلسطين المحتلة.

Chief Editor, *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, (20/03/2003).

(6) An Iraqi authority has literally said to me that **Iraq is aware of its disproportionate military capabilities compared to America's**, as it is well aware of what might be inflicted on it by missiles and bombs, (7) **nevertheless**, it has prepared for resistance and steadfastness following the footsteps of the Palestinian Arabs and

**their heroism in confronting artilleries, aircrafts and the terrorist Israeli destructive machine both by forcing the withdrawal the Israeli aggression on Beirut and by their martyrdom operations in the occupied Palestine.**

Evaluation here is etched with the author's national identity which continues to mark the text. For instance, after a brief introduction concerning the expected Iraqi resistance (تتناسب مع مكانة هذا البلد وتاريخه الحضاري العميق (...that suits this land's historical civilisation and status) stated in the prelude, the writer provides an assessment of the proposition on which the theme of the text is centred. The author expresses his own great expectations through reference to a political figure representing Arab culture as one side of the conflict with which the author apparently stands.

The chief editor uses the Iraqi authority's words (Iraqi authority...has literally said to me) signalled by the adverbial 'literally' to reassure the Arab audience opposing the war of the possibility of victory against the US. This is expressed in the propositions (6) العراق على دراية بالفارق الهائل في الامكانيات العسكرية بين (6) Iraq is aware of its disproportionate military capabilities compared to America's, as it is well aware of what might be inflicted on it by missiles and bombs,..(7) Nevertheless, it has prepared for resistance...] which demonstrates the preparedness of the Iraqis to engage in the struggle and to achieve victory despite the military supremacy of the US. The author's confidence in his group's cultural power is repeatedly emphasised whenever Iraqi and Arab fighters are mentioned.

Interestingly, this cultural pride is also constantly present in *The Telegraph's* editorial. After the text's subject matter is introduced in the prelude, the writer engages in evaluating its contents. In the following evaluative extract, while the Editor explicitly discredits the enemy's fighting style, he also proudly endorses the bravery and honour exhibited by the Out-group during war:

**Evaluation:**

(16) If I thought Huntington's view had a defect, it was that he did not discuss what I think the crucial ingredients of any Western-Islamic conflict, their quite distinctively different ways of making war. (17) Westerners **fight face-to-face on stand-up battles**, and **go on until one side or the other gives in**. (18) They **choose the crudest weapons available**, and **use them with appalling violence**, but **observe** what, to non-Westerners may well seem curious **rules of honour**. (19) Orientalists by contrast, **shrink from pitched battle, which they often deride as a sort of game, preferring ambush, surprise, treachery and deceit** as the best way to overcome an enemy.

First of all, the author gives a personal evaluation of the previous propositions twice by the use of the pronoun 'I'. This reflects the author's confidence in his own opinion as an expert and in his proposal to present 'crucial ingredients' of any Western-Islamic conflict. Second, an evaluation of the In-group is expressed in the declarative statement "(17) **Westerners fight face to face, in stand-up battles and go on until one side or the other gives in**".

In other words, Westerners are overtly evaluated with descriptions which suggest bravery and courage, demonstrating steadfastness in the battlefield and displaying decency and honourable conduct, characteristics that are not shared by the non-Western enemy "(18)...observe what, to non-Westerners may well seem curious rules of honour." Contrastingly, only disgraceful and dishonourable charges in the following propositions are laid at the door of the enemy's culture i.e. the culture of Islam or Orientals who do not observe such rules of honour because they are non-Westerners. Similarly, this technique of striking at the Out-group is equally observed in *al-Quds al-Arabi*.

Perhaps, out of prejudice, each newspaper represents its own side as embracing the rightful military spirit and ability to win the struggle. Even the tremendous inequality of weaponry between Iraq and the US, the author of *al-Quds al-Arabi*'s editorial regards as irrelevant when military skills are borne in mind. These are skills the enemy lacks: أن العراق على دراية بالفارق الهائل في الامكانيات العسكرية بين بلاده و أمريكا (...Iraq is aware of its disproportionate military capabilities

... ولكنه اعد العدة للصمود و المقاومة، وبوصلته في هذا المضمار هو (compared to America's,...) ...  
 (...Nevertheless, it has prepared for resistance and steadfastness following the footsteps of the Palestinian Arabs and their heroism...).

The above statement in the evaluation level is divided into two coherence relations signalled by the disclaimer 'nevertheless', which in itself has an evaluative function on the interactive plane (Hunston 2000: 176). The first part in sentence (6) أن العراق على دراية بالفارق الهائل في الامكانيات العسكرية بين بلاده و أمريكا ، مثلما (6) sentence (...Iraq is aware of the disproportionate military capabilities compared to America's, as it is well aware of what might be inflicted on it by the US missiles and bombs...) acts as a concession embodying the cultural acknowledgement of the enemy's power and military capabilities which is then trivialised by the second part.

However, the second part of the proposition following 'nevertheless' demonstrates Iraq's readiness to defend itself against its enemy **ولكنه اعد العدة للصمود** (...it has prepared for resistance and steadfastness), which is also enforced by historical supplement:

(7) ... و بوصلته في هذا المضمار هو الشعب العربي الفلسطيني، وتجربته البطولية في مواجهة الدبابات والطائرات وآلة الدمار الإسرائيلية، سواء عندما صد العدوان الإسرائيلي على بيروت او في عملياته الاستشهادية في فلسطين المحتلة.

(7)...., following the foot steps of the Palestinian Arabs and their **heroism in both confronting** artilleries, aircrafts and the **Israeli destructive machine** both by **forcing the withdrawal** of the **Israeli aggression** in Beirut and by their **martyrdom operations** in the occupied Palestine.

Both propositions (6 and 7) act as assertions of each other, suggesting the In-group's firm resistance and steadfastness. Such characteristics are normally regarded as positive descriptions of fighters in military ground combat which

American fighters, as an Out-group, lack (Sentence 11, which will be examined in the following level of the structure).

The author of the above *al-Quds al-Arabi* editorial also offers an evaluation of the sides engaged in the conflict, i.e. the West and Iraq. He uses modifiers which have only negative connotations: *مدمرة* (destructive) and the noun *العدوان* (aggression) to demonise an Out-group, (i.e. 'Israel'). More precisely, (destruction) and (aggression), like many other unfavourable characteristics, are nouns expressing negative properties attributed normally to the Out-groups and denied to the In-groups.

On the other hand, the writer uses positive descriptions to describe the actions of the In-group: *المقاومة* (resistance) *الصمود* (steadfastness) *البطولية* (heroism), *عمليات استشهادية* (martyrdom operations) which carry positive connotations and suggest bravery, righteousness and the justice of cause in defeating aggression. Furthermore, the writer makes an indirect evaluation in a form of presupposition in relation to members in the In-group, i.e. 'Palestinian Arabs', who show 'resistance' and 'steadfastness'; it is emphasised by the phrase *تجربتهم البطولية* (their heroism) which Iraqis are expected to follow. Such speculations, however, preceded the overthrowing of Iraq's government and the fall of Baghdad as a result, in April 2003.

In the *Telegraph*, by contrast, the author first evaluates Huntington's view as one which has a defect, i.e. for not mentioning the Western-Islamic ways of making war. Furthermore, on the autonomous plane, it negatively represents the enemy, as does its Arabic counterpart. The non-Western enemies here are described as unfit to confront their opponent; rather, they "shrink from pitched battle" which suggests cowardice and weakness and that they 'prefer ambush, surprise, treachery and deceit'. All of this vocabulary is designed to demonise the other side as cowardly and devious and to suggest that their conduct at war is devilishly unequal to that of the West.

Both editorials employ counter-evaluation in their own favour where *The Telegraph's* In-group, for instance, becomes an Out-group in *al-Quds al-Arabi* and vice versa. Moreover, both aim at creating a stereotypical view of the other side to encourage a sense of enmity on the part of the paper's respective culture, a purpose which the authors aim to fulfil in such texts. Evaluating the In-group and the Out-group is at the core of the evaluation level in opinion discourse during conflicts with other nations. This feature is clearly present in these editorial pieces.

The authors of both articles, in *The Telegraph* and *al-Quds al-Arabi* seem to reflect an unforeseen vision on which their texts are based. Both make an assumption that is then followed by the author's own evaluation. This is further emphasised by offering a background in relation to the situational context and the participants in it, with evidence to support the author's suppositions. This is then concluded with each author's anticipated outcome as a solution to the situational context. Providing evidence, by which readers are invited to conceptualise and deduce judgment, is one of the rhetorical relations in the structure which marks a successful opinion piece in war time.

#### **5.4.4 Evidence**

At this level, writers provide a proposition(s) to increase the reader's assurance of another proposition(s). In opinion articles, this assurance would normally demand references to names, figures and materials which provide proof of the claims, assumptions and evaluations made by authors. Because an opinion commentary is meant to manipulate readers to adopt the writer's position, providing evidence is crucial to gain the intellectual approval of its propositions.

Since people of the cultures involved in a conflict are intuitively inclined to believe in the justice and rightfulness of their nation's decision-makers and in the injustice of the Other's, authors of opinion normally endeavour to assert and



confirm this belief. One of the ways commentators operate to convince readers of the Out-group's iniquity is providing evidence using the Out-group's wrongfulness to aid the author's personal evaluation of the matter and/or participants.

After the second war on Iraq in March 2003, *al-Ahram* newspaper contained a sarcastic opinion piece with the headline! الخزي لك يا بوش! (Shame on you, Bush!) denouncing the US in waging such a war on Iraq. The regular columnist in the paper, Salama Ahmed, made his own assessment of the situation on the battlefield a few days after the commencement of the air strikes. After mocking the US for its astonishment at the Iraqi resistance, he then presented the opinion, which he himself apparently shared, of a famous American film director disapproving and criticising his own President's judgment. This was meant to add credence to the writer's evaluation of the war affair:

(6) و كانت النتيجة الطبيعية لذلك حين ظهرت صور الأسرى الأمريكيين على شاشات التلفزيون، أن زادت نقمة الشعب الأمريكي نفسه على بوش و سياسته، و لم يملك مخرج الأفلام الوثائقية الشهير مايكل مور من أن ينتهز فرصة توزيع جوائز الأوسكار لكي يكيل الإتهامات و الإنتقادات الحادة للرئيس بوش. و يتهمه بأنه يعيش في زمن وهمي و يحارب لأسباب و همية.. و يختم كلماته التي أذاعتها فضائيات العالم بقوله: نحن ضد الحرب يا بوش والخزي و العار لك يا بوش!

Salama Ahmed, Regular Columnist, *al-Ahram*, (26/03/2003).

And such a broadcast of American prisoners increased the Americans' fury against their President's policy, leading the famous director of documentary films, Michael Moor, to launch a harsh attack on the President, during the Oscar prize ceremony, accusing him of his misjudgement and illusion in this war, ending his words by saying 'we are against the war, Bush, **and shame on you Bush**'.)

In the extract above, containing evidence concerning the previous argument, Ahmed presented two statements of Moor's own disdainful opinion of the American President and expressed it as a shared US national consensus. He used the pronoun نحن 'we', i.e. the American people, stating: نحن ضد الحرب (we are against the war). This was followed by a nominal phrase, also attributed to the film director, which the author borrowed for the title of which to entitle his

article, perhaps to reflect his concurrence with Moor's view of the President, a view which the columnist wished his readers to share. However, whether these were the exact words of the director or not cannot be known unless readers were aware of such a broadcast of the Oscar ceremony<sup>3</sup>, which the author confidently referred to as an internationally televised event and which witnessed the director's verbal attack on the American President.

The columnist's purpose in his reference to such a celebrity is to provide a neutral and unbiased account for the credibility and validity of his preceding propositions in which he himself explicitly criticizes the American policy:

(1)... لتؤكد من ناحية أخرى أن الحرب الأمريكية غير المبررة توشك أن تتقلب بالوبال و الهزيمة على الرئيس بوش وإدارته

(2) لقد توقع الأمريكيون أن تستقبل قوات الفتح الأمريكية بالأحضان و الورود من الشعب العراقي, و لكن المفاجأة المذهلة كانت في المقاومة العنيدة التي قوبلت بها القوات الأمريكية من الجيش و فصائل المقاومة بل و من أفراد الشعب العراقي...

Salama Ahmed, *al-Ahram*, (26/03/2003).

(1)...the unjustified American war is likely to result in the mortification and the defeat of Bush and his administration.

(2) The Americans expected their forces to be greeted with flowers by the Iraqis, instead they were astonished with the obstinate resistance, not only of the army and the resistance fighters, but also of the Iraqi people themselves...

Of course, the above propositions might have meant to increase the Arab reader's resentment against the American President who causes anger amongst his own people. Accordingly, this is also meant to demonstrate his unlawful lack of judgment and irrationality, locally and internationally, in respect to the war on Iraq that is echoed throughout the text.

<sup>3</sup> <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/film/2879857.stm>

In the light of the *Telegraph* (8/10/2001) and the *al-Quds al-Arabi* (20/03/2003) editorials discussed above, both papers attempt to validate their arguments by reference to particular events that took place in the past. To add credibility to his evaluation of the (cowardly and treacherous Islamic enemy), the author of *The Telegraph's* article, for instance, documents his views by narrating dated events so as to enforce his opinion of the enemy's weakness and treachery:

(29) The last exponents of **Nomadic warfare**, the Turks, were not **turned back** from the frontiers of Europe until the 17<sup>th</sup> century. (30) Thereafter **the advance of Western military power went unchecked**. (31) One **Islamic state** after another **went down to defeat**, until in 1918 the last and greatest, **the Ottoman Empire, was overthrown**. (32) After 1918 **the military power of the Western world** stood apparently **unchallengeable**.

(33) **The Oriental tradition**, however, had not been eliminated. (34) It reappeared in a variety of **guises**, particularly in the **tactics of evasion and retreat** practiced by the Vietcong against the United States in the Vietnam war. (35) On September 11, 2001 it returned in an absolutely traditional form. (36) **Arabs**, appearing suddenly out of empty space like their **desert raider ancestor, assaulted the heartlands of Western power**, in a **terrifying surprise raid** and **did appalling damage**.

John Keegan, Defence Editor, *The Telegraph*, (8/10/2001).

Keegan, makes reference to the Turks' withdrawal from the frontiers of Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, followed by the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1918. Determined to obtain the approval for his opinion, he also refers to the most recent assault on 'the heartlands of Western power' which took place a few weeks prior the date of the article, i.e. 11 September, 2001. Reference to these events is meant to validate the author's early evaluation of the enemy's nature and style of warfare by relating the present to corresponding events that took place at some point in time.

Similarly, Atwan, the chief editor of *al-Quds al-Arabi*, also provides propositions by which he aims at authenticating his previous arguments. After re-emphasising his group's awareness of the superiority of the US in terms of

military power, he affirms the US' fragility and strongly rejects the possibility of its success on ground battles by narrating the failure of the US in past conflicts.

(11) القوات الأمريكية متفوقة جوا و تستطيع ان تنتصر في الحروب التقليدية، (12) ولكن تجاربيها في المدن فاشلة تماما، فقد هربت هذه القوات من مقديشو بعد سقوط 19 جنديا، وانسحبت من بيروت بعد اول عملية استشهادية اودت بحياة مئتين من المارينز. وعجزت كليا عن خوض معارك تورا بورا، وأفلت الشيخ اسامة بن لادن وانصاره من يدها و هي على بعد خطوات منه.

Chief Editor, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, (20/03/2003).

(11) The American forces have air supremacy and are able to win conventional wars, **but its experience on the ground is completely unsuccessful.** (12) **These forces have fled from Mogadishu following the loss of 19 soldiers and withdrew from Beirut following the first martyr operation, the casualties of which were 200 marines and totally failed to confront battles in Tora Bora, when Bin Laden and his supporters managed to escape where they were only few steps away.**

The editor mentions names of states and makes reference to the Other's historical defeats including numbers of casualties to give credence to the hypothesis he proposes concerning the In-group's probable victory. He scornfully relates that the US forces' (following the loss of 19 soldiers) (fled from Mogadishu) (فرت من مقديشو) (following the loss of 19 soldiers). He also relates (the loss of 200 marines which led to the US' withdrawal from Beirut); (انسحبت من بيروت بعد اول عملية استشهادية اودت بحياة مئتين من المارينز) and finally he refers to the last nearest conflict, in reference to the war on Afghanistan, where the US (failed to confront battles in Tora Bora) (عجزت كليا عن خوض معارك تورا بورا) in an attempt to track down Bin Laden who was said to have caused the attacks of 11 September.

It is rather interesting to see the parallel pattern of providing evidence in the above two newspapers samples. The mode of validating the text's arguments relies heavily on the severe censure of the Other in relation to historical events and figures. At this level of the structure, opinion writer would expect the reader's trust to have been strongly established in him/her and perhaps in his/her message

in return. However, both writers provide such gloss of history from their personal accounts without affirming and averring their sources of such accounts.

The information enclosed within the evidence level of the rhetorical structure is by all means constructive as it distinguishes a well-written editorial from a poor one. It indulges the reader and values his/her intellect and allows his/her own judgment and scrutiny to be activated. However, even whether the information is partially or impartially selected, may not be possible to verify by the majority of readers who intuitively trust media channels to educate them. Nonetheless, sometimes, the validity of opinion writers' historical 'verification' can rely greatly on the intertextuality in which the author's own evaluation of the contents of the text plays a key role in determining the validity of the evidence presented. The same also applies to the validity of the background level of the rhetorical structure which is discussed in the next section.

#### **5.4.5 Background**

A background relation is a coherence relation in which a proposition(s) is provided as information that is essential to the proper understanding of some other proposition(s). In opinion columns and editorials, this relation is usually present, allowing readers to comprehend and understand the author's motive in stating certain propositions. For example, if a particular text exhibits an argument about the different disadvantages of genetically modified foods, its author would need to provide information on the reasons behind such warnings, such as providing information on past incidents when the consumption of such products has caused hazardous effects. In a way, this relation may be confused with the previous evidence relation. Nevertheless, the background is not necessarily accompanied by any verification, such as an attribution to time, sources or people, for example, as is required in the evidence relation. Furthermore, propositions providing background information on a particular conflict occur at any time after

the prelude as these might precede or follow the evaluation, depending on the organisation of the text.

To exemplify the presence of the background relation, I intend to refer again to the Arabic *al-Quds al-Arabi* (20/03/2003) and the British *The Telegraph* (8/10/2001). Both editorials in the two papers provide an account of history, the background contents of which are not possible to verify unless readers' knowledge of the world is engaged. In many cases, however, this does not affect the reader's reception of the text as intended by the author.

The background propositions in *The Telegraph* follow the author's personal evaluation of the difference between the 'honourable' Western and 'dishonourable' Islamic styles of warfare which is the central argument of the evaluation level of the text as a whole. The writer then supplements this evaluation with what seems to be an historical account which he proposes artlessly as having a consistent connection with the present to persuade readers to accept his previous propositions. In the background level, the writer states the following:

(21) The difference in styles of warfare is borne out by **the fact of military history**. (22) **Western warfare** had its **origins** in the conflicts of the citizens of **the Greek city states** who **fought to defend** the strictly defined borders of their small political units. (23) Beyond their world the significant military powers, however, were the **nomads**, whose chosen method was **the raid and the surprise attack**. (24) Once they acquired a superior means of mobility, in the riding horse, they developed a style of warfare which **settled people** found almost impossible to resist.

John Keegan, Defence Editor, *The Telegraph*, (8/10/2001).

*The Telegraph's* Defence Editor provides the above information to enforce his previous argument by using a glimpse of history which he explicitly proposes as an historical fact. Though it cannot be known if this narrative did actually take place, he signals his historical supplement by the words: 'origins', 'the nomads', and phrases like: 'the fact of military history', 'the citizens of the Greek city

states' with the assistance of verbs indicating the past 'fought', 'acquired', 'developed'. These fragments of history are employed favourably so as to reflect the 'goodness' of the In-group: 'the citizens of the Greek city states who fought to defend'; and the 'badness' of the Out-group: "the nomads, whose chosen method was the raid and the surprise attack". Moreover, because readers may be invited to recollect the existence of states like 'the Greek city' and the way of life of 'the nomads', they are led to be convinced with the remainder of the proposition, particularly when history is presented as having something to say about the matter. This makes the writer's whole view indisputable, as is the case in *al-Quds al-Arabi's* editorial.

In his *حرب ظالمة و غير أخلاقية* (Unjust and Immoral war), the author provides the reader with a brief background of history of which he assumes his reader to be aware. After proposing, in the prelude, his assumptions concerning the probability of Iraq's victory (despite its military insufficiency) in its struggle with the US (which possesses a gigantic war machine) he goes on and attempts to put forward foundations for such an assumption. In the following extract, which features the background level of the rhetorical structure, the writer adds a disclaimer suggesting that great empires of the past still lost in their struggles with ill-equipped warriors:

(4) **القوات الأمريكية الغازية ستسيطر على أجواء العراق، و سيكون لها اليد الطولى على الأرض، فهي تمتلك أكبر قوة جبارة في التاريخ، القديم منه و الحديث، (5) ولكن علينا أن نتذكر دائما أن نهاية الامبراطورية الفرنسية النابليونية بدأت على أبواب عكا، بينما بدأ إنهيار الإمبراطورية السوفيتية على ايدي المجاهدين الأفغان.**

(4) **The American invading forces will have air supremacy over Iraq and it will possess the power on the ground for it represents the world's most superior power in all history.** (5) **However,** we have to remember always that the **end of the Napoleon French Empire started at the gates of Acre** while **the fall of the Soviet Empire began on the hand of the Afghan mujahedeen.**

Abd al-Bari Atwan, Chief Editor, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, (20/03/2003).

The author here narrates his account of history as facts. He starts his background supplement with a concession demonstrating the military superiority of the Out-group, in terms of military readiness, to engage in conflict with the In-group. Next, he makes an assertion, which functions as a denial of the statement before marked by *however*, in the form of a recollection علينا أن نتذكر دائما (we always have to remember), of historical events: (the end of the Napoleon French started at the gates of Acre) **عكا** **بدا** **نهاية الامبراطورية الفرنسية النابليونية** **بدا** **على أبواب عكا** and (the fall of the Soviet Empires began on the hand of the Afghan mujahedeen) **بدا** **انهيار الإمبراطورية** **السوفيتية** **على ايدي المجاهدين الأفغان**. Determined, the author here narrates a favourable account of history which is not only meant to represent the In-group's bravery and courage in dispelling such powerful empires, but also to ridicule various Out-groups of the past and the present (i.e. the French, the Soviet Empires and the US).

Moreover, the editor uses the pronoun (we) to suggest that the upcoming information is intuitively shared by his readers. This leads the reader to be inclined to accept such a proposition regardless to its unconfirmed nature. Besides, he refers to the names of specific Out-groups i.e. empires which had actually experienced tragic political falls in the past, accompanied by the name of a town: **عكا** (Acre), located in a land belonging to an In-group and reference to In-group fighters, (Afghan mujahedeen). All the information contained in the disclaimer loosely implies that (the end of the Napoleon Empire) was as the result of confronting resistance 'at the gates of (Acre), apparently by the In-group inhabitants, just as the (hand of the Afghan mujahideen) caused (the fall of The Soviet Empire). The reader's encounter to such artless narration may result in his/her approval of the entire text and its contents.

In the background level, readers of opinion articles and editorials establish a good understanding of the text's objectives as they may feel assured in accepting its contents as long as historical correlation exists. The author's realisation of the effect of history in adding credibility to the propositions is utilised persuasively in favour of effectiveness and manipulation leading to readers' approval of the author's ideological position which continues to be



imposed until the author's recommendations and resolution are put across through the following anticipation level.

#### 5.4.6 Anticipation

Anticipation is a coherence component of the rhetorical structure of editorials and opinion columns in which a proposition(s) is presented as information expressing the author's expectations or his/her anticipated hopes or fears in relation to the main argument of the text. Normally, this would surface near/or in the closing paragraphs of the opinion discourse, though sometimes it might emerge earlier in the text. I shall examine this level by considering once more *The Telegraph's* (08/10/2001) and *al-Quds al-Arabi's* (20/03/2003) editorials above.

In *al-Quds al-Arabi's* editorial *حرب ظالمة وغير أخلاقية* (Unjust and Immoral war), the writer explicitly expresses his position concerning the present conflict which is also repeatedly echoed throughout the text and which the following lines also express: *نقف في خندق الشعب العراقي، بإمكانياتنا المتواضعة* (we humbly stand at the side of the Iraqi people), *ونضم صوتنا الى أصوات مئات الملايين من الشرفاء في العالم الذين يعارضون هذه* (we join the honourable millions who oppose this unjust and immoral war), followed by his self-assured anticipation: *...ان من يقف في خندق الشعوب وضد الظلم والاستكبار هو المنتصر دائما* (...indeed victory is ever due to whomever stands with the people against injustice and haughtiness). The author here confidently anticipates the In-group's triumph in the current conflict which suggests the righteousness of the Iraqi people with whom the author wishes to ally himself.

(23) *نقف في خندق الشعب العراقي، بإمكانياتنا المتواضعة، ونضم صوتنا الى أصوات مئات الملايين من الشرفاء في العالم الذين يعارضون هذه الحرب الظالمة وغير الأخلاقية، ولعمري ان من يقف في خندق الشعوب وضد الظلم والاستكبار هو المنتصر دائما.*

Chief Editor, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, (20/03/2003).

(23) We humbly stand by the Iraqis' side and we join the honourable millions who oppose this unjust and immoral war, (24) and indeed **victory is ever due to whoever stands with the people against injustice and haughtiness.**

The anticipation relation here is marked by the tense indicating the present: 'we stand', 'we join...who oppose', and the future 'victory is ever due to whoever stands' indicating both the present and the future. The author's anticipation here is a mixture of wishes and expectations emphasising his belief in his theory of winning through steadfastness and perseverance, despite the In-group's insufficient military power.

Similarly, in the final paragraph of *The Telegraph's* editorial, the editor, provides an overview of the text's argument within which his anticipation is stated:

(51) **September 11 was a declaration of war.** (52) October 7 was the declaration of a counter-offensive. (53) **The counter-offensive will prevail.**

John Keegan, Defence Editor, *The Telegraph*, (8/10/2001).

In the propositions preceding the anticipation relation, the author reiterates the plot of the editorial in which he incessantly censures the enemy who is charged with causing the tragedy of September 11, 2001 as a declaration of war on the West. Then he presents his optimistic expectations with regards to the war on Afghanistan which began on October 7 of 2001. This is described as a "counter-offensive", which he ardently and assertively anticipates to be in favour of the In-group. In other words, the author affirmatively asserts the certainty of the In-group's triumph: **the counter-offensive will prevail**, i.e. the nations of the West will prevail. Clearly, it is interesting to observe the identical approaches of the two editorials above in establishing a construction to their arguments that are rhetorically well-formed. The effect of the opinion on readers with such strategy is therefore highly upgraded to be persuasively manipulative.

Moreover, as has been discussed, the anticipation relation in the above two examples is demonstrated in the form of optimistic expectations and assuredly realistic assumptions, both in which the authors' pride and the sense of cultural identity play a major role in enhancing the coherence of the opinion text and, as a result, the message contained in its rhetorical structure. In addition, the coherence of the rhetorical structure becomes clearer as the anticipation level emerges in both editorials. In other words, the coherence of the opinion line is steadily as well as equally presented throughout the structure, i.e. in both articles, the enemy or the Out-group is disdainfully presented while the In-group is reverently portrayed.

And as the two pieces above demonstrated, and as the anticipation level surfaces, it is observed that the structure manifests the core semantic content of the text's argument which is also presented in relation to different time line which is embedded within the various levels of the structure. That is to say, the motivation and the prelude and also the evaluation levels may be expressed in relation to present circumstances for instance; while the background and evidence may be related to past incidents, whereas anticipation may be communicated in terms of warnings, expectations, proposals and/or recommendation that are, most of the time, related to the future which may be signalled grammatically or semantically in the text.

To demonstrate such a notion, the following brief discussion contains different propositions extracted from the total of four Arabic and British editorials after the emergence of the September 11 event, in which the anticipation level is manifested. Such discussion tends to briefly illustrate the effectiveness of the anticipation relation in offering solutions and/ or recommendations regarding a conflict dilemma. Thus, anticipation, in the following extracts, is presented in the form of the respective Arabic and British newspapers' recommendations for the future after the attacks on the World Trade Centre took place on September 11.

I shall present two British and two Arabic extracts from the newspapers' leading articles which appeared within the first week of the September 11 attacks

on the US. The extracts feature the anticipation relation of the rhetorical structure and each demonstrates the respective paper's impulsive perspective post the attacks. One Arabic newspaper's extract is followed by a British one, a brief discussion of each follows afterwards. The propositions representing the anticipation will be highlighted as to pinpoint each paper's future outlook, though other interpretations may be inferred as well.

...فان الموقف المسؤول الذي يجب ان تتخذه الجهات المسؤولة في الغرب هو التنبيه الى خطورة تهيج مشاعر رجل الشارع في اتجاه معين، وعلى نحو يمكن ان يؤدي الى مشاكل او تحريض ضد بعض الجنسيات و الديانات. يجب التريث في توجيه الاتهامات حتى تتضح الحقائق كاملة، كما ينبغي ان تكون هناك توعية للرأي العام بان الارهاب ليست له جنسية، و انه حتى لو كانت هناك مجموعات ارهابية تنتسب الى فئة معينة، فانه لا يصح التعميم...

*Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, (13/09/2001).

...**The attitude that must be adopted** by Western authorities is **to realize the risk associated with provoking the public's reaction** against particular races or religions. **Self-control must be exercised before charges are laid** and until reality prevails, **the public must also be made aware that terrorism is not manifested in a particular race**, even if some terrorists happen to be of a particular ethnic group, yet, **generalisation is not right...**

Through the anticipation proposition(s), each of the four editorials offers suggestions on how the very conflict should be managed. It is interesting, to observe how such recommendations regarding the conflict in an Arabic newspaper match a British counterpart. In other words, by examining the highlighted anticipation propositions of *al-Sharq al-Awsat's* extract above and *The Independent's* below, for example, it is clear that their recommendations regarding the conflict involve calls for reasoning and avoiding generalisation as to prevent further complications, although wrapped with some hesitation and uncertainty in the *al-Sharq al-Awsat's* extract above, without clear reference to any participants.

The propositions reflecting anticipation are highlighted in all four extracts which are marked by the present or future tense:

whereas, *The Independent* clearly directs its counsel to the US president and suggests that:

**...Wars must be won with the right weapons and with the right aims.** For the sake of his presidency as much as the peace of the world, **Mr. Bush must state those clearly and simply.** In time, he may well find it **necessary to distinguish between terrorists and those who harbour them.**

*The Independent*, (13/09/2001).

*Al-Ahram's* anticipation lies in its recommendation to setting up the means to confronting terrorism, as well as it highlights the importance of establishing international consensus in such regard which are addressed in the propositions:

إن العالم العربي أبدى استعدادا كبيرا للتعاون لمواجهة خطر الارهاب الدولي، و يبقى أن تتم صياغة سبل المواجهة من خلال إجماع دولي يسمح بالتوصل إلى سياسات طويلة المدى تقضي على الإرهاب.

*Al-Ahram*, (17/09/2001).

The Arab world has sufficiently expressed willingness to confront international terrorism, and what remains **is setting up the means by which it is confronted, through international consensus leading to long-term policies set to eliminating terrorism.**

*The Times'* anticipation, however, though insists on establishing a coalition, i.e. "the grandest of coalitions must be forged", no reference to the means is

presented, rather it implies a warning if such coalition is not forged to eliminate the threat of 'terrorism', i.e. "...if evil is not to prevail":

...Mikhail Gorbachev famously said that in ending the Cold War he was doing something terrible to the West, depriving it of its enemy. The enemy today is Moscow's, Western Europe's, America's and the law-loving worlds. Against this monstrosity, **the grandest of coalitions must be forged if evil not to prevail.**

*The Times*, (12/09/2001).

By demonstrating the anticipation level of the rhetorical structure, I intended to reflect two points. The first is to mark the coherence of the opinion on local and pragmatic levels. That is to say, in terms of satisfying the communicative purpose of the text in fastening the rhetorical structure; besides, attempting to provide a positive contribution to the conflict affair, rather than only pinpointing dilemmas. The anticipation level of the opinion texts are signalled by propositions indicating time such as the present tense and/or future as the highlighted extracts above demonstrated. Therefore, the significance of the anticipation level can be underlined by its place in the structure which performs a rhetorical function, without which opinion discourse during conflicts may not be as effective.

## 5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the rhetorical structure of opinion discourse during political crisis between the West and the Arab-Muslim cultures. The structure proposed, has been analysed in the light of the narrative discourse pertaining to opinion texts and editorials of Arabic and British newspapers, as it has

demonstrated the presence of six levels from which the structure is constructed i.e. motivation, prelude, evaluation, evidence, background and anticipation. Each of these levels plays a role in conveying relevant information and in linking the different parts of the structure together. Moreover, the presence of these features makes a text expressing opinion hang together, enabling the production of a coherent summary of it.

Furthermore, these parameters are interpropositional relations, which are manifestations of text construction. They are investigated in terms of their rhetorical function to the interpretation of the texts of the selected genre and opinion texts and editorials were examined to illustrate the applicability of the structure. The texts were semantically investigated, with reference to syntactic features where relevant. Ideological and pragmatic interpretations were also offered which were imposed by the narrative nature of the opinion discourse.

Moreover, investigating the rhetorical structure of opinion discourse in wartime revealed the authors' socio-cultural identity which tends to surface during such dilemmas. Such an identity tends to surface more clearly as moving down through the structure. The semantic characteristic of the structure links the context with content rather powerfully which allows opinion discourse to achieve its communicative function and makes the opinion coherence of the text's argument more sound and reflective. Interestingly, the quest for such coherence is also a role played by the selectivity of lexemes in the opinion discourse which will be explored in Chapter 6.

## ***Chapter (6)***

### **Lexical Selectivity**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

##### **Lexical Selectivity**

The effectiveness of every communication indeed depends to a great extent on the selection of specific lexical items from the hundreds of thousands that are available to the different users of language (Quirk 1986: 10), and it is here where I believe the power of persuasion primarily resides, .i.e. within 'lexical selectivity' as introduced in Chapter 4. My selection of the term 'selectivity' instead of 'choice', as commonly used in linguistic analysis, actually stems from my belief in the effectiveness of the former over the latter in supporting my opinion. Specifically, although both nouns share a related meaning and can, sometimes, according to dictionaries, be substituted for one another, each carries specific semantic traits that are not shared by the other. Consequently, in my view, 'choice' is normally made according to availability, while 'selectivity' is normally made according to preference. Seen from this point of view, it must be noted that as a unit of communication, single and/or the combination of lexical items in written data, such as editorials and opinion articles, have a remarkable role to play in the semantic representation embedded within the lexemes.

Furthermore, the use of 'lexical' here instead of 'word' is also made because of semantic considerations. The term 'lexical' is a derivation of 'lexis' which is the totality of vocabulary items in any language covering all aspects of the 'word'. This involves word meanings, the relation between words, and the relationships between vocabulary and other areas in the description of language: morphology, syntax and phonology, however, the focus of this research will be confined to word meanings or the 'semantic' word. Linguists prefer to use 'lexeme'



and 'lexis' to refer to the basic units of semantic analysis (Crystal 1997: 104), even though it is traditionally common to talk about 'the meaning of words'. As such, to avoid the obscurity that may result from using the term 'word' when enquiring into semantic representations in texts, 'lexeme' and 'lexical' will be used instead, particularly by bearing in mind that it is lexemes which are usually listed as headwords in a dictionary (ibid). The term 'word' will be used in a general sense and to refer to the graphical unit in the written data.

When planning to communicate by language, one selects the information one wishes to share with the receiving body and to arrange the information in such a way that its topic and focus are clear and attention-grabbing. This process of selecting information is based, chiefly, on considering the 'meanings' of the lexical items selected and not their 'forms'.

## **6.2 Meaning and representation in opinion discourse**

Indeed, the print media of different countries and cultures do not only differ in their settings per se; they vary in a variety of ways. One of the basic differences between newspapers of different cultures is determined by the happenings in the world at certain periods of time which in part dictates the newspapers' reactions to such happenings; these are materialised in the identification, labeling and description of the actions of the different sides of the conflict. More precisely, when two countries are in a conflict, whether on political, social or cultural grounds, the newspaper of each culture endeavours to represent its respective culture as faultless and its rival as wholly guilty. As a result, the newspapers' selectivity in labeling and describing the various groups or individuals involved in a conflict aims at establishing or enhancing a stereotypical image of the groups or the individuals.

Arguably, this is similar to the way in which, within particular societies, certain groups who are physically disadvantaged are discriminately named and

given certain labels which refer to them, such as people with disability for example. In some societies, they are labeled as 'disabled' or 'handicapped'. Inevitably, such a classification might suggest that these groups of people are naturally disqualified and this may lead to the promotion of certain attitudes towards them; i.e. they may be ignored, feared or disliked. Similarly, newspaper discourse also plays a crucial role in constructing and maintaining particular attitudes through the representation of certain groups involved in conflicts, for instance, and this what I will attempt to explore in this chapter.

Basically, language in newspapers plays a powerful role in presenting the world to audiences. Most of the time, this role is fully exploited when the world is inexplicitly, rather than explicitly, presented to an audience. This means that when a particular viewpoint is explicitly presented to an audience, it is easier to resist than when the viewpoint is concealed. In the light of the conflict-related opinion material gathered for this study, this section looks into the way language is used to represent particular groups to promote particular attitudes or to conform to an existing stereotype.

Since the press of different cultures is a product of the cultures they come from, everything that is written in the newspapers has to be transmitted through language. This transmission essentially encodes values into the message. The values represented depend on the nature of the culture or the sub-culture in which the language exists. In the latest political conflicts between the Western world and the Islamic culture, which were triggered by the September 11 attacks on the United States, inevitably, controversial Western and Islamic viewpoints, representing the nature of the conflict and its two sides, predominantly occupied the space of each culture's newspapers. In the early days following the initiation of conflict involving the Western and Islamic Arab cultures, the opinion and editorial section of newspapers, no less than the front pages, were actively occupied with the conflict and they also relied heavily on the manipulative selectivity of lexemes in favour of cultural preservation. Therefore, I find that times of conflict are significant moments to account for the relationship between the cultures in

conflict and it is this I intend to investigate in this chapter via the lexical selectivity.

### **6.3 The conflicts in brief**

Since the conflicts addressed are acknowledged to be between the Western and the Islamic Middle Eastern worlds in the aftermath of September 11 of 2001, the categorisation of groups in this study is therefore assumed to be culturally dictated. In other words, Western cultures and people with their ideological values stand on one side, as Arab Muslim cultures and people with their values stand on the other.

The impact of the September 11 attacks was extensively reported and analyzed in the world press, let alone in the US which was directly affected by the attack. With regard to the Arabic and British newspapers, they exhaustively described the magnitude of the calamity inflicted on the US on the day, though from different perspectives. Hence, this created major political developments between the Muslim East and the West which consequently affected the discourse of editorials and opinion columns of the Arab and the British press thereafter. Largely, the manipulative choice of lexical items plays a remarkable role, particularly in relation to the representation of each conflict and the participants in it.

The editorials of the British papers reflected various attitudes in this particular conflict by exhibiting a variety of stances between calls for revenge and a reasonable response. The Arabic newspapers also featured a mixture of tones, i.e. some expressed the unexpected annihilation inflicted on the might of America, while others expressed fears that the US might retaliate if Muslim figures proved to be involved. Structurally, British broadsheets contained one or more opinion articles commenting on the attacks of September 11 one day following the attacks compared to some Arabic papers which had no editorial's commentaries on the

event until two days later. Nevertheless, the event was still the papers' central issue in the comments and opinion sections for a long time, later extending to other conflicts that took place between the same cultures.

As the US authority launched a military response to the attacks on the World Trade Centre twin towers in its homeland by suspected Islamic figures, the cultural and sociological beliefs of each culture imposed themselves onto the agenda of respective newspapers, though newspapers within a single culture may still view things differently sometimes. As military strikes were in operation in the Muslim country, Afghanistan, some British newspapers deemed it necessary to identify the enemy seen to threaten the Western civilisation. Arabic newspapers of Islamic cultures, on the other hand, viewed the dilemma as part of the unjust foreign policy of the US towards issues relating to Arab and Islamic cultures. Such divergence continued until the US launched a military strike on Iraq, ostensibly to rid it of weapons of mass destruction which, it was feared, would be used by its dictator leader against any part of the Western world<sup>1</sup>. As the bullets were being exchanged in the battlefield, the war of words was also heavily used in the newspapers' courtyard.

#### 6.4 Fields of investigation

The examination of lexical choice will be considered in relation to the strategy of naming and describing the actions of the In-group and the Out-group. Sorting groups into 'In' and 'Out' groups is carried out on cultural, linguistic and religious grounds which are imposed by the conflicts in question. Lexical selectivity will be considered in the light of: the direct naming, labeling and name-calling of groups which is referred to here as the **naming strategy**; and the properties and actions attributed to these different groups, treated under **attribution strategy**. As

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<sup>1</sup> More of the background on conflicts in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 introduced, the attribution strategy discussed here touches upon Van Dijk's ideological square which in his terms is demonstrated briefly as follows:

- OUR people tend to appear primarily as actors when the acts are good while less as actors when the acts are bad;
- THEIR people appear as actors when the acts are bad and less as actors when the acts are good (Bell 1998: 33).

The selection of lexical items referring to the groups in question is aimed to create or enhance an existing stereotypical profile of the values of the Other or the Out-group and the values of the Self or the In-group. The writer's choice of lexemes is meant to manipulate the reader's view of the world and leads the audience to view the world the way the writer does. I will examine the opinion discourse of the sample newspapers to demonstrate the role of the selectivity of vocabulary in representing the conflict and its two sides which may, of course, involve establishing a stereotype about the Other and the Self, hence leading to shaping the relation between culturally and linguistically distinct societies.

The choice of lexis is one of the devices which opinion writers and editors exploit in representing conflicts; these were expressed in one part through the naming strategy. Therefore, in order to highlight the semantic power embedded within the lexemes selected by opinion writers and editors of the British and Arabic newspapers, the words representing them will be colour coded according to: 1) the subject(s) they refer to and 2) the quality of 'goodness' or 'badness' they bear. More specifically, colour coding will be applied according to Table (4.1) in Chapter 4.

#### **6.4.1 Naming strategy**

Names and labels given to the various sides in conflicts can be very important in transmitting ideological values to readers of opinion texts. This

naming strategy has a direct effect on the ideological slant of the text which the newspaper aims to promote that may eventually lead to the credence or dismissal of particular groups from the newspaper's cultural community. As an example, a phrase like 'a group of strong religious faith' might have a much less negative effect on readers than 'a bunch of extremists' which refers to the very same group. The former might, for instance, be interpreted positively as 'disciplined', while the latter might be interpreted negatively as 'irrational',.

The power of naming and labeling people or issues has been discussed as a propaganda method which is extensively exploited, particularly in the field of advertisement, for instance, where persuasion is heavily involved, (Pratkanis and Aronson 2001: 71-79). Also, as indicated previously, since opinion texts and editorials share such persuasive intent as advertisements, (Khalil 2000: 23-24) it is of great importance to investigate such strategies in these texts. As such naming and labeling of groups normally intensifies during conflicts between nations, which is significantly illustrated in Arabic and British newspapers such as *al-Quds al-Arabi* and *The Telegraph*, particularly after September 11 of 2001.

The emphasis on data selected from *al-Quds al-Arabi* and *The Telegraph* is based on their powerful utilisation of the two lexicalisation strategies discussed here. Such utilisation may reflect the extreme position each paper holds, in favour of their respective cultures and towards the conflicts addressed, and it is on this basis that they were selected as suitable samples for the present study.

### ***Persuasive naming strategy at work***

Following the attacks on the World Trade Centre, the language of *The Telegraph* dominantly displayed a tone of resentment and wrath which is reflected, not only in modifying the inferior, violent Out-group but also in displaying the superior, peaceful 'Self'. The Defence Editor and author of the editorial "War to the death between America and Islamic terrorists", September

12 of 2001, (Appendix A) headlined his article with language reflecting the existence of a conflict between two explicitly-named sides “America” and “Islamic terrorists”. He soon identified the enemy as **terrorists** and modified it with **Islamic**, calling for a response against them: “war to the death”. Having named the enemy as “terrorists”, is meant to reflect the very nature of the enemy whose purpose is merely to ‘terrorise’ others for no reason. Thus, labeling the attacks as an act of ‘terrorism’ perhaps meant to emphasise the belief that Islamic fundamentalists are “terrorists”, a stereotype that is usually associated in the West with such a group (Van Dijk 1995), particularly in the Middle East. Furthermore, modifying the “terrorists” with the adjective “Islamic” may possibly enforce a particular ideological position which might reflect a stereotypical view of the “Islamic” religion and cultures in particular, as if acts of ‘terrorism’ are part of the Islamic tradition, as the text itself explicitly expresses.

The other side in the conflict, however, is given a proper naming (“America”) which symbolises power, technology, and, above all, superiority not only over some nations, but over the world at large, as is politically and internationally acknowledged. Naming one side, i.e. the Out-group as “terrorists”, which explicitly connotes wrongfulness, apparently suggests the “righteousness” of the other side, i.e. the In-group “America” even without any explicit modification in the headline. This early choice of lexemes reflects the author’s value judgment and explicit attitude towards the issue, “war to the death”, and the participants which is intended to be shared by the reader. The loaded wording of the headline alone (i.e. war, death, and terrorists) is a foundation for the plot of the whole text so that the reader is left in no doubt about who the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ sides are in the conflict.

Interestingly, *The Times* newspaper, had a somewhat different approach to the events of 11 September. Unlike *The Telegraph* on 12/09/2001, the paper avoided making an instant judgment on who those responsible might be, and only headlined an editorial with the title “Terror for all”, (*The Times*, 12/09/2001) (Appendix A). Again using the lexeme “terror” acknowledges the common

Western attitude to violent acts against their culture as 'terrorism' that, along with its agents, cannot be tolerated. The headline suggests that the event caused "terror" for "all". The inclusive nature of "all" in the headline confuses the reader as to who the participants are: either those who might have caused or those who might have been affected by the "terror". Nevertheless, as the article begins, it clarifies that "all" refers to the West and Western nations. The paper is very careful not to identify the Out-group while clearly identifies the In-group, through the lexeme "all" in the headline; this also subsequently reflects the relatively moderate attitude of the paper compared to the *Telegraph's*.

Moreover, the lexical selectivity in the *Times* editorial above, referring to the responsible body, is designed to reflect that the enemy's side or the Out-group, though yet to be identified, is non-Western, and therefore is modified with different lexical items such as: **ruthless, terrorists, treacherous, murderers, invisible enemies, villainy of outlaw suicide bombers, and evil**, (*The Times*, 12/09/2001). All the names used above to refer to one group suggest the cruelty and wicked aggression which negatively portray the Out-group and urge readers to view the enemy through such depiction.

The impact of the assault on the US is described in *The Times* with a selection of lexical items such as: **deadly, devastating terrorist attacks, avalanche, abstract peril, disaster, national catastrophe, carnage and monstrosity** that caused **terror**, and **turbulence**. All of these descriptions illustrate the cruel nature of the enemy as well as their means of achieving their goals as the paper's lexicalisation suggests.

To reinforce the severity of the assault and the cruelty of the enemy i.e. "Islamic terrorists" believed to have carried out the attacks, the act is described with a selection of nouns such as **catastrophe, onslaught, blitzkrieg, wicked conspiracy, hideous crime, mayhem, bloodiest massacre, cataclysm, ordeal, and declaration of war**, (*The Telegraph*, 12/09/2001). Such listing of nouns to refer to the same or related concepts is regarded by Halliday as overlexicalisation



(Fowler 1996: 218). By such a term, Halliday means the excessive use of synonyms or near synonyms for related concepts so that particular lexical systems and the ideas they symbolise may be foregrounded (ibid : 219).

Communicating such a repetitive selection of nouns describing the one act inflicted by the Out-group aims to establish the ideological values of the Other which can only enforce the message that this particular enemy (“Islamic terrorists”) is wickedly bad; this may indicate the writer's point of view on such participants. Fowler states: “A proliferation of terms in some semantic field indicates an unusual preoccupation with a part of the culture's or the writer's experience...other critical notice of cumulative vocabulary patterns has been more moderate, interpreting them as indicators of theme or point of view” (Fowler 1996: 219). In other words, the use of all the above nouns to express one act enforces the author's message which emphasises the cruelty of the enemy and this attitude is maintained in *The Telegraph* throughout the conflicts between the West and the Muslim cultures.

On the other hand, the response of Our group or (the West) to the aforementioned act against the US on September 11 against such an enemy, is described as a **counter-offensive** in *The Telegraph* on 08/10/2001 (Appendix B) and the conflict here is clearly identified as being a “Western-Islamic conflict” and, at the same time, a “war of civilisation”. The paper suggests that this conflict was triggered by the “Islamic” enemy whose possible motives were hinted at in the article as “anti-Semitism” which the paper believes to be globally practiced i.e. “global anti-Semitism”. The possible motives for the attacks on the US, however, were interpreted differently in the Arab culture and made the theme of many newspapers across the Arab world.

Although the attacks on New York and Washington were strategically described in the editorial of the Arabic newspaper *al-Quds al-Arabi* on 12/09/2001 (Appendix A), with nouns such as “suicide attacks” possibly by Our group which the paper considers as a (terrorist act) عمل ارهابي and therefore

explicitly (condemns) it ندين هذا العمل الارهابي. The editorial actually aims at redirecting the discourse into pinpointing the responsibility of the attacked as the main reason which led to the assaults on the US' major cities.

(7) أفغانستان التي تستضيف بن لادن مدمرة بالكامل و لا يوجد فيها شارع معبد واحد، و الناس يعيشون في ظروف معيشية هي اقرب للعصر الحجري، و فوق هذا و ذلك يعانون **حصارا اقتصاديا امريكيا**. (8) **نأسف** لمقتل **عشرات الضحايا**، و لا نملك الا ان ندين هذا العمل **الارهابي**، لان مثل هذه الاعمال لا يمكن ان تخدم اي قضية مهما كانت عادلة، (9) و لكن في الوقت نفسه نرى ان من واجبنا ان نطالب **المواطن الامريكي** بان يسأل نفسه عن الاسباب التي تجعل سفارات بلاده و مبانيها و مقر وزارة دفاعها مستهدفة بمثل هذه الاعمال **الارهابية** من سفارات و مصالح الدول الغربية جميعا.

*Al-Quds al-Arabi* (12/09/2001).

(7) Afghanistan which hosts Bin Laden is completely ruined where no single paved road exists in which living conditions neare to the Stone Age and above all its people are suffering an **American-imposed economic embargo**. (8) We **lament** the killing of **the tens of casualties** and we can but **condemn** such a **terrorist** act, for such acts would serve no case no matter how just it was. (9) However, at the same time we believe that it is our duty to ask the **American citizen** to enquire into the reasons that threatens the embassies of their country as well as its Ministry of defense with such **terrorist** acts targeting embassies of Western countries as well as their interests.

One way to account for the tentative selectivity of lexemes in the above *al-Quds al-Arabi* extract is to examine it briefly at the side of another Arabic newspaper, *al-Ahram*, for instance, which has a different approach. First of all, the structure of *al-Quds al-Arabi's* editorial above is interesting in the sense that it holds up its lament for the loss of the victims until sentence (9), after a lengthy introduction reflecting on the unexpected impact of the attacks on the gigantic and incomparable military power of the United States.

Conversely, the Arabic newspaper, *al-Ahram's* editorial on 13/09/2001 was headlined: **الإرهاب يضرب بقسوة** , (**Terrorism** Strikes Hard) (Appendix A). The headline, first of all, demonstrates the newspaper's own reflections on the 'terrorist acts' which were carried out against the US which might have caused

'uncountable' loss of lives. The opening of the editorial appears in the following extract with the translation below:

(1) وصلت اعمال الارهاب إلى مدى يتجاوز كل التصورات, فقد وجهت إلى عدد من المنشآت الرئيسية في الولايات المتحدة ضربات قاسية يصعب تقدير حجم الخسائر البشرية و المادية الناتجة عنها, أو التداعيات السياسية التي يمكن أن تؤدي إليها. (2) و أيا كانت الأطراف المسؤولة عما حدث أو الأهداف المجنونة التي دفعت إلى ارتكاب مثل هذه الأعمال المفزعة, فإن ما جرى يشير إلى بدايات مرحلة شديدة الخطورة.

*Al-Ahram*, (13/09/2001).

(1) Acts of terrorism went beyond expectations as they inflicted severe strikes on many major constructions in the United States from which **civilian losses are hard to calculate** as well as financial consequences, let alone the political implications that may follow. (2) Whoever are responsible, and whatever foolish aspirations they have, which led to such terrifying acts, what has taken place indicates the beginnings of a very critical stage.

Second, not only does the *al-Quds al-Arabi* extract above (12/09/2001) suspend its grief for the loss of the victims until the fifth paragraph, it follows its lament by underestimating the number of lives that might have been lost in such a horrifying attack. The newspaper estimates the loss of lives by **عشرات الضحايا (tens of casualties)** whereas the lost lives were estimated as (countless) expressed through the verbal phrase **يصعب تقدير حجم الخسائر البشرية (civilian losses are hard to calculate)** by its Arabic counterpart *al-Ahram*, let alone the British newspapers mentioned above. In the above editorial, *al-Quds al-Arabi* (12/09/2001) prioritises censuring the Out-group (the victim) instead of the In-group (the accused) which places its culture in the position of the attacker rather than the defender. This strategy might frame the Other or the Out-group (the US) as guilty, a technique that is dominantly present during this and other military confrontations with the US which could tell us a great deal about the type of relationship between the two cultures from the paper's point of view.

On the other hand, when Iraq the (In-group) was attacked by the US the (Out-group), the reaction of *al-Quds al-Arabi* was different. Soon after the US military strikes against Iraq began on March 20 of 2003, the rhetoric of the

Muslim world's media in general, became increasingly vitriolic (Booth 2004: 114). *Al-Quds al-Arabi* reacted to such an action by railing, in a tone full of fury and anger, at the Other which was materialised by labelling the Other as **غازي** (**invader**) (as it is nationally believed and since the attack on Iraq lacked the UN approval), who aims at **احتلال** (**occupation**) and **تدمير** (**destruction**) of Our land.

It is true that normally war images in television screens have a manipulative impact on viewers, in the sense that they are more likely to be retained in memory than words that may be easily forgotten (Pfau et al. 2006: 150-168). Nonetheless, the language of newspapers opinion discourse is also powerfully utilized to attain a similar impact on audiences. And because images of war casualties tend to elicit viewers' sentimental reaction and response and accordingly may alter their attitudes to their culture's role in a particular conflict, researches emerge to warn of the power of such a risk (ibid). Being aware of the fact of the power of war photographs, the presence of which in Western media is opposed (as demonstrated in the previous chapter) makes Arabic newspapers particularly *al-Quds al-Arabi*, for example, endeavour to deliver as powerful a portrayal of the conflict as possible by the use of words, thereby challenging Western efforts to restrain the presence of war photographs.

On 22/03/2003, *al-Quds al-Arabi*'s editorial described the military strike on Iraq with nouns that are meant to portray the Out-group as viciously cruel by committing: a **مجزرة** (**massacre**), **حرب إبادة** (**genocide**), **جريمة** (**crime**), in a war that is **غير أخلاقية** (**immoral**), **غير انسانية** (**inhumane**), which signifies **الاستكبار** (**American arrogance**), and **الحقد التدميري الأمريكي** (**destructive American hatred**) and the enemies who are targeting Iraqi people are lexically described as **مجرمو حرب** (**war criminals**), *al-Quds al-Arabi*, (22/03/2003). In addition, the selectivity of lexemes, in the editorial is also marked by the reference to the number of casualties in the two different conflicts. That is to say, the newspaper estimates the Out-group's loss of lives by **عشرات الضحايا**, (**tens of casualties**) as an outcome of Our-group's attack on the US (Them), whereas, the loss of lives among Our group was estimated by **الآلاف** (**thousands**) of lives as a result of the

Out-group's attack on Iraq (Us), which started only two days before. Besides, in the editorial, the newspaper describes the act against the In-group as **مقتل**, (**murder**) by the Out-group, which resulted from the In-group being (**burned or buried under the rubbles**), **حرقاً او ردماً تحت الانقاض**.

Interestingly, both newspapers, *The Telegraph* and *al-Quds al-Arabi*, not only use exaggerative lexical items to pinpoint the bad qualities of their enemies, but also emphasise their culture's victimhood by the Other. This again enforces the rival's brutality which reflects the perspective of each paper that readers are lexically encouraged to share. For instance, in all the latest conflicts with the Other, *al-Quds al-Arabi* not only explicitly describes the impact of the US bombardment of Our group, but also how Our group is a victim of the Other. This becomes clearer as the attack on Iraq takes place.

Such an attitude is demonstrated through the use of lexical items describing Iraq as **محاصر** (**besieged**), **مجوع** (**starved**), whose land, it is planned, will be (**destroyed**) and its wealth (**looted**) by the US, according to *al-Quds al-Arabi's* editorial (20/03/2003) (Appendix C). The paper maintained such a stance towards the conflict and continued even to positively represent the Iraqi leader (Saddam Hussein) as (cooperative), a quality of which he is entirely denied by the US and its allies, including Arab states, which, they say, is the same reason why the US planned and launched such an attack on Iraq, i.e. for being (uncooperative). Such a positive representation of a 'bad' member of Our-group may suggest representing the Out-group rather more disagreeably, perhaps aiming to reflect the US' illegitimate action against Iraq as the following extract illustrates:

النظام العراقي أدار الأزمة حتى هذه اللحظة بنجاح ملقت للنظر، عندما فاجأ الجميع بتعاونه مع فرق التفتيش و قرار مجلس الأمن الدولي رقم 1441.

*Al-Quds al-Arabi*, (17/03/2003).

The **Iraqi regime** has **successfully handled** the situation as he was **unexpectedly cooperative** with the inspection team and the UN resolution of (1441).

عار على الزعماء العرب، أن يكتفوا بتوجيه اللوم الى النظام العراقي، و تحميله مسؤولية كل ما حدث و هو الذي استمع الى نصائحهم و عمل بموجبها و تعاون مع فرق التفتيش و قرارات الامم المتحدة.

*Al-Quds al-Arabi*, (22/03/2003).

It is a disgrace that Arab leaders are content to lay all charges at the Iraqi regime's door and to hold him wholly responsible while he **has acted upon their counseling** and **has shown cooperation** with the inspection team and the UN resolutions.

The positive representation of a member of Our group, Saddam Hussein, as being (cooperative) as demonstrated above, is repeatedly emphasised in the paper, which may create a demonised image of the enemy, the US. That is to say, such credit given to the Iraqi leader may suggest that the US has unjustifiably launched a war on Iraq, despite Saddam's cooperation with the inspectors, (*al-Quds al-Arabi* 17/02/2003, and 22/03/2003). During this very conflict, such positive Self representation of Our group is a tendency also present in opinion columns of *al-Ahram* (21/03/2003), and *al-Sharq al-Awsat* newspapers (25/03/2003). Most of the time this was accompanied by the negative representation of the Other (i.e. the US) with little attention paid to describing Our group's negative history such as Saddam Hussein's crimes of murder, which is the substance of many British papers in describing the Other. The strategy of the two-way presentation is also plainly articulated in *The Telegraph* that is, while demonising the enemy, Our group is flatteringly presented; this falls into Van Dijk's ideological square strategy.

As a paper holding a right-wing stance, which supports Samuel Huntington's views<sup>2</sup>, *The Telegraph*, clearly acknowledges the existence of a

<sup>2</sup> For more information on Samuel Huntington and 'The Clash of Civilisation', see <http://www.alamut.com/subj/economics/misc/clash.html>. and [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel\\_P.\\_Huntington](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_P._Huntington)

conflict where the East with all its various candidates (“Arabs”, “Muslims”, “Nomads”, “Orientals” etc.) stands on one side and the West (Europe and America) on the other. In this way, the paper clearly takes sides through language biased positively in favour of the West. The editorial that appeared following the strikes on Afghanistan was headlined as follows:

In this war of civilisation, the **West** will prevail.

*The Telegraph*, (08/10/2001), (Appendix B).

*The Telegraph's* conservative political stance in describing the enemy relies heavily on the lexical choice in representing the Other through terms which carry non-human associations to refer to groups of people or the processes in which they are involved.

Samuel Huntington, the Harvard political scientist, outlined in a famous article written in the aftermath of the Cold War his vision of the next stage hostilities would take. Rejecting the vision of a new world order, proposed by President Bush senior, he insisted that **mankind** had not rid itself of the **incubus of violence**, but argued that it would take the form of conflict between cultures, in particular between **the liberal secular culture of the West** and **the religious culture of Islam**. Huntington's "clash of civilisations" was widely discussed, though it was not taken seriously by some. Since September 11 it has been taken very seriously indeed.

*The Telegraph*, (08/10/2001).

Selecting the noun **mankind** implies 'human beings' who share human qualities that are not shared by other living species. Selecting the lexeme “mankind” assigned the semantic role of (patient), therefore, proposes to represent the entire 'liberal and secular West' as a victim of the 'religious culture of Islam' which is represented in the phrase **incubus of violence**. Such lexicalisation is also inspired by Huntington's hypothesis of future conflicts in which Huntington states that “a central focus of conflict for the immediate future will be between the West and

several Islamic-Confucian states”<sup>3</sup>. The choice of “incubus”, which personifies violence, is used emotively to emphasise the threat of the enemy (“the religious culture of Islam”) to the West. Similarly, this strategy of name calling is also sometimes observed in *The Times* (09/10/2001).

The West will not be secure until all the **tentacles of terror** have been **cut off**.

Michael Gove, *The Times*, (09/10/2001)<sup>4</sup>.

In the same context, i.e. the war on Afghanistan, the newspaper begins an opinion article under the headline “This conflict cannot be won on one front alone” with the stunning metaphor of **tentacles** to refer to agents of terror in the phrase “tentacles of terror” which again suggests inferior characteristics ascribed to such agents. The use of **cut off** might also literally suggest the need for eliminating the terror threat by force, above any human consideration.

Arguably, the use of lexemes with non-human associations is investigated by Sykes (Van Dijk 1985: 95) in her analysis of discrimination in discourse. Such use, she argues, tends to homogenise its referents. In particular, she explored, for example, the dominance of the term ‘immigrant’ and its derivation in a speech by an English politician Enoch Powell, about people coming from the New Commonwealth countries which may bear derogatory connotations. Considering *The Telegraph’s* use of lexicalisation in the editorial on (08/10/2001), it is observed that there is a tendency to employ excessive use of lexical items by which the paper tends to dominantly and derogatorily represent the Other. The table below (6.1) demonstrates *The Telegraph’s* naming strategy in referring to the Other as opposed to the Self.

<sup>3</sup> See Huntington’s ‘Clash of Civilisations’: Journal of Foreign Affairs: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19930601faessay5188/samuel-p-huntington/the-clash-of-civilizations.html>

<sup>4</sup> Michael Gove, *The Times* (09/10/2001): <http://www.newsint-archive.co.uk/support/db.asp>.



Naming Us	Naming Them
<p><i>The Telegraph</i>  <b>In This War of Civilisation, the West will Prevail</b>            (08/10/2001)</p>	
Mankind	Incubus of violence
Liberal culture of the West	Religious culture of Islam
The West	Islam
Westerners	Non-westerners
Settled people	Horse-riding raiders, Nomads, Orientals, desert raiders, Terrorists
Historic settled people	Raiding Arabs Conquerors of terrifying powers
Settled, creative productive Westerners	Predatory, destructive Orientals
Who farm and manufacture	People of the desert
Western response	Islamic aggression
The West	The East

**Table 6.1** Selectivity in naming the Other and the Self

The above list of names in the right column given to the Other can undoubtedly have a strong negative effect on readers as it will inevitably achieve the goal of demoralising the enemy, during such critical relations, compared to the names describing the Self in the column on the left. Recipients of such methods of communicating viewpoint, i.e. readers, may voluntarily accept the views expressed and agree to the persuasive propaganda, particularly in cases when the text is read with prejudice. Certainly, at times of war between nations, this propagandist use of names and labels is greatly exploited and can sometimes be employed rather implicitly, the use of satire for instance, and this is what *al-Quds al-Arabi* demonstrated in many occasions.

As a response to the bombardment of Iraq on March 20, 2003, *al-Quds al-Arabi* indulges in a war of words through employing the satirical use of lexical

items in exchange for the US military's bombardment. This is illustrated in the following extract:

انها العدالة الامريكية.. انها الديمقراطية الغربية و الرخاء الاقتصادي و الحريات  
التعبيرية التي وعد الرئيس بوش بتقديمها الى الشعب العراقي في مرحلة ما بعد صدام  
حسين.

*Al-Quds al-Arabi*, (22/03/2003).

It is **American justice**, **western democracy** and **economic prosperity** and **freedom of speech** promised by President Bush to Iraqi people in the post Saddam phase.

After giving a graphic description of the destruction inflicted on Iraq and its people by the US attack, the paper scornfully comments that this destruction brings about the **العدالة الامريكية (American justice)**, **الديمقراطية الغربية (Western democracy)**, **الرخاء الاقتصادي (economic prosperity)**, and **الحريات التعبيرية (freedom of speech)** promised by the US president to the Iraqi people. All the noun lexis of 'justice', 'democracy', 'prosperity', and 'freedom', although, are typically positive attainments to any given culture, they are intended here in a pejorative sense and again enforce the title of the editorial: **العدالة الامريكية تحرق العراق (American justice burns Iraq)**. Using these nouns and compounds in the above context (i.e. the war on Iraq) is meant to ridicule the US following its strikes on Baghdad by showing that such destruction represents the American version of (justice), (democracy), (economic prosperity) and (freedom of speech); these terms may also imply the enemy's hypocrisy and dishonesty for breaking the promises they issued before the war on Iraq. Such a selectivity of lexemes only creates a negative image of the Other, especially after describing on (22/03/2003) the US attack as a **مجزرة (massacre)** and **حرب ابادة (genocide)**...etc. The naming strategy here displays the critical attitude towards the US policy that is apparent in the overall satirical tone of the *al-Quds al-Arabi's* editorial.

A question here raises itself regarding the reason behind the negative attitudes each newspaper has towards the culture of the Other. Apparently these

attitudes are reflections or rather manifestations of each culture's inherited beliefs and values. Facilitating language to expose such attitudes is certainly a productive way of pinpointing the essence of divergence, but the question is: does negative labeling and name-calling of the Other serve to resolve struggles between nations or are they just a means of expressing anger and resentment?

It may not be fully possible to identify and assess the objectives behind negative labeling of the Other in such an unspecialised piece of work, but it may be helpful to pinpoint two major observations pertaining to the Arabic and British newspapers' negative naming and labeling of the Other. The samples of the lexical items employed in naming the Other in the *al-Quds al-Arabi* and *the Telegraph* newspapers above are observed to achieve propaganda on two different levels. By this I mean that some of the lexical selectivity is either ideologically or contextually driven.

In the case of the Arabic newspaper *al-Quds al-Arabi* for example, the particular choice of the majority of lexemes is employed as a reaction to the course of the events at a particular time and the climate in which the events were taking place, i.e. the context of occurrence. Such a case can be exemplified by the paper's use of (**American arrogance**), and (**destructive American hatred**), (**war criminals**), (*al-Quds al-Arabi* 22/03/2003). The writer selects resentment-filled lexemes: (arrogance), (destructive), (hatred) and (criminals) to refer to the US' use of military power against an agonised country which is implied particularly by the use of (**besieged**) and (**starved**), (*al-Quds al-Arabi* 20/03/2003). The situational context in the *al-Quds al-Arabi* samples above determined to a large extent the use of lexemes which created resentment against the Other, i.e. the US.

In the case of the British newspaper, *The Telegraph*, however, the newspaper's main line of attack seems to stem from, as some Arab writers believe, an ideological preoccupation with a particular enemy i.e. 'Islam'. Fahmi Huwaidi writes in *al-Sharq al-Awsat* after September 11:

إن من يقرأ الصحف الغربية يجد أنها تطفح بالكتابات التي تسبب الإسلام والمسلمين و تحرض عليهم، بعبارات مسكونة بالبغض والوقاحة، و تتبنى خطابا عنصريا صريحا، مما يحظره القانون في اي بلد متحضر، و لا اعرف لماذا يسكت المسلمون و العرب على ذلك و يديرون خدهم الايسر كلما تلقوا الضربات و الصفعات على الخد الايمن.

Fahmi Huwaydi, *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, (17/09/2001)<sup>5</sup>.

He who reads Western newspapers encounters excessive literature that denounces and advocates against Islam and Muslims in hatred-haunted vulgar phrases and explicit racial discourse which is illegal in any civilised state. Such practice makes the silence and the turn-of-the-other-cheek manner practiced by Arabs and Muslims towards such intimidating discourse rather unexplainable

Statements of this sort reflect, to some extent, the effect of newspaper discourse in arousing hostile backlashes in the sense that they only encourage the continuity of struggle which serves neither party. Accordingly, statements like: “A **harsh, instantaneous** attack may be a response most likely to **impress** the **Islamic mind**” (*The Telegraph* 08/10/2001) is aided and may be also inspired by similar inclinations such as Huntington's article 'Clash of Civilisation' mentioned above, for instance. Moreover, the preoccupation with the categorisation of societies into 'Westerners' or 'non-Westerners' (Hall 1992: 277), 'Eastern' or 'Orientals' as exhibited in the above *Telegraph's* editorial is in itself a major factor in creating division between cultures regardless to the characteristics or adherences of any of the cultures. Therefore, the escalation of conflicts is more likely to occur particularly when other cultures are offended by attacks of their faith or ethnicity, for instance, and it is here where newspapers' consensus in adopting non-confrontational lexemes is deemed vital in suppressing future clashes between cultures and/or civilisations.

The above discussion of the employment of lexical selectivity in favour of name calling may loosely reveal the newspapers' agenda on pragmatic as well as stylistic levels. Investigating the selectivity of lexemes in opinion discourse serves two purposes: 1) identifying the common grounds in the conflicts between cultures which triggers their struggle and 2) realising the impact of negative

<sup>5</sup> <http://arabic-media.com/newspapers/europe/asharqalawsat.htm>.

naming and labeling of the Other's culture in escalating struggle which may, intentionally or unintentionally, promote further clashes on linguistic grounds as well, as will be discussed in the following section on the attribution strategy.

#### 6.4.2 Attribution strategy

As I introduced in Chapter 4, by attribution strategy I mean the quality of actions assigned to groups or individuals and the qualities assigned to their respective cultures.

There is no conflict that does not entail an apparent dispute between the sides in the struggle but when the conflict turns into a discourse which is an outlet for anger, which opinion discourse is observed to exhibit, it is then something else. Using language to intimidate the Other does nothing but arouse public sentiments which leave conflicts at the same point, if not causing them to escalate and the relations between conflicting cultures to worsen. Such discourse is easily observed in opinion and editorial material during the aforementioned conflicts.

#### ***The representation of Our and Their actions***

Looking in detail at extracts from an opinion column in *al-Sharq al-Awsat* five days after the Iraq war began, makes the strategy of attribution clear. The article which appeared under the headline أسلحة الجنون الشامل (Weapons of mass **madness**) begins by directly attacking the US' media campaign during its military strikes on Iraq and by accusing the US of reporting (false) information with regard to the running of the war in the battlefield:

يجدر الاعتراف للولايات المتحدة الأميركية، خلال هجومها الحالي على العراق، **بانحدار حملتها الاعلامية** الى مستوى عالم ثالثي أو أقل بقليل.

Sowsan Al-Abtah, *Al-Sharq ah-Awsat*, (25/03/2003).

In its current attack on Iraq, It must be declared, the **US' media practice has declined** to such a state that is similar to or worse than the media practice in the Third World.

The opinion piece begins with an accusation of the Out-group with regard to its (military practice) which forms the immediate cause for the article, namely the US' disagreeable behaviour during the current conflict, which is manifested in its pretence by the reporting of كذب (lies) that is implied in the rhetorical question:

وإذا سلمنا أن الحرب خدعة، فلماذا تحتاج أميركا المدججة بالكاسحات الحارقة... إلى هذا القدر من الكذب كي تكسب معركة وعدت نفسها ووعدتنا أن تكون سريعة وخاطفة، إن لم تكن قد إكتشفت متأخرة أنها مربكة لها وربما مرعبة.

Sowsan Al-Abtah, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, (25/03/2003).

...and if it is granted that war is deceit, so why then would **America the heavily armed with overwhelming incendiaries...require such a degree of pretence**, unless it has just realised that it is bewildered and horrified by such a conflict.

Such criticism follows from the author's previous proposition in which she accuses the US of exercising propaganda in a manner similar to the In-group's (the Iraqi government) renowned primitive media management:

و يحتاج متحري الحقيقة إلى مقارنة البروجندا الأمريكية بالبروجندا العراقية كي لا يفهم شيئاً.

Sowsan Al-Abtah, *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, (25/03/2003).

...seekers of truth would be lost in their attempts to balance between **the US' propaganda and Iraq's**.

Such **انحدار (decline)** in the US' media practice, the writer believes, discredits the US'. Interestingly, the opening of the article above reveals the author's attitude not

only towards the Other, but also towards the In-group. This is demonstrated in the article's first sentence above in which an implied opinion is disclosed suggesting the In-group's misuse of propaganda, although such criticism emerges, mainly, as a path to censure the Other which characterises this opinion text. As the main opinion line, therefore, attributing the quality of 'untruthfulness' to the Other right from the beginning of the opinion article, directs the reader to anticipate the negative characteristics of the Other which form the grounds on which such an accusation is based. This is to justify the negative attitudes that are endorsed and exposed from the following paragraph onward of which propositions enclose negative actions ascribed to the Other during the conflict.

فصور الضحايا بدات بالظهور على الشاشات، و الحرب النظيفة أخذة بالاتساح،  
و مجزرة البصرة التي **حصدت خمسين أعزل، رشقوا بالقنابل العنقودية  
المحرمة، و تركوا أشلاء تسبح في دمانها، تؤكد ان ذكاء الأسلحة يعاق كليا  
حين يدار بأيدي غبية، تضرب منازل بغداد و تشرذ الأهالي.**

Sowsan Al-Abtah, *al-Sharq al-Awsat* (25/03/2003).

Photos of victims are being disclosed on TV screens, the clean war is being soiled, in the Basra **massacre fifty unarmed were harvested, shot with the prohibited napalm missiles and their remains were abandoned in a pool of blood.** This proves that weapon intelligence is deemed useless when **handled foolishly, by striking Baghdad's houses and dislodging the civilians.**

The article lists the consequences of the US' initial bombardment of Iraq in sentimental language aimed first at arousing the readers' emotions regarding the In-group victims and second at portraying the US as hostile in its war against Iraq. Such attitude is implied by the use of **مجزرة** (massacre) which **حصدت خمسين أعزل** (fifty unarmed were harvested), who were (shot with the prohibited napalm missiles) **رشقوا بالقنابل العنقودية المحرمة** and whose remains (were abandoned in a pool of blood) **تركوا أشلاء تسبح في دمانها**. The author here narrates a graphic scenario of the outcome so far in the conflict at that particular time, which was perhaps already known by readers of the text ('Photos of victims being disclosed on TV screens'). However, she supplements such a scenario with her evaluation of the

US actions **مجزرة (massacre)** wishing readers to share such a view which might not have been observed by some, simply to urge opposition to the US and its actions against Iraq. Phrasing the consequence of the US bombardment in such a satirical way may suggest emphasising the US' uncontrollable or (foolish) use of weapons:

أن ذكاء الأسلحة يعاق كلياً حين **يدار بأيدي غبية**  
 (...weapon intelligence is deemed useless when **handled foolishly**)

Ascribing intimidating qualities such as (foolishness) and (madness) to the US' use of power may suggest the iniquity, as well as the irrationality, of such a political administration, an opinion line which links the above statement with the headline: **أسلحة الجنون الشامل (Weapons of Mass Madness)**. Hence, the employment of such a strategy of Attribution against a political leader is indeed a negative evaluative opinion that is also observed in British newspapers such as *The Times*, in describing the US' President, though as an In-group' in such a case. In the same context, i.e. the war on Iraq, an unusual evaluation of the US President, George Bush, appears as follows:

As for **President Bush**, while he **is certainly disliked** in most of the world **(and with good reason)**, very few people, even in the Arab countries, **genuinely believe him to be worse than Saddam.**

Anatole Kaletsky, *The Times* (20/03/2003).

The above extract from an opinion comment appeared under the headline "Oil, intimidation, rage –why we are really at war", contains an implied negative evaluation of a member of Our group, the American President George Bush. This is signaled by the adjective **disliked**, the bracketed parenthesis **(and with good reason)** and the statement of contrast: **genuinely believe him to be worse than Saddam**. The statement negatively evaluates the US leader through using the Iraqi one by drawing a comparison between both leaders, without any reference to



the basis on which such a comparison is made. The author's views of the US president being 'disliked' is enforced by the parenthesis (and with good reason) and supplemented by the views of few outside of and within the Arab world who "genuinely believe him to be worse than Saddam Hussein".

Notwithstanding the negative representation of the US president in relation to the objectives of the war, which is the subject matter of the opinion piece, the article presents his negative evaluation of the Other, (i.e. the Iraqi president) and labels him as a **genocidal butcher** and **bloody tyrant** who has **butchered tens of thousands** in his reign of **terror**, (Anatole Kaletsky, *The Times*, 20/03/2003), (Appendix C). The grounds for which Saddam Hussein is attacked in the article, however, are not like the ones for which Bush is criticised, despite the comparison made between the two. The Out-group's member, Saddam, is described, not only as someone who murders, but also who does so inhumanely, which is suggested by the use of the adjective and the verb "butcher" and "butchered" respectively. A further negative evaluation is given by describing him as a "bloody tyrant" who ruled his people under "terror".

The writer's negative opinion of the In-group's government is illustrated in the writer's own account of the US president's actions which seem to influence the selectivity of opinion stating, driven by patriotism, as the following statement from the opinion article reflects:

..Some Americans still believe they are entitled to some kind of national catharsis after September 11. What is worse, this irrational, self indulgent rage is shared and encouraged by many right wing politicians and commentators.

Anatole Kaletsky, *The Times*, (20/03/2003).

The evaluative opinion in the above statement shows the author's rejection of some actions of In-group members, i.e. "some Americans", and "right wing politicians and commentators". This is however not to suggest his perspective is in accord with the Out-group's (Muslims and Arabs) perspective regarding the

objectives of the war. Rather, the author through his article thoroughly seeks his nation's own interests as opposed to the American's. Therefore, the writer's early support of the view that the president is an (**arrogant, ignorant and bullying American president**) fits the overall negative characterisation of the In-group which the article aimed to create from this point onward.

It is interesting here to note the similarity between the commentaries of the Arabic and the British newspapers when attributing negative qualities to members of the In-group. In other words, criticism of the In-group is most of the time observed to be limited to or directed at the main officials of the government of the In-group who seem to act in an unfavorable manner from the editor's or opinion writer's perspective. Furthermore, such criticism is normally harshly phrased, via persuasive lexicalisation, possibly to urge a different form of action to be taken with regard to the conflict, as demonstrated by *al-Quds al-Arabi* earlier and *The Times* above. This notion of limited In-group criticism, does not reject the belief that discrepancies amongst countries of one 'group' or one culture do exist, rather it suggests that such discrepancies may be mostly traceable to social and economic grounds rather than political ones. Yet, *The Times* article above exhibits disagreement with the In-group member, i.e. President Bush, on all the aforementioned grounds which I have only briefly demonstrated in order to discuss the attribution strategy.

Kaletsky presents different reasons, stated rhetorically in the headline, which are the foundations of his criticism of the US president and stem from his belief that "**Mr Bush, and certainly the neo-conservative ideologues who surround him, do have a vast agenda which goes far beyond disarmament or even regime change in Iraq**". The argument, i.e. the **vast agenda** of the US, in this proposition is answered in detail in the course of the article, but is also succinctly addressed earlier in the headline "**oil, intimidation, rage**", which from the author's own political assessment of American policy, is related to some objectives of the war in Iraq. Kaletsky uses satirical language in reflecting negative attributions to the US administration as the examples below shows:

**And the damage done to the US economy by the Bush administration will be hard to put right in 18 months.**

Anatole Kaletsky, *The Times*, 20/03/2003.

Following his consistent scepticism of the US officials in general, and President Bush in particular, throughout the opinion piece, the writer in the above statement again makes clear his disapproval of the president by presupposing him to have done **damage** to his country's economic welfare. This entails the failure of the president on economic grounds, which may suggest the president's misjudgment, irrationality or miscalculation, which is so immense that it will be difficult to be amended in the foreseen future "**hard to put right in 18 months**", i.e. before Bush's presidency runs out.

The coherence of the opinion line continues until the last sentence in the article which implicitly enforces the writer's negative opinion of the US president George Bush which appears parallel to his negative opinion of the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein.

**Let us hope that Saddam is gone by the end of next month and George W. Bush by the end of next year.**

Anatole Kaletsky, *The Times*, (20/03/2003).

The statement above contains an implicit opinion or a hidden strategy of attribution. That is to say, instead of explicitly calling for 'the dismissal' of the US president from his political office, Kaletsky does so rather implicitly, as well as wittingly, by hoping for a better political atmosphere which will entail disqualifying the president from remaining in power to discourage his re-election. This analysis suggests that the final lines of the article are also directed towards constructing a negative representation of the In-group member which might have appeared as 'let us hope that George W. Bush is gone by the end of next year'.

The opinion expressed in the article's ending lines, which coherently echoes the opinion in the rest of the text, is triggered by America's "unstated

objectives” of the war. This may suggest dishonesty which the newspaper demonstrated earlier in relation to the US' policy. The above *al-Sharq al-Awsat* article (25/03/2003) accused the US of misusing propaganda and power, and this appears when the article contrasts the credibility of the In-group officials as opposed to the US during the war.

In reference to the press conferences which were taking place in the early days of the US attack, the opinion piece attributes (**exceptional credibility**) to the statements declared by a specific Iraqi official as opposed to (**false claims**) attributed generally to the US press conferences:

...و يا للعجب، أن تصريحات طه ياسين رمضان تكتسب مصداقية نادرة، في ما تكذب  
الوقائع الأرضية مزاعم المؤتمرات الصحفية الأميركية، و هي تبشر بتقدم الحلفاء، و  
برضى تام عن عملهم في الصباح، لتراجع في المساء و تقول: "ان الحرب ستستغرق  
وقتا أطول من المتوقع"

Sowsan Al-Abtah, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, (25/03/2003).

Amazingly, **Taha Yasin Ramadan's announcements gain exceptional credibility**, whereas **ground battles defy the false claims of the US press conferences...**

The article in the above extract qualifies a named Iraqi authority of positive attributions without reservation (Taha Yasin Ramadan's announcements gain exceptional credibility) says the statement. This is despite the element of deceit which is typically exercised by all sides in a conflict and which the author herself only implied in the beginning of the opinion piece with regard to the In-group:

و يحتاج متحري الحقيقة إلى مقارنة البروجندا الأميركية بالبروجندا العراقية، كي لا يفهم شيئاً.

Al-Abtah, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, (25/03/2003).

...seekers of truth would be lost in their attempts to balance between **the US' propaganda and Iraq's.**

However, the propaganda exercised by the In-group (Iraq), for instance, is described as 'credible' while such a quality is denied for the Out-group whose reports contradict reality in the battlefield:

تكذب الوقائع الارضية مزاعم المؤتمرات الصحفية الاميركية

Sowsan Al-Abtah, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, (25/03/2003).

**...whereas ground battles defy the false claims of the US' press conferences.**

Such phrasing may suggest the falsehood of all the US claims without exception which reflects the biased opinion in favour of Our side. The opinion article extends its criticism of the Out-group's unnamed officials by criticising specific individuals indirectly. Specifically, the article draws a comparison between the leaders of the two countries in conflict, i.e. Iraq and the US, by labeling both as dictators. Such a quality normally suggests the vicious ill-treatment of the public by their political leaders and which normally in the West is attributed exclusively to Eastern 'despots' and seldom to 'Western dictators', as Van Dijk puts it (Bell 1998: 49).

*Al-Sharq al-Awsat's* article still offers the evaluative opinion of the Iraqi leader as a 'dictator', but, at the same time, attributes the same property to the US president. In a disproportionate comparison between the Iraqi regime and the US' leadership, al-Abtah describes the Iraqi leader briefly as (...a dictator who has transformed his country into a massive prison) ديكاتور يحول بلاده الى سجن كبير. On the other hand, she describes the American president as a (dictator) who (divides his people into two factions, sending one out to murder, beat, and slaughter abroad while offering the rest as a target to avengers against such extreme decadence) و ديكاتور اخر يحول شعبه الى مجموعات يذهب ببعضها للقتل و الضرب و التجزير، و يترك المجموعات الاخرى هدفا شهيا لكل راغب في الثأر من هذا الانحراف الانزلاقي الكبير.

The style of evaluating the two leaders is apparently disproportionate in terms of explicitness and emphasis. In other words, despite the international

recognition of past cruelty of the Iraqi leader against his people, the article's strategy in attributing negatives to him is briefly stated to be against an abstract or intangible unit **بلاده** (his country) rather than against concrete or tangible beings (his people) which seemingly has less negative impact on readers. Besides, his ruthlessness against his people is implicitly manifested to be solely in the (imprisonment) of (his country), despite the infamous history of crimes against his people, whereas the same quality of action attributed to the American president is explicitly stated to be against (his people).

Moreover, the opinion coherence about the American president follows in the article's listing of a sequence of negative actions, separated by the conjunction **و** (and) for emphasis of quantity, which the president orders his people to commit. In other words, the article states that the US president sends his people abroad to **الضرب والتجزير و للقتل** (**murder, and beat and slaughter**). The article also suggests that the cruelty of the US president is also manifested in (**sacrificing the rest**) of his people (**for avengers against such extreme decadence**) **يترك المجموعات** **الأخرى هدفاً شهياً لكل راغب في الثأر من هذا الانحراف الانزلاقي الكبير** which again may suggest the (foolishness) referred to in the headline and earlier in the text **أن نكء** **الأسلحة يعاق كلياً حين يدار بأيدي غبية** (**weapon intelligence is deemed useless when handled foolishly**), which is another evaluative sequence or opinion line in the attribution strategy.

The irrational authority of the US administration that is echoed in the headline, as well as in all the verbs: (murder), (beating) and (slaughter) are meant to represent such administration in a demonised way as a strategy for enforcing the Other's bad actions. Emphasising the bad actions of the Other and the good actions of the Self can be made to appear as factual rather than evaluative as the following example shows.

In my attempt to sum up the discussion of the attribution strategy, I find the following editorial extract from *The Telegraph* an interesting one. Although I have touched upon such an extract in Chapter 5, though from a different

approach, I find it falls neatly in line with my discussion of the attribution strategy. I believe it is interesting in accounting for historical 'facts' which are presented selectively in favour of Our group:

**...Westerners fight face to face, in stand up battle, and go on until one side or the other gives in. They choose the crudest weapons available, and use them with appalling violence, but observe what, to non-Westerners may well seem curious rules of honor. Orientals, by contrast, shrink from pitched battle which they often deride as a sort of game, preferring ambush, surprise, treachery and deceit as the best way to overcome an enemy.**

John Keegan, *The Telegraph*, (08/10/200), (Appendix B).

The opinions expressed, with regard to the Islamic enemy, in the paper in general, and this extract in particular, appear first of all in the lexical style, that is, in the strategy of contrast directed to describe the 'naturally good Us' and the 'naturally bad Them' which is clearly demonstrated in the paper's simplistically transparent lexical selectivity describing Their and Our warfare styles. The author confidently gives his personal expert account of the "ingredients of any Western-Islamic conflict". This is done through the flattering listing of Our attributes during war, i.e. we:

**fight face to face, go on until one side or the other gives in, choose the crudest weapons available, observe curious rules of honour.**

The Warfare tactics of "non-Westerners", "Islamic" or "Orientals" are now contrasted to the Western ones through lexical selectivity. The article attributes immorality to the enemies of the West and attributes cowardice, as implied by the verbal phrase "they **shrink** from pitched battle" rather than fighting face to face like the West. Furthermore, it also attributes dishonorable qualities to the enemies by which they deride war as a "sort of game", in preferring unconventional tactics of war, such as **ambush** which suggests entrapping the enemy by **surprise** and **treachery**, which connotes malice and dishonesty and this again is emphasised by the lexeme **deceit**. All such examples designed to portray the Other side as

cowardly, devious and not “playing the game” during war the way the West does. These are contrasted to the West's “rules of honour” which implies the seriousness of the West in contrast to the triviality of the “game” of the “non-Western”. Such attribution is meant to negatively represent and demonise the Other who is given ideologically negative labels to demonstrate its profound hostility to the West. All of these are negative properties which normally have shared social attitudes and from which readers are allowed to derive appropriate opinions; a strategy of which opinion writers and editors are well aware.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed two strategies employed in opinion discourse whereby the sides in conflicts are modified and to whom attributions are ascribed. I have examined some Arabic and British opinion articles and editorials within which such strategies are investigated. Naming strategy has been discussed in terms of the persuasive use of lexical items that are meant to construct certain attitudes towards groups, individuals or events. Different perspectives emerged from newspapers belonging to the same culture in relation to the various participants in the conflicts.

Furthermore, it was found that opinion discourse during conflicts is designed to portray conflicts and its sides selectively; such selectivity is signaled, partly, by the variations observed between the newspapers of the same culture. Opinion discourse displays excessive use of nouns and adjectives which bear resentment, intimidation and disgust of the Other whose behaviour during conflicts is characterised by cruelty, wickedness and cowardice. The use of satire as means of describing Our and/or Their group is underlined as a persuasive strategy in opinion discourse, as does the use of descriptions with non-human associations. The chapter examined the manner in describing the impact of the Other's action against Us as opposed to the impact of Our actions against Them.



Moreover, the actions of the two sides in particular conflicts were discussed under the attribution strategy. In this section, opinion articles from the Arabic *al-Sharq al-Awsat* newspaper and the British newspaper *The Times* were contrasted in their methods of attributing actions or qualities to main participants in a particular conflict (i.e. the war on Iraq). It is observed that opinion discourse exhibits a harvest for criticism from which political figures reap an enormous share. Such criticism is present however, only in some newspapers' opinion articles and seldom in their editorials or leading articles.

Typically, conflicts impose the sense of patriotism, as a result of which Our good actions and Their bad actions are selectively spelled out and emphasised; while the opposite takes place with regard to Their good actions and Our bad ones in which Van Dijk's ideological square is clearly highlighted in opinion discourse. Certainly, such ideological emphasis is not confined to the visible units residing within the discourse, i.e. the lexical level, but rather, it is achieved on the structural level too, i.e. via the enforcement strategy of the beginning and the ending of opinion discourse, a discussion of which follows in Chapter 7.

## *Chapter (7)*

### **Enforcement Strategy**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

The fact that writers and authors of editorials and opinion texts deliberately facilitate language to achieve the most effective communication cannot be escaped, and this helps us understand the power of rhetoric that is sometimes insincerely employed (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 2005: 55) to serve such a purpose. The previous two chapters discussed persuasive features in opinion articles and editorials at times of conflict that are a function of the rhetorical layout in this particular discourse and the patterns of the selectivity of the lexemes which could shape our view of the world and its entities. In this chapter, I will be chiefly concerned with the role of the strategy of emphasis and amplification in creating a new level of message delivery without which editorials and opinion texts might not have been as effective.

#### **7.2 What is 'enforcement expressions'?**

This chapter examines the third rhetorical technique employed in order to represent viewpoint effectively in opinion discourse i.e. the strategy of the enforcement expressions. The expressions that are about to be investigated are manifested in particular fragments of the opinion piece being analysed. Their presence in the text may be insignificant and may even be irrelevant but they are utilized by opinion writers and editors to produce powerful persuasive effects. The linguistic devices used within these fragments are able to engage readers in many ways according to the rhetorical function of the device used. Writers of opinions and editorials possess the skill to enable them to influence their readers' judgment despite readers' efforts to activate their own personal experiences and

prejudices as they read. In other words, because authors of persuasive narratives are aware of the audience's inclination to decode communication through the filter of their own experiences and perhaps through their prejudices, the messages contained in the persuasive discourse are structured in a way that force their readers to agree with the propositions and/or claims (Burton 1990: 23). What then are the enforcement expressions that writers of opinion texts employ to persuade their readers, and by means of what linguistic devices do they seek to achieve this aim?

### 7.3 Two modes of enforcement

The linguistic devices to be investigated in the following discussion are also of a rhetorical nature and are centred on propositions clustered in the very beginning and the very end of editorials and opinion commentaries which contribute greatly to the effect of the messages on readers. These propositions though may not be essential on the surface level; their presence however, has a powerful underlying significance which consequently fulfils the communicative process of the reader and the author alike.

The structural categorisation of the propositions in question is decided according to their pragmatic function in a given opinion text, while they are differently oriented and therefore, split into two categories: **circumstantial** and **inferential**. More precisely, the structural category of message enforcement focuses on the opening lines of the opinion discourse which exhibit some reference to the situational context of the text. The inferential category, on the other hand, deals with the ending lines embodying expressions and propositions linked either to other parts of the discourse within the opinion piece and/or to knowledge of the world or other discourse(s). These modes of enforcements may pragmatically overlap sometimes, however, categorising them in such a way

aims to reflect the rhetorical power of employing them according to such categorisation.

### **7.3.1 The role of the enforcement strategy**

One of the rhetorical, as well as creative, devices in enforcing a particular viewpoint in a discourse expressing controversial conflict-related arguments found in writing such as opinion and commentaries is to maximise the effect of the opening and the ending of the opinion piece. Journalists and writers of opinion are equipped with the ability to deliver a powerful message right from the very beginning until the very end of their discourse. Authors engage readers in an interaction based on a shared knowledge of a particular context assumed by the author and recognised by the reader. This allows such opinion texts to carry meaning on a pragmatic level throughout the text. In this section, pragmatic meaning will be discussed with respect to the Opening and the Finale of opinion discourse. Constructing a moving opening and ending serves in both reinforcing the central message and highlighting the papers' or the authors' stance in relation to the issue addressed in the opinion piece.

Due to journalistic restrictions in terms of time and space, writers and editors utilise a powerful strategy in order to receive approval of the message in their opinion text. Therefore, the very beginning and the very ending of newspaper opinion discourses emotively engage the audience, enabling him/her to identify the author's position, as well as recognising the grounds on which such a position is built. This may ultimately lead to establishing confidence in the writer's stance which may, in turn, impose particular judgments based on the power of the article. The beginning and ending of the short narrative or the opinion discourse have a significant impact on the way messages are received through the way the message is presented in these two fragments.

### 7.3.2 Some considerations

- Firstly, to avoid confusing the 'beginning' and the 'ending' of opinion discourse with the prelude and anticipation levels of the rhetorical structure discussed in Chapter 5, I tend to refer to them as **the Opening** and **the Finale** respectively.
- Secondly, while the Opening and the Finale are contextually linked to the rhetorical structure, their task in the text is essentially rhetorical. This means that they are supplementary propositions rhetorically presented for the enforcement of the text's message rather than for the message's construction; they do, however, contribute to the construction of the semantic representation of the text which mainly serves to convey the author's message more powerfully.
- It is very important to note here that the real knowledge of the subject area (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 2005: 11) and the context of the raised issue is a crucial element to the success of the persuasion. In other words, no matter how skilful the writer is in implementing his/her persuasive talent, without tangible knowledge of the subject of the contextual situation, persuasion is hard to achieve.
- This, in my view, requires at least the reader's mutual knowledge to allow his/her judgement to be relevantly comprehended at a pragmatic level.

### 7.4 The Opening

The Opening of opinion texts during wartime and conflicts, is normally written in a tone that is usually expressive of the author's (or the paper's attitude in the case of editorials) feelings and personal observations regarding the main

argument of the text. The views expressed in the Opening and the Finale segments are easier to recognise than in the rest of the text. That is to say, since editorials and opinion articles are products of their authors, most of the time it is at the beginning and the ending of these texts where this 'copy right' is indicated; that is, through the offering of opinion in a language that acts as the authors' signature on the piece. In most cases, the language is typically emotive, expressing the author's and/or the newspaper's attitude towards the featured issue of the text. In addition, it reflects the tone of the author that might be coated with sentiments of anger or pity, lament or delight, joy or sorrow, etc. Such emotions influence the judgment that is delivered differently (ibid). These sentiments are powerfully engaged in opinion discourse in relation to the latest conflicts between the West and the Muslim world in Arabic and British papers, as will be demonstrated shortly.

The beginning of the war on Afghanistan in October 2001, for instance, which was carried out as result of the attacks on the US in September 11 of the same year and which was supported by an international political alliance, was a significant issue in editorials and opinion columns of Arabic and British newspapers. The struggle, as mentioned earlier, was viewed from two entirely different cultural perspectives and hence a variety of reactions resulted from the Muslim Arab and British cultures, and reflected in the varied views within the papers of their respective cultures. The following discussion is an illustration of the role of the Opening and the Finale in depicting these views from the authors' point of view which contributes powerfully to the enforcement of the text's message.

#### **7.4.1 The Opening and persuasion**

After the war on Afghanistan started on 07/10/2001 as a severe military measure countering the deadly attacks on the US' major city New York after it

had been announced that these had been carried out by an Islamic group based in Afghanistan, an editorial in *al-Ahram* newspaper, for example, centred around the issue of the US' initial proposals to extend the struggle into other parts of the world as part of its 'war on terror'.

The following discussion will focus on the Opening of the *al-Ahram* editorial (Appendix B) which was published on 09/10/2001 after the US' announcements of its plans to attack other parts of the world. It must be noted that the editorial to be examined shortly is unfortunately poorly laid out in the newspaper's website, though it seemed to meet the needs of our enquiry for the coming discussion. The propositions constituting the Opening of this editorial are originally clustered in one paragraph of four sentences but these have been separated and numbered for easy reference according to their position in the text. Sentence (5) below representing the prelude of the rhetorical structure, will not be discussed at this time, though it is included and translated to differentiate its rhetorical function from the Opening. Moreover, following the colour scheme used in this work, readers are reminded that the propositions highlighted in **light blue** in the following extracts from *al-Ahram* represent positive qualities attributed to the Other (i.e. the US in this article) from the Arab perspective, whereas the ones highlighted in **pink** represent the Other unfavourably from the same perspective. The words highlighted in **dark blue** refer to the positive actions of Our group, i.e. the Arabs. In its editorial under the headline أول حروب القرن (The century's first War), *al-Ahram* newspaper states:

(1) مع بداية أول حرب في القرن الحادي والعشرين , نريد للولايات المتحدة أن تنتصر على الإرهاب لا ان تؤدي حربها الراهنة ضد أفغانستان الى إيجاد جيل جديد من الارهابيين اشد قسوة و فتكا

(2) و نريد للولايات المتحدة أن تنشر السلام والونام بين جميع شعوب العالم و لا نريد لها أن تكون سببا في انقسامهم و شيوع الكراهية بينهم و تغذية النزاعات العنصرية التي يمكن ان تفجر ازمات و حروبا دولية جديدة.

(3) و نريد لها ان تنشر العدل كما ينبغي ان يكون, و لا نريد لها ان تواصل الكيل بمكيالين او ان تنصر الظالم على المظلوم.

(4) ونريد لها ان تجعل من الارادة الدولية قاعدة صلبة يستند اليها جهد عالمي واسع النطاق لاقتلاع السباب التي ادت الى اندلاع موجات الارهاب هنا وهناك, و لا نريد لها ان تجعل من هذه الارادة مسوغا في يديها لفرض الهيمنة و الانفراد بتحديد مصير العالم.

(5) إننا أمام لحظات فارقة في تاريخ البشرية سوف تحدد مصيرها لعقود قادمة, و من ثم فإننا نتمنى ان تنتهي الحرب الراهنة بأسرع مايمكن, وألا يكون لها رد فعل يهدد حياة الأمريكيين داخل و خارج الولايات المتحدة, تماما مثلما نتمنى ان تكون بداية قوية لعصر جديد من الوئام و السلام في كل ربوع العالم.

Editorial, *al-Ahram* (09/10/2001)

(1) As the first war in the twenty first century begins, **we want the US to prevail against terrorism** and not to **let this conflict with Afghanistan create a more aggressive generation of terrorists**;

(2) and **we want the US to bestow peace and compassion between the nations of the world** and we do not want it to **be a cause for division, mutual hatred and the promotion of racial clashes which only trigger further international conflicts**.

(3) **We want it to bestow real justice** and **we do not want it to persist on acting in double standards or stand with the aggressor against the oppressed**.

(4) **We want it to firmly construct the international volition to uproot the causes of terrorism** and **we do not want it to abuse this volition to impose dominance by unilaterally shaping the destiny of the world**.

(5) We are at a very crucial moment of history which will shape the future decades, therefore, **we wish** this war to end as fast as possible, and not to result in threatening the lives of Americans in or outside the United States; as faithfully as **we wish** this to be the beginning of a new era of peace and harmony to the whole world.

The Opening of the editorial, which consists of four propositions, (and which precedes the prelude level of the rhetorical structure), serves in setting the editorial's agenda in relation to the circumstantial reality of the text. The agenda involves 1) urging a just and reasonable response which is seen to be a just cause, as well as 2) anticipating the counter outcome (irrational retaliation) if



such proposals are considered. This marks the newspaper's attitude in being extremely against the US' current political intention.

Needless to say, publishing this article after the announcement of talks indicating the US' plans for extending the current operation to include Iraq and possibly other parts of the world (about which the Egyptian government is strongly sensitive), reflects the attitude of *al-Ahram* to such an issue. The paper's motivation to support the ruling government, (a typical inclination of the paper), is dedicated to keeping the international relations with the West, particularly the US, in good shape. It begins the editorial by expressing its opposition to such plans in a way that maintains the newspaper's typical stance.

First of all, there is rather an unusual repetition of the emotive verb expressing a state **نريد (want)** accompanied by the first person plural nominative pronoun (**We**), which might suggest a shared social perspective (Bell and Garrett 1998: 44) (Van Dijk 1995). The connotation of the verb 'want' rests in accord to the positive states of affairs which follow (because in normal life it would be peculiar to 'want' or desire something negative). Such repetition of the declarative verbal phrase 'we want' preceding the favourable conduct expected of the US, insists upon the positive inclinations of the paper and possibly of Our group which contrast with the negative states of affairs (highlighted in **pink**) that are feared to take place (which the paper thoroughly rejects). Expressing such rejection is marked by the use of the negation marker **لا**, i.e. (not) preceding the same verb, in addition to the repetitive use of **و** (and) as a cohesive tie which links the two parts of the sentences together to reflect the insistence of the issue. Such use of cohesive ties contribute to the semantic interpretation of the text which accounts for Halliday and Hasan's (1976) lexical cohesion required in making the text hang together and which was discussed when earlier works were reviewed in Chapter 2.

Second, to appeal to its typical audience, i.e. government officials and diplomats, and at the same time to maintain the governmental foreign policy, the editorial enforces its message and begins firstly by appealing to emotion by crediting the US as a superior Out-group in charge of the world's stability. In addition, every good action desired to be achieved is contrasted with a negative one which is thus rejected. Hence, to encourage the US to act in a favourable manner, the editorial appeals to the emotion in advocating positive actions hinting that the US is able to **تنتصر على الارهاب** (prevail against terrorism), **تنشر السلام والوئام** (bestow peace and harmony between the nations of the world), **تنشر... ان تجعل من الارادة الدولية قاعدة صلبة يستند اليها** (bestow real justice), **العدل كما ينبغي ان يكون** (...to **firmly construct** the international volition by gathering international efforts to **uproot** the causes of terrorism). In addition, the verbs used to credit the US (prevail), (bestow), (construct), (uproot) readily grant authority to the entity credited which is a typical position the newspaper holds and which firmly construct and maintain the relationship with the US in such critical moments of history between the Arab and the West.

All the verbs in the propositions above denoting positive states of affair, (indicating justice) are contrasted with propositions implying negative ones (indicating the US' irrational retaliation). This is meant to discourage the US from instigating such measures which may suggest the US' vague objectives in the present conflict. Listing such speculative negative states of affairs appeals to reason and commands a sense of judgment from the part of the reader; it might have also meant to reflect the political vision held by the paper which the reader is invited to share.

The pragmatic implications embedded in these propositions help readers to identify: a) the grounds of the debated issue in the status quo; b) the pros and cons in the argument of the discourse; and c) the structure of thought in the arguments debated. The logical value of such propositions is overtly estimated in

the editorial which is the basis for Aristotle's notion of persuasion through reason (or logos) mentioned previously in Chapter 5 and which Cockcroft and Cockcroft interestingly elaborated in their contemporary work (2005).

Interestingly, while being aware of the sensitivity of the Islamic world towards a war being launched on a Muslim nation, the paper makes no comment on the legitimacy of the war (which might suggest the paper's acceptance of it as being so), which was the starting point of some British editorials. Also, due to the newspaper's adherence to its government's political agenda, the US' policy is only indirectly put into question, a point from which the text departs, aiming at enforcing the newspaper's stance and message (i.e. extending the scope of the current conflict must be strongly discouraged, otherwise the US' 'war on terror' would be doomed to failure and the world would be plunged into chaos).

It is equally interesting that, although the paper expresses the Arab political perspective, no reference is made to the instability that could be particularly inflicted on the In-group in the Arab world region as a result of the US' announced plans. Instead, the newspaper reflects that the US' announcements in fact constitute danger to the whole world: (sentence 2):

(2) و نريد للولايات المتحدة أن تنشر السلام والوئام بين جميع شعوب العالم و لا نريد لها أن تكون سببا في انقسامهم و شيوع الكراهية بينهم و تغذية النزاعات العنصرية التي يمكن ان تفجر ازمات و حروبا دولية جديدة.

*Al-Ahram* (09/10/2001).

(2) ...and we want the US to bestow peace and compassion between the nations of the world rather than being a cause for their division, mutual hatred and the promotion of racial clashes which may only trigger further international conflicts.

The above proposition, as well as the rest of the propositions in the Opening, seems to reflect the main argument in the text but this is disguised rhetorically in the Opening in favour of enforcing the upcoming message more effectively. The

'wishes' expressed in the Opening, sentences (1-4) echo the ones which appear in the prelude (sentence 5) which I consider the starting point in putting the main argument forward, and from which, in my view, the text's central message would have been recognised:

(5) إننا أمام لحظات فارقة في تاريخ البشرية سوف تحدد مصيرها لعقود قادمة, و من ثم فإننا **نتمنى** ان تنتهي الحرب الراهنة بأسرع مايمكن, وألا يكون لها رد فعل يهدد حياة الأمريكيين داخل و خارج الولايات المتحدة, تماما مثلما **نتمنى** ان تكون بداية قوية لعصر جديد من الونام و السلام في كل ربوع العالم.

*Al-Ahram* (09/10/2001).

(5) We are at a very crucial moment of our history which will shape the future decades, therefore, **we wish** this war to end as fast as possible, and not to result in threatening the lives of Americans in or outside the United States; exactly as **we wish** this to be the beginning of a new era of peace and harmony to the whole world.

The absence of the propositions contained in the Opening therefore, might have not affected the comprehension and coherence of the text but for the purpose of rhetoric, the author felt it better if this was maintained. Furthermore, since the Opening of the editorial marks the newspaper's very attitude, it is clearly noticeable that the newspaper is keen not to create any disparity between the government's or the In-group's national interests and its foreign policy on such a delicate issue. Therefore, the editorial appeals to patriotism, i.e. the sense of Arabness which is only briefly expressed in the Opening and is embedded within an evaluation of the US' foreign policy as being constantly disproportionate (a reality that is widely believed in the Arab and Muslim cultures and acknowledged by elite figures in some Western cultures<sup>1</sup> and reflected in the

<sup>1</sup> Noam Chomsky declares in the real story series "...the US backed Israel's rejection of Sadat's offer, vetoed the Security Council resolution, opposed negotiations and mutual recognition of the PLO and Israel, and regularly joins with Israel in opposing-thereby, in effect, vetoing any attempt to move towards a peaceful diplomatic settlement at the UN or elsewhere. The peace process is restricted to US initiatives, which call for a unilateral US-determined settlement with no recognition of Palestinian national rights" (1986: 89)

press of others<sup>2</sup>). This is implied in the proposition أن تواصل الكيل بمكيالين أو أن تنصر ... الظالم على المظلوم (...to persist on acting with double standards or stand with the aggressor against the oppressed) in a possible reference to the Arab-Israeli conflict which is left to the reader to infer.

The Opening of the above *al-Ahram* editorial (09/10/2001) exhibits different levels of enforcement embedded within its structural position. Most of the propositions contained in the Opening function on a pragmatic level, and in terms of realising the theme and the purpose of the editorial, this section of the editorial could be quantitatively insignificant. However, the role it plays in persuading readers to approve of the paper's argument is inevitably achievable; this, in turn, enforces the paper's attitude that is ultimately (nationally and internationally) flattering. A similar persuasion strategy is displayed, surprisingly, towards a totally opposite point of view with regard to the same issue, as the following *The Times* editorial reflects.

*The Times* published an editorial (Appendix B) in the same period of the war in Afghanistan (07/10/2001) and began the article as follows:

(1) The American servicemen engaged in Operation "**Enduring Freedom**" have no need of their President's assurance that their **cause is just**. (2) But it must be less obvious to them that, as Mr Bush has also said, their "**mission is defined**" or that its **objectives are clear**. (3) Even in immediate operational terms, there is an inbuilt ambiguity to an air campaign which, in this ruined country, can have few conventional targets. (4) Political and strategic success is even harder to discern in advance. (5) The course of each phase in this campaign will be influenced to a quite exceptional extent by political developments in and around Afghanistan.

*The Times*, lead features (09/10/2001).

<sup>2</sup> Llewellyn, Tim. "The story TV news won't tell."

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/israel/Story/0,2763,1242896,00.html>

Robert Fisk, 'Wickedness and awesome cruelty of a crushed and humiliated people', *The Independent*, (12/09/2001).

In its Opening, (the five sentences above), *The Times'* editorial first communicates the context of the text with the reader which was likely to be recognised by him/her at the time). It describes Our group's action against the Out group positively represented in the phrases highlighted in **green**.

The editorial establishes an early opinion in which it backs up the American president in describing the cause of the war on Afghanistan positively in the phrases “their cause is **just**”, “mission is **defined**” and “objectives are **clear**”, a viewpoint that is not present in Arabic newspapers. In fact, Arabic newspapers<sup>3</sup> insist on maintaining the view of the vagueness of the US' war and the injustice of its cause.

*The Times* in this feature editorial appeals to reasoning and assures the intellectual Western reader, who is aware of the situational context and the progress in the conflict, of their culture's righteousness in engaging in the conflict with Afghanistan despite the condition of “this ruined country”. Furthermore, the editorial begins by enforcing the legitimacy of the conflict, a beginning which settles any hesitation the Western reader may have regarding widening the scope of the conflict. This thereby prepares him/her to accept the text's upcoming message and its political content which is expressed further in the text and summed up in the editorial's headline:

The Greater Game, Afghanistan is The First but not The only Battlefield.

Feature editorial, *The Times* (09/10/2001).

It is evident that this Opening provides the reader with speculation if no further political developments are considered. This view contrasts with *al-Ahram's*. It is,

<sup>3</sup> See Mutā' Şafdi, *al-Quds al-Arabi* (08/10/2001) issue 3858: <http://www.alquds.co.uk:8080/archives/pdf/2003/03Mar/26MarWed/Quds19.pdf>; and Sālāh Addīn Hāfiz, *al-Ahram* (11/09/2002) issue 42282: <http://www.ahram.org.eg/archive/index.asp?CurFN=OPIN5.HTM&DID=7510>

therefore, stirring to notice how a single conflict is viewed from the Arab Muslim and the Western perspectives. At the time when *The Times* rallies to extend the scope of the conflict, *al-Ahram's* editorial given above, is extremely against it as it pictures such a development as hazardous, while *The Times* foresees no success in the war with Afghanistan if the conflict ends there. However, the two newspapers differed on stylistic grounds. That is to say, the *al-Ahram's* editorial, devoted almost half of its editorial to its sentiments with regards to the conflict. The propositions in the Opening enclosed a single point, though differently phrased. The editorial avoided firm and conclusive judgement on the conflict or the Other, despite its clear position towards such a conflict; rather, its reservation against the Other was only loosely and hesitantly implied (such an attitude is barely present in *al-Quds al-Arabi* for instance). Unlike *The Time's* editorial which presented its viewpoint rather explicitly as well as assertively. Such attitude of *al-Ahram* may be attributed to the paper's realization of its culture's (i.e. the Arab) political as well as military weakness in comparison to the West's, particularly the US.

Undeniably, the discrepancy in representing viewpoints demonstrates how the cultural identity in editorials is hard to conceal, something which the Openings of the above two editorials make very clear. It also shows how the rhetorical use of persuasive devices, such as appealing to emotions and/or reason, play a remarkable role in persuading readers to accept the argument debated in the editorial or the opinion piece through engaging readers' emotions, intellect or even both at the same time as the *al-Ahram* editorial above demonstrated.

Ultimately, such a technique reflects the flexibility of the language which allows its users to utilise its rhetorical capacity to reflect a variety of views. This may interestingly recall the political motto that 'means justify the ends' and, apparently by means of linguistic devices employed rhetorically, every writer assumes that the ends reached are normally justified, regardless of the nature of his/her objective or viewpoint that may contradict the viewpoint of others. That is to say, when two disparate viewpoints exist between the sides in a conflict

regarding one single issue, it is very interesting to examine how each is rhetorically presented to enforce the adopted viewpoint.

In order to demonstrate this point, two Openings (which are also interestingly the preludes of their respective articles<sup>4</sup>) of the two newspapers, i.e. *al-Quds al-Arabi* and *The Telegraph* are remarkable in demonstrating challenging rhetoric in conveying a particular point favourably in relation to the same pragmatic context.

#### **7.4.2 The Opening: a rhetorical shield**

Prior to the war on Iraq in the spring of 2003, the entire world was engaged in political, social, and cultural debates on a grand scale regarding the justice of the war to be launched. Feeling the need to participate, many people of the world were conspicuously engaged in activities such as those in the form of worldwide public demonstrations which took place on February 15 of 2003. The entire Arab Muslim world (politically, as well as publicly) opposed the war insistently, despite the low participation figures of demonstrators representing the Arab Muslim cultures (which, for the most part, were controlled by governmental restraints). However, such opposition was extensively expressed through the newspapers of their culture, as has been discussed in various stages of this research.

The Western world, on the other hand, witnessed some kind of division regarding the necessity for military action and such division was expressed also through the newspapers and demonstrations in the Western world<sup>5</sup>. Western publics (particularly in Europe) exhibited astonishing enthusiasm in the marches organised in their cities and towns which bore no resemblance in the Arab and

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<sup>4</sup> I mentioned in Chapter 5 that the prelude may or may not be the opening of the opinion text.

<sup>5</sup> Demonstrations took place in many Western countries, such as the UK, Italy, Spain, and even the US.



Muslim worlds. This was despite the fact that Western people were in opposition to their governments few of which were strongly in favour of the war; and also despite the sensitive relationship between their culture and the Arab Muslim world, which I believe is politically created, probably via rhetoric (see Booth 2004). The following discussion demonstrates the differences in the reactions to the anti-war march between the British newspaper, *The Telegraph* (17/02/2003), and the Arabic newspaper *al-Quds al-Arabi*, (17/02/2003). The Opening extracts of the two papers, both of which begin with an adjectival phrase, are presented alongside each other below.

*The Telegraph* published an opinion article under the headline "If this was a peace March, why did Saddam get no stick?" *The Telegraph*, (17/02/2003) reflecting its reaction to the anti-war march organised to prevent the war on Iraq; the article (Appendix C) began with the following Opening lines:

**The most revealing aspect of the anti-war march** in London was what you did not see. **You did not see any messages to Saddam Hussein or criticism of Iraqi policy.**

Barbara Amiel, *The Telegraph*, (17/02/2003).

In the same context, *al-Quds al-Arabi*'s editorial appeared under the headline مظاهرة الغضب وخطورة سوء تفسيرها (The anti-war march and the risk of misinterpretation).

من اللافت في المظاهرات التي انطلقت في اليومين الماضيين في مختلف العواصم الاوربية و العالمية، ان اضخم هذه المظاهرات عددا و مشاركة و غضبا كانت في الدول التي تؤيد حكوماتها الموقف الامريكي تجاه شن عدوان على العراق مثل بريطانيا، اسبانيا و ايطاليا.

*Al-Quds al-Arabi*, (17/02/2003).

**A revealing aspect of the anti-war marches**, launched two days ago in most of the European and world capitals is that **the most significant in number and fury were the marches in countries such as Britain, Spain and Italy where governments support the attack on Iraq.**

The only common aspect between the two articles above is time; that is, both were published in the same day, i.e. two days after the anti-war march took place, yet, they differed in everything else. Moreover, although both of them begin by drawing the reader's attention to 'a revealing aspect' of the march, each does so, on a different ground.

The right-wing, *The Telegraph*, for example, which had an inclination to support the war, draws the reader's attention to the nature of the demonstration which it does not consider 'genuine', implied by the conditional phrase that comes later in the article "if this were a genuine anti-war march,...". So *The Telegraph* begins first and foremost by questioning the validity of the march as a central issue at the time and through this it invites readers to consider another factor surrounding the anti-war demonstrations. This factor, the paper begins, is manifest in the absence of demonstrations criticising the Iraqi leader or his policy. The noun clause which begins the Opening of the article: "The most revealing aspect of the anti war march", seems to describe an unfavourable state of affairs reflected, yet concealed, in the rest of the clause ("was what you did not see"). This is bluntly stated in the Opening and also in the headline. Thus, in order to enforce the necessity of the war, the paper satirically or rather wittily attacks the anti-war march as absurd in neglecting criticism of the Other which makes the march anything but 'genuine'.

*Al-Quds al-Arabi* begins its editorial (Appendix C) also by referring to a 'revealing aspect' of the march. As a strong opponent of the war and of Western political attitudes, the paper expresses its satisfaction concerning such demonstrations which displayed opposition to the policies of some Western countries strongly in favour of the war. The paper satirically demonstrates the division between the people and their governments in the Western world, reflected in the millions of demonstrators and their negative attitudes towards the war on Iraq. With such a beginning, *al-Quds al-Arabi* aimed to overestimate the

importance of the march and its credibility which the paper considered enough to prevent the war.

Furthermore, at the time when *The Telegraph* sought to criticise and denounce the Other, i.e. in the form of the Iraqi leader, Muslim and Arabs in the course of its article, *al-Quds al-Arabi* poured out its criticism against the Arab and Muslim people and governments for their failure to participate in such a worldwide march, while presenting the Other (i.e. Western people) favourably. And while the *al-Quds al-Arabi*'s article pinpoints the number of marchers in London to have been أكثر من ثلاث ملايين متظاهر (over three millions), *The Telegraph* estimated them as **nearly one million**. At this stage, I would like to demonstrate the difference between the two Openings above in Table (7.1) below:

<p><i>al-Quds al-Arabi</i> مظاهرة الغضب و خطورة سوء تفسيرها The march of Fury and the risk of misinterpretation Editorial: Abdulbari Atwan</p>	<p><i>The Telegraph</i> If this was a peace march, why did Saddam get no stick? Opinion: Barbara Amiel</p>
<p>What is revealing: <b>the large number of Western marchers around the world</b></p> <p>'Our group' (Arabs and Muslims) presented negatively because they <b>did not support</b> the march</p> <p>'Their group' (Western people) presented positively</p> <p>'Marches' as opposed to 'march' to overestimate significance of demonstrations</p> <p>Emphasis on anti-war march in 'European capitals'</p>	<p>What is revealing: <b>the absence of demonstrations against Saddam Hussein</b></p> <p>'Our group' (Western people) presented negatively because they <b>supported</b> the march</p> <p>'Their group' (Iraqi leader, Muslims, Arab people) presented negatively</p> <p>'March' as opposed to 'marches' to underestimate significance of demonstrations</p> <p>Emphasis on anti-war march in 'London'</p>

**Table 7.1** Variation in the Openings of *al-Quds al-Arabi* and *The Telegraph*

By focusing on Table (7.1) representing the Openings of both articles in the papers above, we observe the rhetorical ability of both writers in persuading their audiences to trust their views, i.e. by presenting the same context differently, to suit their individual objectives. In other words, although both Openings concern only one incident, each paper views the issue entirely through different lens. Each paper strikes the chord that is most likely to win over the audience's mind. The language of both Openings is satirically witty reflecting on pragmatic implications of their arguments rhetorically. The rest of each article demonstrates further the controversies in the argument concerning the march which departs from each paper's rhetorically presented 'striking' aspect by which the relevant audience, assumingly, might have been struck.

The four extracts above, representing the Openings of two Arabic and two British newspapers, show the uniqueness of the language of such fragments which aim at matching reader's attitudes with the respective papers'. Many devices are employed and utilised to gain, not only readers' attention, but also their minds. Rhetorical manipulation of language makes it easy for the reader to react in the way the paper wishes him/her to do. Hence, the message of the text is emphasised and the paper's political attitude towards the conflict is clearly portrayed. This, as mentioned earlier, shows the effect of the language of the Opening in achieving such objectives without which the text would not have been so persuasive. And to that effect, I feel that rhetoric is a 'hired tool' of which viewpoints are the masters. It is also said that rhetoric is the 'powerful instrument of error and deceit' (Locke), quoted by Booth (2004: 3). But is rhetoric always used to fulfill such aims? I intend to answer such an enquiry through investigating the Finale of opinion articles in Arabic and British newspapers.

## 7.5 The Finale

It was introduced at the beginning of this chapter that, by the Finale I mean the last part of the opinion piece and/or editorial. The Finale bears inferred information containing propositions that may not directly reflect the immediate context of the opinion article, rather, most of the time it relies on related backgrounds and/or contexts to ensure that the message of the text is powerfully sealed. Remarkably, the realization of their audiences' diverse interests and values, author's ending lines offer an opportunity to approach a wider range of readers, by presenting reality in an evocative language. The Finale lines are therefore, characterised by a language carrying certain features, e.g. cultural, religious, emotional etc. It tends to wrap up and enforce the message of the opinion piece effectively by attempting to seal the previous argument in the mind and possibly the heart of the audiences, and ultimately persuade them.

It is a challenge, however, when writers approach their readers to persuade them to accept what they would normally reject, perhaps out of prejudice or other considerations. Furthermore, such a challenge is increased when a writer invites, through the representation of his/her viewpoint, his/her readers who are fellow citizens to exercise tolerance with regard to the Other, particularly during conflicts. Investigating such discourse is indeed exciting, and therefore I seek now to examine the Finale in the light of the relationship between Us and Them as represented in *The Independent* and *al-Sharq al-Awsat* newspapers soon after September 11 of 2001.

### 7.5.1 The Finale and gap-bridging between cultures

As has been mentioned previously, the terrifying attacks on September 11 of 2001 on the World Trade Centre, a worldwide renowned financial Western site in the United States, created a consistent buzzing echo that has continued up

to the day. It has been an endless 'current event' story that seemed to be linked to every conflict thereafter and due to which the 'war on terror' emerged. It had and has been linked to every future conflict and little attention has been given to its link with the past. Some writers believe that such negligence may inevitably result in the loss of history which is in great need of being restored for the benefit of all human kind. Therefore, some writings emerge to highlight the issue of history of which newspaper opinion commentaries are but a channel.

In an opinion column, (Appendix A), under the headline: "Wickedness and awesome cruelty of a crushed and humiliated people" published the day after the attacks on New York, Robert Fisk, Middle East correspondent and regular columnist in *The Independent* newspaper, ends this opinion article with the following lines:

Eight years ago, I helped to make a television series that tried to explain why so many **Muslims** had come to hate the **West**. Last night, I remembered some of those Muslims in that film, **their families burnt** by **American-made bombs and weapons**. They talked about how **no one would help them but God**. **Theology** versus **technology**, **the suicide bomber** against **the nuclear power**.

Now we have learnt what this means.

Robert Fisk, *The Independent*, (12/09/2001).

The journalistic nature of the author's profession and his involvement in Middle East-related issues, allows him to be involved with its political figures as well as its people. In his column following the September 11 attacks, he presents his uncommon Western opinion with regard to such an event. His opinion contained a clear indication of Our group's shared responsibility in the attacks. Such a remark, the author realizes, is an unfavourable hypothesis that the Western reader may intuitively reject. Thus to be able to deliver such a message, which is the central point of his article, Fisk approaches his audience with a tone that is

unusual in conveying political issues at such a critical time, particularly when the In-group is outraged by the Other's cruel actions against Us. However, the writers' realization of the power residing in language makes their attempt to reach their audience a challenging journey, and from such authors, Fisk is no exception.

One of the techniques used by writers to persuade readers to exercise tolerance is to narrate sorrowful stories suffered by the Other. By doing so, the author aims at appealing to readers' emotions according to which they are expected to react. In the extract above, which closes and sums up the opinion piece, Robert Fisk provides a playback of an episode from the past involving him directly with members of the Out-group. In this Finale, Fisk addresses a major issue through a question which is subsequently answered rather emotively. He addresses the issue of the relationship between Muslims and the West which has materialised in the Muslims' hateful attitude to the West: “why so many **Muslims** had come to **hate** the **West**”. He provides an answer to such an issue from a Muslim viewpoint which is presented in the form of a recollection of a past event. Through such recollection, the writer aimed to present what he believed to be a major factor in the incident of that day i.e. before the attacks on the US: “**their families burnt by American-made bombs and weapons**”. The writer's belief in the agony suffered by the Other makes him narrate it in dramatic language supplemented with graphic description and comments of the hopelessness felt by Out-group members “They talked about how **no one would help them but God**”.

In order to enforce his point of view which suggests the 'victimhood' of the Out-group, Fisk begins his Finale by providing reference to a certain time “Eight years ago” (probably in 1993) and a certain context “I helped to make a television series” as evidence for his genuine account. He satisfies the readers' intellectual quest for the verification of the narrative particularly when the account involves the positive representation of a 'disliked' Other i.e. Muslims.

Therefore, a time reference is given which signifies circumstantial reality (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 2005: 234) Furthermore, the commentator throughout the article uses the first person, “I helped”, “I remembered”, “we have learnt” in an attempt to achieve an intellectual interaction with his reader.

Readers in return are given the opportunity to make their own judgment based on the historical facts and figures provided throughout the opinion piece of which they are reminded again in the Finale. Such confidence in the readers' judgment is reflected in the two juxtapositions which follow near the very end of the text: “Theology versus technology” and “the suicide bomber against the nuclear power”. The writer uses two unrelated terms adjacently “Theology” and “technology”, “suicide bomber” and “nuclear power” to refer respectively to an ideological contrast through which Them and Us are represented. That is to say, the writer uses the nouns “theology” and “suicide bomber” to represent the abstract power of ideology possessed by the Other, i.e. Muslims as opposed to the concrete instrumental power possessed by Us, the West, i.e. “technology” and “nuclear power”.

The juxtaposition of the, rhyming, nouns “**theology**” with “**technology**” perhaps meant to reflect the uselessness of Western power when faced with ideological power such as theology. The same perhaps applies to the next juxtaposition of the rhyming compound nouns “**suicide bomber**” and “**nuclear power**”. Through this representation, the commentator draws an explicit contrast between two disproportionate forces of which the power of the former was 'ignorantly' underestimated (“Now we have learnt”), i.e. “theology” versus “technology”, and “suicide bomber” against “nuclear power”. To enforce the seriousness of his position, the writer suggests that whenever the use of any of these powers is exercised by one of the parties, the other is threatened which implies the continuity of the struggle if causes of conflicts remain not understood: “Now we have learnt what this means”. This final statement, together with the rest of the Finale, sums up and enforces the message of the text



effectively by attempting to engage the Western reader's intellectual judgment after providing him/her with balanced accounts of Our bad actions against Them and also Their bad actions against Us according to which the reader is invited to respond.

Sealing the opinion piece with the statement "Now we have learnt what this means" suggests supreme confidence by referring the case of his article to the judgment of the audience ("we") as self-evident (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 2005: 236). Such a judgment is expected to be made on the grounds reflected earlier in the text, which the Finale addresses again i.e. "why so many Muslims had come to hate the West" and which the following paragraph from the opinion piece summarises:

Ask an Arab how he responds to 20,000 or 30,000 innocent deaths and he or she will respond as **decent people** should, that it is an unspeakable crime. But they will ask why we did not use such words about the **sanctions** that have **destroyed** the lives of perhaps half a million **children** in Iraq, why **we did not rage** about the 17,500 **civilians killed** in **Israel's** 1982 invasion of **Lebanon**. And those basic reasons why the Middle East caught fire last September - the **Israeli occupation** of **Arab land**, the **dispossession of Palestinians**, the **bombardment and state-sponsored executions**... all these must be obscured lest they provide a smallest fractional reason for yesterday's mass savagery.

Robert Fisk, *The Independent*, (12/09/2001).

The extract above demonstrates the writer's powerful and challenging communication in maintaining the coherence of opinion throughout the commentary piece and this particular paragraph serves as the main line of the writer's argument through which he provokes the reader's tolerance and pity for the Other. This extract acts as an emotive in-advance response to the indirect question "why?" in the Finale which functions effectively in reinforcing the entire message of the opinion piece through which the In-group audience's own

positive emotional and intellectual positive evaluation of the Other is anticipated. Activating the final lines in opinion discourse to function as an echo to previous propositions in the texts emphasises its power as a rhetorical tool aimed at conveying the message of the text rather forcefully. Clearly, the exclusion of such segment may not affect the global coherence of the text, its presence in opinion discourse, however, certainly affects its receiver. Such fact is realized by Arab opinion writers too, who also realize the power of rhetoric by which readers positive feelings towards the Other can be aroused.

Appealing to readers' remorse is also an effective persuasive technique in the enforcement of messages in opinion discourse which involves the Other as a victim. This is what an opinion article in *al-Sharq al-Awsat* also shows, the Finale of which I now use to demonstrate such a technique. Three days following the attacks on the World Trade Centre in the US, an opinion commentary under the headline, الإنسان...أخو الإنسان (The human... and his fellow human) expresses the writer's criticism of some members of the In-group after rejoicing as a result of the attacks on New York. The author ends his opinion article, (Appendix A), with the following emotively evocative lines inciting remorse for such an act:

كنت في نيويورك قبل اسبوع و تعاملت مع كثيرين طبيين، في الشارع و القطار و الفندق، اذكر وجوها كثيرة تعاملت معها، و عندما رأيت البرجين يهويان تذكرتهم جميعا.. و تخيلت انهم تحت الانقاض.

انه الرباط البشري الذي لن يهزه ارهاب شارون، و لا دعم امريكا اللا محدود له!!

Ahmed Al-Rab'i, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, (15/09/2001)

A week ago, I was in New York where I encountered **many good-natured people**, in the street, the train and the hotel, I remember many with whom I commuted, and when I saw the twin towers collapse, I remembered them all.. and pictured **them under the rubbles**.

It is the human bond which cannot be broken by **Sharon's terrorism** or by **America's unconditional support to it**.

Similar to *The Independent's* article above, the Finale of this opinion piece makes no reference to the situational context, which in terms of content coherence makes the Finales of both texts irrelevant. They do, however, function rather powerfully on pragmatic and rhetorical levels. Interestingly, the structuring of the Finale of both articles is also laid out similarly, in the sense of containing a short one-sentence paragraph, by which the Finale and the articles are closed. Strikingly, moreover, such as *The Independent* opinion above, the Finale of *al-Sharq al-Awsat's* opinion also refers to a time phase *قبل اسبوع* (a week ago) to function as circumstantial reality and also to emphasise the sorrowful transition in the state of affairs within a short period of time.

In order to emphasise the In-group's negative behaviour, i.e. by rejoicing for the death of 'thousands' of the Out-group in the US, Ahmed al-Rab'i repeatedly uses a first person narrative in an attempt to eliminate any formal barriers between him and his readers in order to achieve more effective communication. Moreover, after presenting the context of his text earlier, i.e. the rejoicing of members of the In-group for the death of Out-group members, al-Rab'i, in the closing lines of his opinion article, interacts with the reader and invites him/her to imagine an experience which he himself has gone through in the very near past. He emotively narrates a near past event in a personal voice in a language meant to portray the Other, i.e. American people, in a favourable manner as: *كثيرين طبيين* (**many good-natured people**). His spontaneous narrative of an actual happy recollection of a past event extends to an imaginary painful one involving the same characters in the former narrative *و تخيلت انهم تحت الانقاض*. (...and pictured **them under the rubbles**).

The effective communication in the Finale of this opinion article is manifested, not only in the appeal to emotion but also in the appeal to reason which follows in the very last proposition through which the author appeals to the audience's own rational judgment which requires a condemnation of the In-

group's act regardless of the suffering of the In-group inflicted by the Other. The appeal to reason is revealed in the lines:

إنه الرباط البشري الذي لن يهزه ارهاب شارون ولا دعم امريكا اللا محدود له

Ahmed Al-Rab'i, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, (15/09/2001)

It is the human amalgamation which cannot be broken by Sharon's terrorism or by America's unconditional support to it.

In the closing line of the Finale, the author encloses an implied opinion in which he suggests that the absence of compassionate feelings towards the victimised Other is considered non-humane because humans are bound to feel compassion towards one another. In his last statement of the Finale, the author touches upon a critical issue which the Arab reader is extremely sensitive about, i.e. the Arab-Israeli conflict and the US support to Israel, through reference to the Israeli Prime Minister (i.e. Ariel Sharon) at the time, to maximise the effect of the Finale. In other words, to succeed in provoking readers' sympathy towards the Out-group as part of spontaneous human amalgamation, the author reflects that such attitude must be envisaged as priority above any other considerations (which the Arab reader may be inclined to prioritise) i.e. the Other's cruel actions against Us such as **ارهاب شارون (Sharon's terrorism)** or **دعم امريكا اللا محدود له (America's unconditional support to it)**. Thus, finalising the article in such a way demonstrates the writer's strong appeal to the reader's emotion as opposed to the logic of the circumstantial reality involving the political relations with the Other. And although the author acknowledges the Other's negative attitudes towards the In-group, which are reflected and pronounced clearly in the course of the article, his Finale directs the audience to consider something else as the extracted paragraph below also shows:

العقل لا يصدق مهما بلغت درجة احباط المحبطين، و مهما بلغت السياسات الاميركية الشاذة تجاه قضية فلسطين، و انحيازها الاعمى للقاتل ضد الضحية، ان

نقدم انفسنا الى العالم كأننا امة بلا قلوب، وكأننا بلا انسانية، وكان آلاف القتلى  
الابرياء مسؤولون عن سياسات لا علاقة لهم بها.

Ahmed al-Rab'i, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, (15/09/2001)

It is rather unbelievable, regardless of frustration, and regardless of the **peculiarity of the American policy** towards the **Palestinian issue** and its **blind bias** in favour of **the criminal** against **the victim**, that we submit our nation as **heartlessness**, and **inhumane** as if the **thousands of innocents killed** are in charge of **policies which are not their own**.

Firstly, this extract, following the Opening, from the opinion article, contained an opinion which implies the guiltiness of the Other, i.e. in the form of their official politics towards Us. However, it does not use such reference to incite readers' negative reaction towards the Other. On the contrary, it uses such a proposition to differentiate between the people of the Other and Their political officials, an argument through which the author establishes a strong ground for his viewpoint, i.e. 'the unacceptability for the In-group's behaviour', and from which point his opinion on such an issue is sharply developed thereafter.

The author in this early paragraph of his text, appeals to the reader's remorse to urge sympathy towards the Other by urging the disregard of the Other's crime against Our group و مهما بلغت السياسات الاميركية الشاذة تجاه قضية فلسطين، و انحيازها الاعمى للقاتل ضد الضحية (regardless of **the peculiarity of the American policy** towards **the Palestinian issue** and **its blind bias** in favour of **the criminal** against **the victim**), such an attitude is enforced again in the Finale. This paragraph is, largely, akin to the Finale discussed above which demonstrates my argument of the insignificance of the Finale in terms of its substantiality to the opinion material. However, its presence, contributes effectively to the enforcement of the enclosed message, the preservation of which the author is keen to ensure before departing the text.

It is rather amusing to observe the similarity between Robert Fisk's and Ahmed al-Rab'i's opinion columns above, which makes such resemblance in opinion-stating rather striking. It is possible to assume therefore, that the magnitude of September 11 event on the world, has highlighted the relationship between the Muslim-Arab and Western cultures more openly and utterly than ever before. This has led the public of both cultures to react in identical manner, driven by human sociological uniformity, regardless of their cultures' extremely distinct politics. It is hoped, though, that such accord leads to the understanding of the Other's human characteristics and urges for dignity and peace as much as Our-group. Such approach to the relationship with the Other, in my view, helps in bridging the gap between the distinctive cultures that is, unfortunately, wide apart.

Luckily, such realization is utterly manifested in the discourse of the Arabic and British opinion articles above. Notably, the Similarity between *The Independent* and *al-Sharq al-Awsat* is chiefly underlined in terms of their strategy of enforcing the victimhood of the Other. In Table (7.2) below, I shall demonstrate such similarity by focusing on the extracted paragraphs and the Finales of each respective paper and which, at the same time, exhibit a reversal of Van Dijk's ideological square. That is to say, Table (7.2) below, demonstrates the emphasis on Our group's bad actions as opposed to the bad actions of the Other which are less emphasised and which are displayed according to the colour coding scheme provided in Chapter 4.

The table demonstrates the pattern in the representation of viewpoint in the two opinion articles as represented in the Finales and the extracted paragraphs, through which each respective author attempts to reflect the wrongs of his respective culture. Each author presents his culture unfavourably in relation to the circumstantial context of the texts, i.e. the attacks on the US on September 11. Both articles above provoke sympathy towards the Other while being critical towards the In-group for acting unfavourably in relation to the Out-group.

<p><i>The Independent</i> Wickedness and awesome Cruelty of a Crushed and Humiliated People Robert Fisk, (12/09/2001)</p>	<p><i>Al-Sharq al-Awsat</i> الإنسان...أخو الإنسان Human...and his Fellow Human, Ahmed Al-Rab'i, (15/09/2001)</p>
<p><b>Our</b> group <b>is condemned</b> for the suffering of the Other</p>	<p><b>Our</b> group <b>is condemned</b> for rejoicing for the suffering of the Other</p>
<p><b>Our negative acts</b> against <b>Them</b> are reasons for Their negative acts against Us</p>	<p><b>Their</b> negative acts against Us are not reasons to justify <b>Our negative acts</b> against 'Them'</p>
<p><b>Their</b> group <b>condemns</b> crimes against Us, but <b>we do not condemn</b> crimes against 'Them'</p>	<p><b>Their</b> group <b>do not condemn</b> crimes against Us, but we should condemn crimes against Them</p>
<p><b>Our negative attitude</b> in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict should not be disregarded</p>	<p><b>Their negative attitude</b> in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict should be disregarded</p>
<p><b>Our politics is responsible</b> for Their people's acts against Us</p>	<p><b>Their people are not responsible</b> for 'Their' group's politics</p>
<p>The <b>Other</b> is represented as <b>innocent</b></p>	<p>The <b>Other</b> is represented as <b>innocent</b></p>

Table 7.2 Representation of viewpoint in favour of the Other

Arguably, such similarity in the views regarding the culture of the Other and the Self in the two opinion texts above, contrasts the disparity observed between *The Telegraph* (17/02/2003) and *al-Quds al-Arabi* (17/02/2003) discussed earlier in this chapter in relation to the Opening of their two opinion articles. The latter two papers exhibited criticism of the In-group for acting against the interest of its respective culture. More precisely, *al-Quds al-Arabi* condemned the Arab and Muslims for not participating in the anti-war march, whereas *The Telegraph* condemned the In-group for participating in the anti-war march in favour of the Out-group (see Table 7.1 above for comparison).

The existence of such controversy within one single culture regarding the attitude towards the Other should essentially be regarded as indication for the possible integration and respect between the Islamic and Western cultures and/or civilisations, which fortunately do exist, though sometimes they are either concealed or misrepresented. This is to defy claims promoting clash and conflicts<sup>6</sup>. Such views reflect the need for reconciliation and appeasement which challenge the bias of various political agendas (see Cesari 2004: 3), a bias, which the language of media channels, including newspapers, either help to promote or restrain particularly after September 11 of 2001 (Silberstein 2002: xiii).

Interestingly though, sometimes, when positive attitudes towards the Other emerge in a particular culture, they immediately face scrutiny, resistance and opposition by representatives of the same culture. This resistance may evolve to be an attack on In-groups' institutions and/or organisations which aim to incite or encourage such positive attitudes. That is to say, instead of denying or disqualifying the Other from positive ascriptions offered by an In-group media, the attack in this case falls against such media for acting against 'national interests', for instance. Therefore, newspapers are observed to play a part in presenting the demeaning picture of 'nationally unacceptable' stance of some media outlets towards the 'bad' Other.

### **7.5.2 Impartiality versus bias in Our media**

One of opinion discourse techniques to suppress sympathy and positive attitudes towards the Other at sensitive times of conflict, is to accuse In-group media of partiality in favour of the Other if such attitudes are observed.

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<sup>6</sup> See <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2003/issue4/jv7n4a4.html>, ANTI-AMERICANISM IN THE ARABIC LANGUAGE MEDIA Journal, Volume 7, No. 4 - December 2003, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2003/02/14/nblack114.xml>, lecture delivered by Lord Black of Crossharbour at the centre for Policy Studies; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel\\_P.\\_Huntington](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_P._Huntington)



Countering such attitudes is intended to discredit such medium as a source of information and news, leading therefore their views to be publicly rejected and hence the negative attitude towards the Other maintained.

Such an approach is exercised by Arabic and British media particularly during the war on Iraq (20/03/2003). A few days after the strikes on Iraq started, the focus on the conflict was shifted to focus on the manner of media coverage by the television medium of both sides with regards to the reports coming from the battlefield. This was instigated first by the broadcasting of pictures of Iraqi prisoners and US soldiers, each on satellite-transmitted television channels of the counter culture, (i.e. Arab and Western cultures). At the time, such an act was controversially considered a violation of the Geneva Convention<sup>7</sup>, (analysis of commentaries on such coverage was discussed previously in Chapter 5).

However, the focus on the manner of the Other's media was shifted to scrutinise the performance of the In-group's media during the conflict. Such scrutiny has materialised in investigating evidences of partiality and bias of coverage in favour of the Other. Therefore, the following discussion sheds light on the role of the Arabic and British media as viewed by newspapers opinion articles of each respective culture which reflects, to an extent, such bias as unpatriotic.

Some writers and commentators of Arabic and British press expressed their repulsion at the failure of some media sources of their respective cultures during the war on Iraq. *The Telegraph* for instance, observed partiality in the BBC Arabic Service's coverage of the conflict in favour of the Arabs, while *al-Quds al-Arabi* believed in bias being practiced by the Arab world media against their culture. Both writers of the two opinion articles below provide their reasons for such beliefs.

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<sup>7</sup> United Nations' (Treatment of Prisoners of War Treaty)  
<http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/91.htm>

The performance of the Arab media was explicitly 'disgraceful' to Ali Fakhru as he reveals in his opinion commentary in *al-Quds al-Arabi* on (27/03/2003) under the headline الحيادة الإعلامي وغياب الروح (Media impartiality and absence of consciousness) and which his following Finale lines reflect and enforce rather explicitly:

...و بالطبع كانت هناك حالات شاذة من النبيل و الالتزام و الاستقامة مارستها بعض و سائل الاعلام العربي هنا و هناك لكن الغالبية سقطت، مع من يمولها او يشرف عليها او يفاخر بها، في العار الذي يجلل من لا يرون في العهر الامريكي إلا الفضيلة و من يختزلون العراق العظيم في شخص واحد.

Ali Fakhru, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, (27/03/2003).

...certainly, there were anomalous cases of **dignity**, **decency** and **merit** practiced by some, scattered, **Arab media**, however, **the majority** had fallen, along with their **sponsors**, **directors** or **whoever prides** in them, in the **disgrace** which **esteems** the **American dishonour** and **judges the great Iraq** by an individual.

In his opinion column (Appendix C), Ali Fakhru, condemned and accused the Arab media for failure to represent the conflict between the US and Iraq genuinely, by its entrapment in the Other's propaganda and misuse of 'impartiality' aiming to suggest their objectivity. His criticism was specifically directed to the media's misuse of language in representing the conflict which gives a distorted image of reality in favour of the Other الجاد (the guilty). In his article, Fakhru presents examples of the media's use of euphemisms such as the media's describing the war as the حرب الخليج الثالثة (Third Gulf War) instead of (malicious assault) لا اعتداء الهجري; and the (massacre) المذبحة against civilians is described as قصف (bombardment), to emphasise the means rather than the impact. Through the attack on the In-group, *al-Quds al-Arabi's* (27/03/2003) still abusively criticises and discharges the Other and which the author maintains until his Finale lines emerge.

The Finale lines of the article are left to enforce the author's belief in the infamy of the In-group due to their bias which served the guilty (i.e. the Other) over the innocent (i.e. Our group). Such attitude is reflected as unpatriotic which is articulated in the last lines of the opinion Finale:

لكن الغالبية سقطت... في العار الذي يجلل من لا يرون في العهر الامريكي إلا الفضيلة و من يختزلون العراق العظيم في شخص واحد.

Ali Fakhru, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, (27/03/2003).

...the majority had fallen...in the disgrace which esteems American dishonour and judges the great Iraq through an individual.

The author aimed at sealing his opinion by implying that the In-group's media demonstrated its journalistic failure particularly by being 'disgracefully' partial in favour of the (dishonourable) Other (i.e. the US) and by underestimating the nobility of Our In-group's history (i.e. great Iraq). Such conduct of the media is left to readers to judge as unpatriotic, and by which the author of *al-Quds al-Arabi* is plainly aggravated.

Surely, the author's enforcement of opinion in the Finale is sufficient to account for his opinion throughout and which ultimately leaves readers in no doubt of the infamy of the Out-group as well as the In-group's media. More notably, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, the Finale lines of opinion discourse act as the writer's signature on the piece and this Finale clearly utters the author's perspective in such context through which he aimed to represent himself flatteringly as patriotic and in favour of his In-group's cultural interests.

Apparently, the inclination to reject and resist such unpatriotic behaviour of the media is not confined to Arab writers and authors. Specifically, Barbara Amiel of *The Telegraph* strongly rejects such unpatriotic attitude of the In-group's media as much as the author of *al-Quds al-Arabi* does. She believed

that her culture's In-group media organisation has demonstrated professionalism failure, in her reference to the BBC Arabic Service<sup>8</sup>.

The Service was the main target of attack by Barbara Amiel in her opinion column on 26/03/2003 in which she accused such organisation of using “euphemisms” thereby offering 'refined' information to the Arab world which she regards as bias in their favour. In doing so, the writer aimed at questioning the objectivity of the Service which is highlighted in the Finale lines below which are extracted from the author's opinion column which appeared under the headline: “How can the BBC be impartial between tyranny and democracy” the Finale of which follows below:

...inadvertently, the BBC has discovered one bit of truth: if you try to use **euphemisms** such as the **BBC's preferred word "militants"** for terrorists, the **language boomerangs on you**. By now weasel words such as "militants" are simply regarded as synonyms for terrorists. Language has this marvellous quality of being hostile to cant.

This will never be discussed on the **"impartial" world of the BBC Arabic Service**. There, **the Director of News** appears to believe that objections to its failure to describe people who deliberately blow up civilians in buses as "terrorists" and **objections to its describing such people as "militants"** carry the same weight and ought to be balanced on some **scale** of equity **known only to the BBC**.

And, indeed, such a **mindset** illustrates the **fundamental problem** of **that organisation** better than any argument I can ever make.

Barbara Amiel, *The Telegraph*, (26/03/2003).

In the Finale lines above which is only an enforcement of the text's argument, the writer ironically condemns the BBC Arabic Service as an In-group media for being erroneously impartial. Amiel's last lines of the article reiterate her text's message more forcefully to enforce such argument. She builds her accusations

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<sup>8</sup> based in the city of Dubai in the United Arab Emirates

on grounds of the false impartiality of the Service observed and she states that the Service gives "partiality the false gloss of objectivity". Through such false impartiality, the author believes, the Service offers the Arabs refined information through the use of euphemisms in relation to the conflicts in which the Arabs and the West are engaged. In addition, the Service's polls via which listeners are invited to vote regarding the legality of the war on Iraq declared by the West, for instance, is completely rejected by the author on grounds of such act is considered unpatriotic by putting the West (Our group) in the "dock" instead of the Arabs (the Other). Interestingly, such grounds of criticism seem to be identical to the grounds on which the Arabic opinion above charges the In-group media.

Additionally, the Finale of the opinion in *The Telegraph* is left to emphasise such argument and the writer ends her article by ironically suggesting that the Service's use of euphemisms such as "militants" to refer to "terrorists", in reference to Palestinian Arabs, indicates professional failure of that Service: "...its **failure** to describe people who deliberately blow up civilians in buses as 'terrorists' ". The author regards such practice as partiality in favour of the Other (i.e. the Arabs) by not giving the right descriptions for certain acts when a distinction between such acts is deemed crucial i.e. (militance) versus (terrorism). Such a distinction between the terms, the columnist believes, must be essentially made in favour of reality rather than sightless objectivity.

The heavily rhetorical phrasing of the Finale makes it sufficient in delivering the message of the text powerfully, though implicitly. However, the author states her opinion of such In-group media rather ironically, which readers might conclude as certainly unflattering or rather absurd and which the very last lines of the Finale suggest "And, indeed, such a **mindset** illustrates the **fundamental problem** of **that organisation** better than any argument I can ever make". Undoubtedly, phrasing the ending of the argument in such an implicit way is clearly evocative as readers might infer from such Finale no less than what the

entire opinion article holds and possibly as the author puts it "better than any argument" that can ever be made.

Noticeably, the Finale lines of the two opinion articles above act as enforcement to their respective texts (though no reference to the immediate context in either texts), both in which the bias of In-group media is emphasised. Similar to the Arabic opinion text above, although the Other is still savagely portrayed in *The Telegraph*, both media of the In-group takes the lion share of attack and criticism. Unquestionably, both Finales leave the reader in no doubt of, some, In-group' media's lack of professionalism which might damage the credibility and reputation of such media source, a message which is left to readers to infer from the Finale lines.

Evidently, the *al-Quds al-Arabi's* opinion preferred to attack 'unidentified' Arab media sources, which in itself highlights a problem in the operation of Arab media including the *al-Quds al-Arabi's* newspaper, which might be imposed by political realities and/or finances. Conversely, *The Telegraph's* opinion was bestowed most assertively on the BBC regardless to countless commendations for the organisation's standing locally or abroad in terms of its media coverage across the globe. The organisation is considered locally as a pioneering media organisation that is parallel in its universality to the UK armed forces and the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford<sup>9</sup>. Yet, its performance is still subject to criticism and analysis which some opinion writers feel competent to exercise, encouraged possibly, by the organisation's decline as a result of political interferences (ibid).

Conspicuously, the role of media of both cultures does not seem to be satisfying to both writers. Both opinion articles mockingly enforce the belief of the respective culture's media mishandling of impartiality in favour of the 'bad' during crisis; and this, in my opinion, might addresses a major question to the

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<sup>9</sup> "A Public BBC" (see bibliography).

modern journalistic practices in relation to the objectivity of the news during wartime. Is such lack of objectivity determined actually by the ongoing crisis at a particular time or by some other factors? Some studies define news norms of objectivity largely by culture and ideology more than events as would be implied by the norm<sup>10</sup>. And in such case, it seems, even if news reporting exhibits some kind of impartiality, it is more likely that such a practice becomes a demonstration of 'credibility' rather than a belief in such practice. Hence, the attitude towards the Other, (in our context, the relationship between the West and the Muslim world), is emphasised again which insists upon both cultures' need to revisit the origins of their clash before they seek pretence through discourse.

By way of final illustration, it is shown in the course of the discussion in this chapter, and the previous two chapters too, that the ideological control of each individual newspaper determines the strategic employment of the opinion discourse and that context play the key role in the underlying ideologies of such discourse (Van Dijk 2006: 138). The selection of Arabic and British newspapers samples analysed have exposed the shared values and beliefs of their respective cultures which were transmitted through propositions in the discourse and also via other discursive strategies in the form of the polarisation between Our 'positive' actions and Their 'negative' ones (ibid: 139). Despite such harmony between the newspapers within a single culture, each newspaper demonstrated its uniqueness in terms of advocating or supporting particular political (such as Egypt's *al-Ahram*) and/or financial (the Murdoch's *Times*, for instance) agendas.

All the six dailies have demonstrated persuasive intent in their attempt to sway readers to make up or reinforce their minds by taking a strong position with regard to the conflict and the participants in question. *The Telegraph* and *al-Quds al-Arabi* were the sternest of the six in displaying their respective attitudes to their opponents who are (most of the time) either an

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<sup>10</sup> Aday, Livingston and Hebert (2005).

individual/members of the Out-group, or an unpatriotic individual/members of the In-group. *Al-Quds al-Arabi's* inclination to portray the Other as immoral, unjust and inhumane is parallel to the *Telegraph's* discrediting and attacking of the opponents' person(s) (Van Dijk 2006: 139). Such moves of persuasion do certainly reflect the social realities of cultures which are reproduced by such powerful institutions, i.e. newspapers.

## 7.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the rhetorical manifestations in the Openings and the Finales of Arabic and British opinion and editorial discourses and the different roles they play in achieving one aim, i.e. enforcing the message of their discourse. The extracts were analysed semantically in terms of their powerful persuasive effects on readers and the role they play in identifying their authors' viewpoints.

The chapter reflected the fact that although the two separate segments of opinion discourse are distinctly categorised, they both function on a pragmatic level. That is to say, the semantic investigation of propositions takes into account the pragmatic embodiments which are crucial to investigating the Opening and the Finale of opinion discourse.

The discussion of the enforcement strategy played by the Opening and Finale lines was divided into four different themes according to their various situational contexts. More precisely, the Openings of Arabic and British newspapers were examined in relation to the war on Afghanistan, and the marches against the war on Iraq; the Finale was examined in relation to September 11 of 2001 and the war on Iraq. The discussion of the Opening in the former context revealed the distinct viewpoints presented by the newspapers in relation to the Afghanistan war; whereas in the latter context, although disparity



in viewpoints is still addressed, the discussion involved the negative representation of the paper's respective culture. Through the Finale, moreover, the positive representation of the Other is highlighted in the first instance, and the negative portrayal of In-group's media is discussed in the second. Such organisation to the discussion is intended to present the power of language which is greatly exploited in favour of the representation of viewpoints in different wartime contexts, regardless of diversity in opinions and perspectives; yet, language is still capable of catering for such multiplicity.

However, it is rather humorous to regard language as a two-sided weapon whereby readers are imposed upon and persuaded. More humour is seen in the reader's readiness to accept such manipulation as they realize they are regarded as targets. Nonetheless, readers are still ready to be exposed to such strategies as much as consumers of tobacco are ready to purchase more of the advertised product. Having said that, the existence of varieties of views relating to one single argument does not imply the invalidity of all, rather it only requires readers' intellectual as well as emotional judgment by bearing in mind the rhetorical devices being used to persuade them with regard to any given context. And this, in fact, is what we are attempting to do: highlighting the power used perhaps either to disable our truthful judgment or enlighten our knowledge of the world around us. Therefore, I am reminded here of an interesting quote by the president of the Tribune Publishing Company, cited in (Booth 2004: 132):

People are looking for more coherence, not less. They want guidance about the meaning of things....Part of the challenge of those who pioneer the new medium will be to devise ways in which it can meet the audience's yearning for a sense of meaning. This will require journalists to embrace and master the lessons of rhetoric, because their task is nothing less than to create a whole new model of expression and persuasion.

Obviously, from the analysis in this chapter, and the two preceding chapters (Chapters 5 and 6), it was observed that the discussion of a linguistic phenomenon cannot take place if context is not borne in mind. The nature of this

study actually requires activating the various spheres to allow a more sound, coherent and comprehensive interpretation. Such an approach was unavoidable and in fact, it made the analysis a thoroughly exciting experience, the outcome of which I intend to share in the following concluding chapter.

## ***Chapter (8)***

### **Conclusion & Future Avenues**

#### **8.1 Introduction**

As the chapters in this study begin to unfold, it is deemed of great importance now to highlight the outcome of the research undertaken for such a study, some of which were determined by the research questions addressed in earlier chapters. In order to investigate the Arabic and British newspapers opinion discourse during the conflicts between the West and the Arab Muslim world, the study aimed at enquiring about: 1) the selective use of language and its impact on promoting stereotypes about the cultures in conflict; 2) the grounds of clash and/or conciliation between the cultures in question as represented in the opinion discourse of their newspapers; and 3) the role of historical, social, cultural, and religious factors in the representation of viewpoint in such opinion discourse.

##### ***8.1.1 Objective-related context***

The study was undertaken due to the worldwide political impact of the attacks on the World Trade Centre in the United States of America reported to have been carried out by an Arab-Muslim group. Consequently, 'war on terror' was immediately announced on September 11 of the year 2001 just as a new millennium emerged. Such critical developments in world politics, received, and still do, an extremely overpowering media coverage and handling in terms of reporting, analysis and emphasis through all available channels, i.e. local and satellites TV channels, radio, electronic media, books, magazines and newspapers, unparalleled by any of the conflicts which took place in the preceding centuries. Moreover, the subsequent conflicts in the early years of the new decade had also been tremendously affected

by the former encounter between the West and Arab-Muslim worlds which were embraced as part of 'war on terror'. Such political significance was observed to be overwhelmingly reflected in the newspapers of both Western and Arabic cultures, of which opinion and editorials discourse articulated rather strikingly. As a result of such reality, the researcher believed in the need for examining such discourse which was characterised by a language distinct from the one utilised in any other context even in relation to conflicts involving other different participants.

It was detected that the manner of representing viewpoints in opinion articles and editorials during conflicts is threefold. Such manner is built on grounds of rhetorical representation, which are represented in the conceptual framework of the study, i.e. rhetorical structure, lexical selectivity and enforcement expressions. Employing the three strategies enables authors' views to be effectively conveyed. In addition, such strategies are observed to be composed of indispensable ingredients of semantic substance which is the chief constituent of communicating opinion with the audience.

### ***8.1.2 Significance justified***

The uniqueness of this study lies in the application of critical discourse analysis embedding interdisciplinary approaches in a comparative environment. Such a task underlined the type of relationship between Western and Arab cultures and the attitude each culture bears towards the other. The political encounters, in which both cultures are engaged, revealed and exposed a spontaneous correlation in the handling of opinion discourse in the cultures representing the respective newspapers, yet reflecting diverse attitudes. Noticeably, however, Western newspapers have exploited the religious scenario to a great extent, while the political scenario was the predominant participant in the Arabic papers.

I was hoping by this modest effort to highlight the different reasons for such intricacies, however, the linguistic nature of this research hinders delving in depth into such causes. Having said that, departing from real world connections manifested in the opinion discourse was typically unavoidable particularly by bearing in mind the pragmatic implications involved in interpreting such discourse.

Therefore, with the political, cultural, contextual implications in mind, it was hoped, and anticipated, that the study would encourage opinion discourse to display a balance between prejudice and contextual past and present realities. In addition, the study also hoped to discourage the employment of offensive, hostile discourse in modifying Our and/or Their cultures, groups and/or individuals. Such a discourse is observed to promote resentment and restrain forbearance among inhabitants within a single multicultural society, and/or between one society and another. Thus, the unawareness of the consequence of such use of language, or the disregard of the Other's beliefs is feared to obstruct existing optimistic relationships<sup>1</sup> between Western and Muslim cultures. However, such promising relationships are challenged by the media's emphasis on clash rather than peace and reconciliation. Furthermore, the study stresses that language is a means which has an infinite capacity of expressions from which writers can freely select, yet to reach various ends.

### **8.1.3 *Obstacles and limitations***

Conversely, the study admits some limitations in terms of the limited selection of articles which was due to space and difficulty encountered in retrieving 'back issues' from some Arabic newspapers' websites. In addition, to account for the progression of the relationship between the cultures in question, it would have been greatly pertinent to investigate opinion discourse beyond the time range specified.

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<sup>1</sup> Such as the institutes for Interfaith dialogue in the Arab and Western (US) worlds:  
<http://www.gflp.org/index.html>;and  
<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0806/ijpe/interfaith.htm>

Nonetheless, the time limit factor was an obstacle to performing such an examination. Finally, although other features were observed to have a unique significance in the way viewpoint is expressed, such as the parenthesis statement, quoted words and phrases, as strategies of enforcement in opinion discourse, exploring such features requires a wider range of material along with more time and space to allow a meaningful coherent study which prevented such investigation.

#### **8.1.4 *Outcome explained***

It must be noted that this study by no means suggests innovative changes, though they may be necessary, to the dynamics of media policies governing the coverage and the handling of critical world events such as political conflicts between two disparate cultures; rather it highlights and addresses the role of the media written word in contributing to the promotion of particular attitudes towards Our culture versus the culture of the Other. As such, through opinion articles and editorials, I examined some rhetorically-oriented linguistic features through which the media messages in such texts are transmitted and conveyed.

However, interestingly and sometimes rather coincidentally, the study observed many considerations, which go beyond mere linguistic findings, which seemed to govern the manner in which opinion discourse is presented in relation to the very political environments selected. I present these observations below according to the different spectrums which are instigated by historical, political, socio-cultural, religious, and journalistic realities and which, most of the time, are somewhat inevitably related in one way or another. And most interestingly, the discussion of the linguistic findings of the study will be visited during the journey of observation below.

a) *Historical observations*

The study observed the reference to the Arab-Israeli conflict to be a predominant factor determining the language of conflict-related discourse in Arabic and native English newspapers, such as the British. Although the Arab-Israeli relation has always been a sensitive issue in the politics of the Arab-Middle East (certainly the Israeli politics too) and affected its media reports and commentaries as a result, the conflicts taking place in this century highlighted the struggle between Arabs and Israel more than ever. It would be wise to enquire about the reasons behind such emphasis on a conflict where no real political confrontations between the Arab and Israeli cultures took place before the announcement of 'the war on terror'.

Here, question imposes itself: what role does the media play in world politics; and what is the role of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Arab-Islamic conflicts with the West while Muslims and Arabs, and Israel are preoccupied with their own struggle? An answer to this question is briefly revealed by Tim Llewellyn, the BBC's Middle East correspondent for ten years. In a special report about Israel and the Middle East in *The Observer* (20/06/2004)<sup>2</sup>, Llewellyn states:

That 37 years of military occupation, the violation of the Palestinians' human, political and civil rights and the continued theft of their land might have triggered this crisis is a concept either lost or underplayed. Nor are we told much about how Israel was created, the epochal dilemma of the refugees, the roots of the disaster.

*The Observer*, (20/06/2004).

He also declares:

There is still an inbuilt cultural tendency in broadcasting newsrooms, easily exploited, to see the world in terms of 'them' and 'us', the carnage in an Israeli shopping mall still somehow more evocative and impressive in news terms than the bomb that devastates the shabby apartments in an Arab slum. The events of 11 September 2001 reinforced this endemic

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<sup>2</sup> Llewellyn, Tim. "The story TV news won't tell."  
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/israel/Story/0,2763,1242896,00.html>

bias. It is easier to invoke Islamic extremism or al-Qaeda or ask why there is no democracy in Palestine than go to the awkward heart of the matter.

*The Observer*, (20/06/2004).

And now, as Israel and Lebanon engaged lately in direct military confrontation (July 2006) causing more loss of lives, it is certain that history had carved such a hallmark, which media continues to marginalise.

*b) Political observations*

Politics has always been a key participant in conflicts which is inevitably reflected directly or indirectly in newspapers. Despite the dominant significance of politics, it is observed that there is a tendency in the Arab press to contain the political predicaments encountered between the respective culture and the West. This is determined, to a great extent by factors of sponsorship and control of the press assigned by governments, to suppress media's attempts to injure the political relations with Western governments, which Arab governments are keen to uphold.

On the other hand, despite the indirect political influence in the UK on the British press, the existence of influential political parties and influential financing bodies of such press, governs considerably, the perspective of individual newspapers. Such perspective, in turn, outlines the relationship between the West and the Arab Muslim worlds. Moreover, as political conflicts were on the stage, sponsored Arabic newspapers do not exhibit explicit divergence with their or other Arab governments, while British newspapers may agree with their government in principal, though, they may not do so in particulars, (Al-Quşaibi 2002: 42), as the opposition on the war on Iraq reflected. In fact, since the outbreak of Iraq's war tragedy (2003-present), Western democracy has been in question on two fronts, i.e.



home and abroad. In Iraq<sup>3</sup>, people who were promised Western-like democracy are far from enjoying democracy. On the contrary, Western presence in Iraq is viewed as a symbol of aggression, hostility and injustice as has been discussed in the course of the study.

On the home front<sup>4</sup>, the overwhelming opposition to the war on Iraq by the Western publics in America and Europe which was clearly overlooked by the political leaders of major Western 'democratic' nations (i.e. United States and Britain) raises the question of 'democracy' in such 'civilised' countries as far as foreign affairs are concerned. More precisely, despite the United Nations' disapproval of the military action; the absence of world consensus, the so-called "coalition of the willing" (comprising the governments of the US, UK and Spain) was formed and subsequently, the invasion of Iraq went ahead resulting in serious developments. Such developments in the world's politics involving the two predominant cultures i.e. the Muslim-Arab and Western cultures were countered by the silence of Arab governments whose summits were only significant in their number rather than in their outcome.

Actually, as far as Arab politics was concerned, the hint of democracy which some parts of the Arab world seem to exhibit and promote (such as Qatar and Kuwait), was deemed a failing attempt. This is manifested in such governments' disregard of their peoples' attitude in particular and the Arab world's in general, in actually participating in the conflict against a sister Arab-Muslim country by offering military bases to the US' sponsored attack on Iraq.

As a result, and as far as the politics of the Western and Arab cultures are concerned, such complications in times of war reflect the deep political errors of the governments when it comes to foreign affairs as a result of which nations' rights to

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<sup>3</sup> [http://www.jhsph.edu/publichealthnews/press\\_releases/2006/burnham\\_iraq\\_2006.html](http://www.jhsph.edu/publichealthnews/press_releases/2006/burnham_iraq_2006.html)

<sup>4</sup> "Chomsky, The Iraq war and contempt for democracy", (2003).  
<http://www.zmag.org/sustainers/content/2003-10/31chomsky.cfm>

peaceful survival are jeopardized. Consequently, influential institutions and organisations, such as newspapers, sometimes do react to conflicts with other cultures in a manner similar to that of the politicians' which their discourse can utterly express.

*c) Social and cultural observations*

During the conflicts being explored through opinion expressive discourse, including commentaries, regular columns and editorials, there is a predominant emphasis on categorising world cultures into two completely diverse cultures, each in which the world is viewed in a manner alien to the other's. Despite this factor, which can critically shape the relation between cultures, the study observed the writers' tendency to expose their cultural identity which ultimately represents the accepted norms and beliefs on which their culture stands and according to which the reader is expected to judge Us and/ or judge Them. Such practice may, mischievously, restrain the reader's spontaneous reading which may not be naturally identical to the writer's, culturally driven, preferred reading of his/her opinion or editorial.

Unfortunately, in many cases, the latest conflicts served in making the crack in the relations between the Western and the Arabic-Islamic cultures grow even wider. This may reflect the keenness of world media to maintain such a gap which might be politically as well as ideologically imposed. The employment of language utters such cultural disparity and identity, chiefly through the emphasis of Our good and Their bad actions, and by de-emphasising Their good and Our bad actions.

Moreover, the writer's interaction with the reader, via the use of personal pronouns for example, mirrors the cultural values that both share, which writers emphasise as part of their persuasion process. Finally and most importantly, it seems to be that each culture holds inherent stereotypical beliefs towards the Self and/or the Other's culture. I trust the views suggesting that stereotypes are self-perpetuating

and I believe that they are established primarily by the media's emphasis and highlighting of the Other's 'notorious' aspects and the disregard of 'honorable' ones which may, sometimes, outweigh the former in many respects. Challenging stereotypes is a means to urge writers to hold back or at least to have their stereotypes qualified.

*d) Religious observations*

The religious scenario in the conflicts addressed cannot be denied for it is sometimes viciously exploited. On the one hand, some Islamic figures and their followers have cruelly feigned their religion and justified the villainous aggression towards civil Western interests, believing such practice to prove prolific in penalising and deterring the West for supporting and inciting violence against many Islamic countries. The West on the other hand, believes that their culture's 'democracy' and 'freedom' are threatened by Islamic enemies who seek to destroy them and therefore such a threat must be decisively eliminated within the various episodes of the 'war on terror'. Regardless of the incongruent motives of engagement which do not seem to display any connections to one another (i.e. Western freedom democracy etc. and Islamic motives for struggle), since the outbreak of September 11, religion remained a major factor on the political and journalistic stages which depicts the struggle, in religious terms, to be between good versus evil. For example, with every commemoration of September 11, Islam as a faith of around one billion of the world population has been a target of criticism by many figures in the Western world. It is true that such negative attitude towards Islam by some of these figures are insignificant (such as views of journalists of some newspapers<sup>5</sup>) but other views emerged from highly renowned respectable religious figures in the West<sup>6</sup>. Certainly, such attitudes resulted in backlashes between the Islamic cultures and the West.

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<sup>5</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jyllands-Posten\\_Muhammad\\_cartoons\\_controversy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jyllands-Posten_Muhammad_cartoons_controversy)

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.cwnews.com/news/viewstory.cfm?recnum=46474>

*e) Journalistic observations*

The latest conflicts between the West and the Muslim world highlighted the risks by which journalists are surrounded. These conflicts revealed the challenge played by the media in revealing what politics prefers to conceal. Such a risk is manifested in attacks on sites of some media organisations, the dismissal of journalists<sup>7</sup>, the physical attacks on some<sup>8</sup> and even the loss of lives of many<sup>9</sup>. Undoubtedly such developments in themselves acknowledge the media's influence and ability to change and alter the public minds which is better sought in favour of truth and credible reporting.

It must be admitted that propaganda is a typical practice in every society serving varieties of agendas, i.e. cultural, political, social etc. However, it is not propaganda per se which should be restricted or monitored, rather it is the grounds inciting such practice which may be an incarnation of political lies particularly during conflicts. And because of such realities that emerge during conflicts, it is suggested by Senator Hiram Johnson that truth is the first casualty of war (cited in Bax: 2006). Being aware of such complications, writers need to realize that readers are not passive receivers in the sense that they only consume what is served in their plate regardless of its ingredients; rather they should be regarded as intellectuals who are able to challenge the propaganda being exercised against them. Readers on the other hand, must challenge the personal bias to be able to satisfy their quest for the sense of meaning; and also to defy claims suggesting that all receivers of communication are inclined not to question the information offered to them if they reflect beliefs matching their own (Booth 2004: 135).

Hence, I believe that writers play a remarkable role in educating their audience because after all they are regarded as intellectual communicators.

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/03/31/sprj.irq.arnett/index.html>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.counterpunch.org/fiskbeaten.html>

<sup>9</sup> <http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/CC07B908-91DA-4A2B-9628-3DA47CCC2421.htm>;  
<http://www.tbsjournal.com/Archives/Spring05/Hudson.html>

Furthermore, I believe that readers are more likely to activate their bias when they fail to promote positive attitudes towards the Other which I consider the foundations for the attitudes which shape their viewpoints. Most of the time, such viewpoints are not necessarily driven by the beliefs and values of individual readers but rather by the prejudice of writers who assist in promoting propagandistic attitudes. It must be realized, however, that opinion and editorial articles are their author's very personal views and judgement of the issue being argued at a particular time in a given opinion piece which are still subject to being approved or disapproved according to the readers' different inclinations. However, such views are in fact an incarnation of the news being reported to a given media organisation and newspapers are one of such significant institutions.

Additionally, because news in times of war are normally reported in relation to political developments, the press, for example is simultaneously infected by the epidemic suffered by politics (Bax 2006: 53). For example, Bax (ibid: 56) demonstrates the failure of the allegedly 'democratic' British press in the war against Iraq. Such press presented only a prism of odd and misquotations of the Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein, during the early days of the invasion, whereas the speeches of George Bush and Tony Blair were delivered in full. He accuses the British press of failure in reporting on grounds of accuracy, balance and criticism (ibid: 55). On the other hand, it is acknowledged that the Arab media in general, have never been competent in this domain which makes Arabs expectations of their media determined by political agendas despite the scattered attempts to adopt Western-like models of journalistic innovations.

Unfortunately, Arab media lack the cooperation exercised by the media of the West in the sense that the news of Western media agencies (such as Reuter, Associated press, etc.) are at the Arab countries' disposal whereas there is no provision for sharing Arabic media contents with the West and even amongst Arab countries themselves. Such lack of cooperation promotes distrust between the West and media in Muslim countries which is, regrettably, due to the absence of powerful

news agencies and media network in the Muslim world (Ahsan 2006: 140). This may also be determined by political factors of sponsorship and/or finances which are sensitive issues in the majority of the Arab world.

## **8.2 Reflections**

The observations underlined above are by no means exhaustive, yet they highlight some aspects reflected either explicitly or implicitly in opinion and editorial discourse. Unfortunately, even the mutual economic interests between the West and some parts of the Arab world in particular (oil resources in the Gulf region, for instance), have also determined, rather disagreeably, the Arabic and British papers' reaction and handling of viewpoints in opinion discourse, in the sense that the In-group's interests were valued above the Other's. Opinion discourse could have been otherwise utilised to establish powerful constructive relations based on the mutual interests of both cultures which media language can effectively help to restore rather than obstruct. In other words, media must realize that the relationship between Western and Islamic cultures is built on the exchange of mutual crucial interests; however, these interests must not be encouraged to be exploited by one culture at the expense of another.

There must be, therefore, an allowance for disputes and disagreements in every culture towards other cultures, because such disparities do in fact contribute to inciting the realization of the multi interests of the human race, particularly by bearing in mind that disparity certainly does exist among the inhabitants within one culture even with a shared background. Therefore, the existence of multi cultures and societies occupying one planet does not entail that they must share unified perspective, which would be rather naïve to consider. However, such multiple perspectives and adherences do reflect the need for integration and communion between world cultures and societies to maximise the benefit and productivity of the

planet for the benefit of all human kind. Such integration may ultimately lead to lessening the apprehension against the Other's actions as a requisite to better and more agreeable relations, which media must realize and seek to promote.

Within the last remarks on the implication of the study, it is difficult to depart without reflecting the enjoyment experienced as the research was being carried out during some of its captivating phases. Such enjoyment incited the inspiration and opened new insights and horizons to the endless possible avenues to be pursued. Applying such linguistic study to the media genre was surely worthwhile and gratifying. And although media discourse has gained remarkable analysis and researching since the emergence of September 11, the light in which such a discourse has been considered is yet to be adequate, particularly in the Arab world.

Furthermore, as much as it is fascinating to investigate the media discourse of a non-native language, it involves the risk of misinterpretation, of which the research at hand may not be an exception. But all in all, mastering any non-native language is by all means inspiring and stimulating to conducting endless researches and studies in all possible disciplines. The current encounters between English and Arabic speaking cultures highlighted the significance of mutual language acquisition more than ever. In other words, it maybe a part of the modern globalisation, Arabs are more encouraged nowadays to eliminate the language barrier with English speaking cultures which allows the direct exposure to other cultures rather than rely on biased accounts which may exist within the culture of their own. The past fruitful contributions of the Muslim-Arab world to the West must be revived in order to utilise globalisation to its best.

Likewise, with the extraordinary Western productive technological contributions to the Muslim-Arab world, English people may find that Arabic language acquisition allows a valuable opportunity to examine the magnificent Arab-Islamic history which unfortunately, some Arabs and Muslims themselves do

not reflect or appreciate. Breaking the language barriers could be facilitated by taking a turn towards a vibrant domain such as the media, of which the discourse of other cultures' media is examined and analysed in relation to issues of mutual concerns. Such exercise reveals a wide range of realities which would not have been revealed in confinement with one's own culture.

### **8.3 Future Avenues and conclusions**

Regrettably, however, current media discourse analysis ignores the constructive comparative analysis of media genre which transcends the media discourse of a single culture. Therefore, following the trail of the current study, I believe that it would be worthwhile as well as rewarding to undertake a task thereby examining Arabic and English satellite news channels discourse as represented by their headlines in the caption news bars, bearing in mind the different aspects pertaining to the semantic and grammatical selection of words and phrases in simultaneous news reporting. The importance of conducting such an exploration lies partly in the prevailing effect of the visual media in influencing other media outlets which is like turning in a 'vicious circle'.

It would also be interesting to carry out a comparative investigation of headlines as represented by one culture in a single or in two different settings via two media sources, say, the BBC and the BBC Arabic Service or the CNN and its Arabic counterpart. A similar approach could also be applied by investigating the disparity observed in the manner of reporting and analysis of news between the Arabic and English versions of the Al-Jazeera news internet website for instance. The comparative investigation could be extended to examining the Al-'Arabiyya news website alongside. Such studies may highlight the grounds of bias as possible reasons behind the disparity or similarity in discourse which may help to imposing on all world media to balance between the freedom of expression and its relation to



circumstantial realities in order to attain worldwide credible reliability through which respective cultures may be inevitably reflected.

Finally, I hope, by the modest effort made in compiling and producing this study, to have succeeded in highlighting the aims of the research that has been carried out. Opinion discourse of opinion articles and editorials in particular and media discourse in general, determined the rationale of this study which was triggered by the newspaper's handling of the conflicts in which the Arab-Muslim and Western worlds were engaged.

The strident echo of the 'war on terror' which was transmitted as part of this critical political milieu, might perhaps, continue to surface in world media for years, or generations to come. It is hoped, or rather aspired to observe a more constructive, peace-promoting media discourse which takes into consideration the challenges associated with exercising the open mindedness through which cultures are viewed and according to which they are judged. It is equally important that tolerance and forbearance are exercised among the inhabitants of a single society which makes the apprehension against the Other's actions easily overcome and hence clashes may be avoided. The predominant focus on the West and Islam (Ahsan 2006: 109) must essentially address the essence of the relationship between such cultures from perspectives other than those confrontational perceptions (i.e. Huntington's, for example, by which some Arab and Western people might be influenced) to encourage peace and prosperity. This is due to the existing confusion in contemporary public discussion in relation to 'Islam' and the 'West' (Ahsan 2006: 109).

It is important at this point to remark on the trend in Western media, including the British, in using negative clichés to portray Islam and Muslims in their coverage of news of Muslim nations. Such journalistic practice has become dominant in all media channels which impose particular interpretations by readers resulting in misrepresenting the culture of Islam. It is not the lack of coverage about

Islam and Muslim nations in Western media that causes the misunderstanding of Muslims, Christensen (2006: 65) explains, rather it is "how the information gathered by journalists is presented to, and then interpreted by, readers, viewers and listeners". Noticeably, when media discourse related to Muslim nations is accompanied by mediated images to 'support' the clichés by which Muslims are presented, their effect on receivers of such media is more powerful. In other words, endeavours by Western media to build on the stereotypes about Muslims makes the imagery (which may not be related to the story sometimes (ibid: 68)) accompanying the coverage powerful even if no commentary is supplemented. Besides, there is a tendency in Western media to immerse religion in their coverage of issues related to countries with predominantly Muslim populations (ibid 2006: 69) which is, in large part, due to the mediated images. Arguably, a similar attitude is not adopted when covering issues from Western countries with Christian predominance (ibid). Therefore, it would be best if equal standards of journalism are exercised when reporting about cultures with different beliefs (ibid) to avoid the entrapment in hostile prejudice which only leads to ceaseless clashes.

It is equally important to suggest that nations are free to adopt a discourse (Hall 1992: 318) through which their own cultures are either favourably and/or unfavourably presented and portrayed; however, freedom of discourse in portraying and misrepresenting the Other, in times of war, should be restrained to avoid its consumption as fuel for hatred and enmity. That is to say, that the theories of racial inferiority and/or ethnic superiority (ibid) must be observed and challenged, in the least, by the discourse of the media in conflict settings. The importance of media discourse as demonstrators of cultures' languages as well as beliefs may play a key role not only on political, but on cultural, religious and social grounds too. Therefore, to that effect, the grand impact of the occupation of the Arab-Muslim country, i.e. Iraq on March 20 of 2003, by Western 'democratic' nations might continue to surface in world politics which may result in September 11 of 2001 to be forgotten just as prior events might have been by September 11 which media discourse has, indeed, fostered and maintained.

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### Chapter (3)

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[http://unstats.un.org/unsd/cdb/cdb\\_dict\\_xrxx.asp?def\\_code=234](http://unstats.un.org/unsd/cdb/cdb_dict_xrxx.asp?def_code=234)

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<http://www.internetworldstats.com>

[http://www.nua.com/surveys/how\\_many\\_online/m\\_east.html](http://www.nua.com/surveys/how_many_online/m_east.html)

[http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/at\\_glance/internet03.pdf](http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/at_glance/internet03.pdf)

[http://www.aloufok.net/article.php3?id\\_article=747](http://www.aloufok.net/article.php3?id_article=747)

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<http://www.alquds.co.uk/index.asp?fname=english%20dailys%20links.htm>

<http://extra.ahram.org.eg/eng/index.htm>

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<http://www.independent.co.uk/>

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Daily\\_Telegraph](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Daily_Telegraph)

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## **Chapter (4)**

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<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/film/2879857.stm>

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## **Chapter (8)**

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<http://www.cwnews.com/news/viewstory.cfm?recnum=46474>

<http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/03/31/sprj.irq.arnett/index.html>

<http://www.counterpunch.org/fiskbeaten.html>

<http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/CC07B908-91DA-4A2B-9628-3DA47CCC2421.htm>;

<http://www.tbsjournal.com/Archives/Spring05/Hudson.html>

# Appendices

THE SUNDAY TIMES  
The Sunday Times  
Edition 1 FWED 12 SEP 2001, Page 13 Terror for all; Leading FEATURES

Telegraph.co.uk  
Home  
Opinion home  
SEARCH  
News  
DO WE NEED POLICING

القُدس العربي  
AL-QUDS AL-ARABI  
Internet www.alquds.co.uk

قضايا و آراء  
القياس 25 من جمادى الآخرة 1422 هـ 13 سبتمبر 2001 السنة 126-العدد 41919  
رأي الأهرام  
الإرهاب يضرب بقسوة

THE INDEPENDENT  
President Bush is right to condemn Iraq's treatment of captured soldiers - but his outrage rings hollow  
Published: 25 March 2003

الشرق الأوسط  
جريدة العرب الدولية  
الثلاثاء 22 محرم 1422 هـ

Telegraph.co.uk  
War to the death between America and Islamic terrorists  
(Filed: 12/09/2001)  
ALL we can do is to pray for the victims. As I write, we can only guess at casualties, but their number is evidently legion.  
The scale of the catastrophe was already clear to anybody watching the almost surreal pictures of the World Trade Centre reduced to an inferno, of the Pentagon in flames, of Manhattan wreathed in smoke, the Statue of Liberty rising above the billowing clouds like St Paul's in the Blitz. The destruction wrought by Islamic terrorists in New York and Washington constitutes a declaration of war on the United States, on the hub of the world economy, on the Jewish people, and on Western civilisation.  
Yesterday's onslaught transcends the concept of terrorism as we have known it since the defeat of the Arabs by Israel in the Six-Day War of 1967. A terrorist blitzkrieg of this magnitude is a continuation of warfare by other means. The suicidal fanatics who carried out this wicked conspiracy had one aim in mind: to provoke Armageddon, a war to the death between America, the Great Satan, and the Muslim world. Their more sophisticated masters, such as the latter-day Old Man of the Mountains Osama bin Laden, hope to force the United States to withdraw from the Middle East, to adopt the craven attitude of Europe towards Islamic extremism, and above all to abandon Israel to her fate.

### Appendix A

Articles related to the attack on the US

(11/09/2001)

Arabic Newspapers	
<i>Al-Quds al-Arabi</i> (12/09/2001), Editorial. <b>al-quds.co.uk</b>	أمريكا في حالة حرب
<i>Al-Ahram</i> (13/09/2001), Editorial <b>http://arabic-media.com/newspapers/egypt/ahram.htm</b>	الإرهاب يضرب بقسوة
<i>Al-Sharq al-Awsat</i> (15/09/2001), Ahmed al-Rab'i <b>http://arabic media.com/newspapers/europe/asharqalawsat.htm</b>	الإنسان أخو الإنسان

British Newspapers	
<i>The Telegraph</i> (12/09/2001), Editorial <b>Telegraph.co.uk</b>	War to the death between America and Islamic terrorists.
<i>The Independent</i> (12/09/2001), Robert Fisk <b>The independent.co.uk</b>	The wickedness and awesome cruelty of a crushed and humiliated people.
<i>The Times</i> (12/09/2001), Leading article. <b>The times.co.uk</b>	Terror for all.





## قضايا و آراء

الخميس الأخرى 1422 هـ 25 من جمادى 13 سبتمبر 2001 العدد-126 السنة 41919

### رأي الأهرام الإرهاب يضرب بقسوة

وصلت أعمال الإرهاب إلى مدي يتجاوز كل التصورات، فقد وجهت إلى عدد من المنشآت الرئيسية في الولايات المتحدة ضربات قاسية يصعب تقدير حجم الخسائر البشرية والمادية الناتجة عنها، أو التداعيات السياسية التي يمكن أن تؤدي إليها. وأيا كانت الأطراف المسنولة عما حدث، أو الأهداف المجنونة التي دفعت إلى ارتكاب مثل هذه الأعمال المفزعة، فإن ما جري يشير إلى بدايات مرحلة شديدة الخطورة. إن الأسلوب الذي استخدم في الهجوم على المنشآت الأمريكية، واختيار تلك المنشآت نفسها، والوصول إليها، وإتمام العمليات في أوقات متزامنة، يدل على درجة استثنائية من التوحش، ومستوى غير مسبوق من التطور في أعمال الإرهاب، التي أصبحت لا تتورع عن شيء، ويبدو في الوقت نفسه أنها أصبحت قادرة على القيام بأعمال كبيرة، دونما إمكان لاكتشافها أو إحباطها في وقت مناسب.

لقد كانت هناك مقدمات واضحة لما حدث، فقد شهدت الفترة الماضية وقائع عديدة تم خلالها استهداف أهداف أمريكية في مناطق مختلفة من العالم، كما حدث للسفارتين الأمريكيتين في إفريقيا، كما أن أهدافا غير تقليدية تماما قد ضربت على غرار المدمرة كول في عدن، ووصل الأمر منذ ما يقرب من شهرين إلى إعلان وزارة الدفاع الأمريكية حالة الطوارئ القصوي بين قواتها في الخليج تحسبا لهجمات محتملة ضدها، ونشر الكثير بشأن تقارير تشير إلى تحركات لإرهابيين في أماكن مختلفة.

ومن الصعب بالطبع الحديث بشكل مبكر عن يمكن أن يكون قد ارتكب مثل هذه العمليات، وإذا كانت الأصابع تشير في المرحلة الماضية عادة إلى أسامة بن لادن وتنظيم القاعدة، وبعيدا عن أن ذلك قد يكون ضمن الاحتمالات المطروحة، فإن واقعة أو كلاهما تشير إلى وجود اتجاهات أخرى لأعمال إرهابية شديدة العنف أيضا، فالمهم هو أن الظاهرة قد تحولت إلى كارثة حقيقية وأن أصابعها قد طالت وتعددت، وأصبحت تنذر ليس فقط بكوارث وإنما بمأس ذات أبعاد جديدة.

وبصرف النظر عما إذا كان ما حدث في الولايات المتحدة يرتبط بأعمال العنف التي تحدث في الشرق الأوسط أم لا، فإن الرئيس مبارك قد حذر منذ أقل من شهر واحد، وتحديدا يوم 26 أغسطس الماضي، خلال حوار مع طلبة الجامعات بالإسكندرية من وذلك بالحرف الواحد: أن الإرهاب أصعب من الحرب، فلا يستطيع أحد أن يحدد اتجاهه أو موقعه، وهو استمرار لتحذيراته السابقة من أن الإرهاب يمكن أن يصل إلى كل مكان، إنه أصبح يمثل خطرا على الجميع دون استثناء.

لقد كان أهم ما تمت الإشارة إليه من جانب القيادة المصرية في المرحلة الماضية هو أن دول العالم يجب أن تتعامل مع الإرهاب بشكل مختلف، دون هوادة، وبشكل مسبق، وأن يتم عقد مؤتمر دولي للاتفاق على كيفية التعامل مع الإرهاب، حتى يمكن وقف عملية دمار المقدرات البشرية، ويكاد ذلك يمثل أهم ما يمكن أن يتجه العالم إليه في الفترة المقبلة، فلن ينسى أحدا بسهولة مشهد انهيار برجى مركز التجارة العالمي، ومناخ الفزع الذي أحاط بالانفجارات التي حدثت، والتي كانت متوقعة في الوقت نفسه، وتحويل الطائرات إلى المطارات الكندية. فقد ثبت أن الإرهاب يمكن أن يؤثر بشدة على نمط الحياة الإنسانية نفسه وليس على المصالح المحددة للدول فقط.



الصفحة الأولى

مصر

الوطن العربي

العالم

تقارير المراسلين

تحقيقات

قضايا و آراء

اقتصاد

الرياضة

ثقافة و فنون

المرأة و الطفل

الكتاب

الإعمدة

ملفات الأهرام

الكاريكاتير



إعلانات و اشتراكات

عناوين الأهرام  
الإلكترونية

# الشرق الأوسط

جريدة العرب الدولية

السبت 27 جمادى الثاني 1422 هـ 15 سبتمبر 2001 العدد 8327

<http://arabic-media.com/newspapers/europe/asharqalawsat.htm>

الإنسان... أخو الإنسان !!

الذين رفعوا شارات النصر، واحتفلوا بقتل الآلاف من الأبرياء في جريمة نيويورك، لم يكونوا يدوسون على جثث الأبرياء تحت حطام مبنى المركز التجاري في نيويورك فحسب بل كانوا يدوسون علينا جميعا، وعلى قضيتنا العادلة وكفاحنا العادل في فلسطين. كانوا يدوسون على انفسهم كضحايا للارهاب، وكانوا يدوسون على سبعة ملايين عربي ومسلم في الولايات المتحدة، تطالهم ايادي العنصرية البغيضة التي تغذيها الصهيونية.

العقل لا يصدق مهما بلغت درجة احباط المحبطين، ومهما بلغت السياسات الاميركية الشاذة تجاه قضية فلسطين، وانحيازها الاعمى للقاتل ضد الضحية، ان نقدم انفسنا الى العالم كأننا امة بلا قلوب، وكأننا بلا انسانية، وكأن آلاف القتلى الأبرياء مسؤولون عن سياسات لا علاقة لهم بها.

واين.. في شارع في الاراضي الفلسطينية المحتلة.. في ارض تضم كل كاميرات صحافيي العالم، وبين شعب تنتظر اسرايل بنهم اي حق او باطل للتشهير بهم وبقضيتهم.

لو كنت مكان القيادة الفلسطينية لاعدت مشاهدة لقطات «الاحتفال» واستدعيت من شاركوا فيه - ربما نجد ان اغلبيتهم من المحبطين الذين دفعهم الظلم والقهر والانحياز الاعمى لاميركا تجاه اسرايل الى فعل ما فعلوه - ولكن قد نجد بينهم من المندسين الذين قدموا للصهيونية ولاعلامها ولحلفانها في الاعلام الاميركي، وعلى طبق من ذهب، مقاطع لا تزيد على دقائق معدودة، ولكنها وثيقة دامغة وخطيرة ضدنا، وضد قضيتنا وضد الانسان في داخلنا.

نعلم انهم اقلية، ونعلم ان الجهل عدو الانسان، ونعلم ان الاغلبية الساحقة من البشر في فلسطين الذين هم ضحايا مباشرين للارهاب يفهمون اكثر من غيرهم ماذا يعني ان يموت الابن والبنت والام والزوجة من خلال ارهاب شارون، ويفهمون ماذا يعني فقدان القبر والجنائز والموت من دون ذنب، ولكن ماذا ينفع الكلام بعد ان سبق السيف العذل، وتفننت اجهزة الاعلام الصهيونية في اعادة تلك الدقائق القليلة ليل نهار في كل المحطات والمؤسسات الاعلامية.

كنت في نيويورك قبل اسبوع وتعاملت مع كثيرين طبيين، في الشارع والقطار والفندق، اذكر وجوها كثيرة تعاملت معها، وعندما رأيت البرجين يهويان تذكرتهم جميعا.. وتخيلت انهم تحت الانقاض.

انه الرباط البشري الذي لن يهزه ارهاب شارون، ولا دعم اميركا اللامحدود له!!

# Telegraph.co.uk

## War to the death between America and Islamic terrorists

(Filed: 12/09/2001)

ALL we can do is to pray for the victims. As I write, we can only guess at casualties, but their number is evidently legion.

The scale of the catastrophe was already clear to anybody watching the almost surreal pictures of the World Trade Centre reduced to an inferno, of the Pentagon in flames, of Manhattan wreathed in smoke, the Statue of Liberty rising above the billowing clouds like St Paul's in the Blitz. The destruction wrought by Islamic terrorists in New York and Washington constitutes a declaration of war on the United States, on the hub of the world economy, on the Jewish people, and on Western civilisation.

Yesterday's onslaught transcends the concept of terrorism as we have known it since the defeat of the Arabs by Israel in the Six-Day War of 1967. A terrorist blitzkrieg of this magnitude is a continuation of warfare by other means. The suicidal fanatics who carried out this wicked conspiracy had one aim in mind: to provoke Armageddon, a war to the death between America, the Great Satan, and the Muslim world. Their more sophisticated masters, such as the latter-day Old Man of the Mountains Osama bin Laden, hope to force the United States to withdraw from the Middle East, to adopt the craven attitude of Europe towards Islamic extremism, and above all to abandon Israel to her fate.

The use of hijacked passenger aircraft as flying bombs means that Islamic fundamentalists have plumbed new depths of inhumanity in order to achieve their dystopian dream of a world purged of unbelievers. They take literally the dire warnings of the Koran to Jews and Christians: "You shall be overthrown, and mustered into Gehenna - an evil cradling!"

The cult of suicide terrorism has grown notably during the latest Palestinian intifada; but it has been seen before in attacks on Israeli and American targets overseas. Suicide terror is actually as old as the Ishmaeli suicide squads who murdered Crusader leaders, and from whose corrupted Arabic name we still derive the word "assassin". The modern suicide bombers and hijackers, like the medieval assassins, draw inspiration from passages in the Koran which promise all the sensual delights of immortality to those who die engaged in jihad, or holy war: "And those who are slain in the way of God, He will not send their works astray... And He will admit them to Paradise." There are some similarities to the Judeo-Christian notion of martyrdom - the Jewish Zealots, too, committed mass suicide at Masada rather than surrender to the Romans. But orthodox Judaism and Christianity have never sanctioned suicide as a path to Paradise. Only Islam, of the Abrahamic religions, has this tradition, and it has now sown a bitter harvest which innocent Muslims, too, may reap for many years to come.

Let there be no mistake: global Islamic terrorism is rooted in global anti-Semitism. This was, in many ways, the most vicious blow aimed at the Jewish people since the Holocaust. Though the victims yesterday were Americans, the chief target was what the perpetrators would call international Jewry. New York is not only the richest city on earth, the capital of capitalism; it is also the largest Jewish city. That it had hitherto remained invulnerable was a challenge to the diabolical ingenuity of the terrorists and their sponsors. Last year the intifada had brought a wave of assaults on synagogues, Jewish cemeteries and individual Jews across Europe. Last week the grotesque "anti-racism" conference in Durban reiterated the equation between Zionism and racism which, inverted, means that anti-Zionism translates into anti-Semitism. The refusal by the US and Israel to accept this equation, symbolised by their walk-out, helped to create the context in which yesterday's monstrosity could be condoned, or at least relativised, by many Muslim fundamentalists.

As with suicide terrorism, anti-Semitism is unfortunately endemic in the Middle East, despite the fact that Arabic and Hebrew are both Semitic languages. This anti-Semitism often still takes the crudest form, drawing on every scrap of discredited mumbo-jumbo since the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. The collaboration of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem with the Nazis is only the most notorious instance of a long line of Judeophobic Arab leaders. Mosques, not only in the Palestinian territories but far beyond, have echoed to imams and mullahs preaching against the Jews, reaching a crescendo in recent months. Yasser Arafat may have been quick to condemn yesterday's attacks, but his primary motive will have been self-preservation, while many of his followers will have rejoiced at America's greatest humiliation since Vietnam, if not indeed since Pearl Harbor.

Mention of that last great airborne onslaught on the US is a reminder that the Japanese, too, used suicide bombers to devastating effect during the closing stages of the Second World War. The kamikaze was a nightmarish weapon to defend against, but its use by an increasingly desperate Imperial regime did not have the intended effect of deterring American attacks on the Japanese homeland.

On the contrary, such attacks intensified; and the decision to deploy the ultimate weapon, the atomic bomb, against Hiroshima and Nagasaki was in part justified by the fear that kamikaze tactics would oblige an Allied invasion of Japan to suffer very high casualties (the figure of a million dead, though exaggerated, was widely believed). Those who use airliners as human missiles to strike against America will find that condign retaliation is no empty threat: the US armed forces have used overwhelming force to defeat the kamikaze threat before, and they will doubtless do so again.

This hideous crime against humanity will bring a deeper anxiety to the surface. Does Western civilisation still have the moral courage and determination to defend itself against barbarians who have armed themselves with the West's own weapons? In Britain, alas, we have already answered this question. Tony Blair's capitulation to the IRA rendered his Churchillian protestations yesterday hollow. Our European partners are no less irresolute in the face of threats to civilians. In Washington and New York, too, there will be voices urging a cautious, "proportionate" response: for the sake of US diplomatic interests, for the sake of Wall Street, above all to avoid casualties, civilian or military.

What, though, is proportionate when an enemy strikes at the very heart of one's homeland, spreading mayhem on an unprecedented scale? An act of war, such as this, justifies the Commander in Chief in taking the most draconian measures at his disposal. George W. Bush may not look like America's man of destiny, but that - whether he likes it or not - is what he must needs become. Unless he can rectify this failure of intelligence and security, unless he can demonstrate ruthless leadership, unless he can make himself once again feared and respected throughout the world, then he is a lame, if not a dead, duck. Americans will not tolerate a second Jimmy Carter. In this, the bloodiest massacre on their soil since the Civil War, they need a second Lincoln. The speech President Bush gave off the cuff immediately after the attack was not the Gettysburg address, but it summed up admirably the trauma of his countrymen.

I am confident that the United States will survive this test. The scenes shown on television yesterday looked like pure Hollywood, but the reality must have been closer to Dante's Inferno. Americans will not forget this cataclysm: it will have seared their collective memory and conscience. They will emerge stronger, no longer reluctant to make the supreme sacrifice for their country and for civilisation. This new century has begun for Americans under dreadful auspices, but this ordeal may be the making of a generation.

# THE INDEPENDENT

## The wickedness and awesome cruelty of a crushed and humiliated people

By Robert Fisk

Published: 12 September 2001

So it has come to this. The entire modern history of the Middle East – the collapse of the Ottoman empire, the Balfour declaration, Lawrence of Arabia's lies, the Arab revolt, the foundation of the state of Israel, four Arab-Israeli wars and the 34 years of Israel's brutal occupation of Arab land – all erased within hours as those who claim to represent a crushed, humiliated population struck back with the wickedness and awesome cruelty of a doomed people.

So it has come to this. The entire modern history of the Middle East – the collapse of the Ottoman empire, the Balfour declaration, Lawrence of Arabia's lies, the Arab revolt, the foundation of the state of Israel, four Arab-Israeli wars and the 34 years of Israel's brutal occupation of Arab land – all erased within hours as those who claim to represent a crushed, humiliated population struck back with the wickedness and awesome cruelty of a doomed people. Is it fair, is it moral, to write this so soon, without proof, when the last act of barbarism, in Oklahoma, turned out to be the work of home-grown Americans? I fear it is. America is at war and, unless I am mistaken, many thousands more are now scheduled to die in the Middle East, perhaps in America too. Some of us warned of "the explosion to come". But we never dreamt this nightmare.

And yes, Osama bin Laden comes to mind, his money, his theology, his frightening dedication to destroy American power. I have sat in front of bin Laden as he described how his men helped to destroy the Russian army in Afghanistan and thus the Soviet Union. Their boundless confidence allowed them to declare war on America. But this is not the war of democracy versus terror that the world will be asked to believe in the coming days. It is also about American missiles smashing into Palestinian homes and US helicopters firing missiles into a Lebanese ambulance in 1996 and American shells crashing into a village called Qana and about a Lebanese militia – paid and uniformed by America's Israeli ally – hacking and raping and murdering their way through refugee camps.

No, there is no doubting the utter, indescribable evil of what has happened in the United States. That Palestinians could celebrate the massacre of 20,000, perhaps 35,000 innocent people is not only a symbol of their despair but of their political immaturity, of their failure to grasp what they had always been accusing their Israeli enemies of doing: acting disproportionately. All the years of rhetoric, all the promises to strike at the heart of America, to cut off the head of "the American snake" we took for empty threats. How could a backward, conservative, undemocratic and corrupt group of regimes and small, violent organisations fulfil such preposterous promises? Now we know.

And in the hours that followed yesterday's annihilation, I began to remember those other extraordinary assaults upon the US and its allies, miniature now by comparison with yesterday's casualties. Did not the suicide bombers who killed 241 American servicemen and 100 French paratroops in Beirut on 23 October 1983, time their attacks with unthinkable precision?

There were just seven seconds between the Marine bombing and the destruction of the French three miles away. Then there were the attacks on US bases in Saudi Arabia, and last year's attempt – almost successful it now turns out – to sink the USS Cole in Aden. And then how easy was our failure to recognise the new weapon of the Middle East which neither Americans nor any other Westerners could equal: the despair-driven, desperate suicide bomber.

And there will be, inevitably, and quite immorally, an attempt to obscure the historical wrongs and the injustices that lie behind yesterday's firestorms. We will be told about "mindless terrorism", the "mindless" bit being essential if we are not to realise how hated America has become in the land of the birth of three great religions.

Ask an Arab how he responds to 20,000 or 30,000 innocent deaths and he or she will respond as decent people should, that it is an unspeakable crime. But they will ask why we did not use such words about the sanctions that have destroyed the lives of perhaps half a million children in Iraq, why we did not rage about the 17,500 civilians killed in Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon. And those basic reasons why the Middle East caught fire last September – the Israeli occupation of Arab land, the dispossession of Palestinians, the bombardments and state-sponsored executions ... all these must be obscured lest they provide the smallest fractional reason for yesterday's mass savagery.

No, Israel was not to blame – though we can be sure that Saddam Hussein and the other grotesque dictators will claim so – but the malign influence of history and our share in its burden must surely stand in the dark with the suicide bombers. Our broken promises, perhaps even our destruction of the Ottoman Empire, led inevitably to this tragedy. America has bankrolled Israel's wars for so many years that it believed this would be cost-free. No longer so. But, of course, the US will want to strike back against "world terror", and last night's bombardment of Kabul may have been the opening salvo. Indeed, who could ever point the finger at Americans now for using that pejorative and sometimes racist word "terrorism"?

Eight years ago, I helped to make a television series that tried to explain why so many Muslims had come to hate the West. Last night, I remembered some of those Muslims in that film, their families burnt by American-made bombs and weapons. They talked about how no one would help them but God. Theology versus technology, the suicide bomber against the nuclear power. Now we have learnt what this means.

The day that changed the modern world.

The United States, its allies and the civilised world are at war today against an enemy which, while undeclared, is as well organised and as ruthless as any that a modern state has confronted. Four aircraft, simultaneously hijacked and deployed in suicide attacks, have been used to kill thousands of civilians, to destroy two of America's best known landmarks, to wreck the Pentagon, force the evacuation of the White House and bring the normal business of government to a halt. New Yorkers suffered an urban avalanche; the rest of the world has yet to feel the consequences. The immediate result yesterday was to stop business on Wall Street and in southern Manhattan, and to bring turbulence to world financial and oil markets. All that is only the beginning. Even as Americans grieve for their dead and the civilised world grieves with them, the West must recognise what will come after the burials are over. From airports to embassies, from petrol pumps to political hustings, there will be constant reminders of this dreadful day for years to come. The impact on the American mind, on America's sense of itself and of its duty to others is as yet incalculable. The new truths of a changed world have yet to be seen.

The American dream itself was the target of yesterday's co-ordinated and deadly terrorist attacks on the most potent symbols of Western political, commercial and military power. But it was more than that; it was an attack on civilised liberal society, designed to force all countries that could conceivably be targets to become, in self-defence, high security states. Very few events, however dramatic, change the political landscape. This will. As shock and grief give way to a terrible anger, the US will fight back in defence of that dream, determined, in the words of Colin Powell yesterday, that terrorists "will never be allowed to kill our society and our belief in the democratic way". But it will fight as a nation grimly conscious that it has been tempered by fire and changed, perhaps for ever, by the ordeal. The psychological impact will be greater than that of Japan's destruction of the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor and will reach far beyond America's borders. By comparison with yesterday's smashing of hijacked American aircraft into American targets, Pearl Harbor was easy to understand; it was for most Americans at the edge of their world. Yesterday there came a true bolt from the blue, aimed to humble the heart of the nation.

The inquests will be swift and harsh. The vulnerability of the United States to terrorist assault was well understood by American leaders and Intelligence officials, although no policymaker could have anticipated that it would be so appallingly demonstrated as it was yesterday or that the country's huge security apparatus would prove so hopelessly inadequate. But to most Americans, it was an abstract peril. It is abstract no longer. The most devastating terrorist attack in history has put Manhattan and Foggy Bottom on a footing with Tel Aviv. Stricken along with the thousands of victims in the debris of the collapsed Twin Towers of New York's World Trade Centre and the smouldering Pentagon is a great country's sense of itself as a continental power ringed by oceans, set apart by geography as well as history and consequently endowed with a large measure of freedom to act for the right. It may take a long time for the United States to recover its identity as the "young nation", idealistic and politically self-confident, that it has, remarkably, felt itself to be throughout its history.

Much anger will be turned inward. This was a massive security failure. The co-ordinated hijacking of these aircraft was a complex operation. It could not have been carried out without months of preparation or without the involvement of many actors. Almost certainly, pilots as well as hijackers had to be smuggled on board; an American pilot with a gun to his head, knowing that he was going to die anyway, would surely have headed out to sea rather than hit buildings which contained so many fellow citizens. Such an assault must have involved large numbers of communications that America's formidable signals intelligence was capable of intercepting and did not.

Americans will be shocked that airport security was so lax that multiple hijacks were possible. They can have little confidence today in the huge organisations of state that exist to protect them. It is barely conceivable that even the Pentagon, its roofs bristling with radar and anti-aircraft missiles, should have failed to protect itself from attack -and that it was apparently unprepared for one, almost an hour after the first plane flew into the World Trade Centre. It makes matters no better that lax security is no novelty; the USS Cole was holed last year in port in Aden by a small boat that an alert crew should have searched before it got anywhere near the ship. After the bombings of the American Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, it emerged that State Department officials had repeatedly asked for, and been denied on grounds of cost, additional protection for those and other embassy buildings. Now that bombers have struck with such apparent ease against the heart of American power, the FBI, CIA and the Department of Defence will all find themselves in the dock of indignant public opinion.

George W. Bush finds himself trying out John F. Kennedy's shoes in circumstances that would test the most mature of politicians. He has fewer obvious courses of action open to him than did that other young and still untried President in 1962, when he was confronted by the Cuban missile crisis. Again, as with Pearl Harbor, Kennedy had a known adversary to deal with. Mr Bush, by contrast, must contend with a "national tragedy" that amounts to an assault on freedom itself and demands a devastating response, but which presents as yet no clear target.

The enormity of what has occurred has given pause to groups which might have hastened to claim "credit" for lesser attacks. Responsibility was at first claimed by the Damascus-based Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine but the DFLP retracted that statement almost immediately. So has Hamas. Yassir Arafat's condemnation has been accompanied by an offer to help to track down the attackers that, in other suicide bomb attacks, he would have done well not to deny to Israel.

One reason for believing these denials, regardless of motive or past performance, is that it is unlikely that any of the Middle East's militant Islamists is capable of attacks on this scale. The logistics are more characteristic of the methods of Osama bin Laden, the Saudi extremist sheltered by Taleban who ordered the Kenyan and Tanzanian bombings and may have had a hand in the bombing of the US barracks near Dhahran in 1996. He could have acted alone, or under contract to Saddam Hussein. Iraqi television was yesterday reflecting the regime's delight. Iranian hardliners will be no less pleased. The Taleban authorities, aware that the finger points in their direction, have been anxious to deflect suspicion away from their protege; their spokesman has insisted that "we want to tell the American people that Afghanistan feels their pain" and "we hope the terrorists are caught and brought to justice". But bin Laden is believed on good authority by the editor of Al Quds, the London-based Arab newspaper, to have been planning an attack of unprecedented magnitude on targets in the United States. When he has made such vows before, he has carried them out. The question for Mr Bush is how most effectively to retaliate. The aim must not merely be to punish but to extinguish the threat. The answer, as Britain knows from long experience in Northern Ireland and as the West found in dealing with the hijackings and bombings of the 1970s, is that there is no single stroke that will slay these invisible enemies, no one riposte that will "take out" this threat. Effective mastery of this terrorist network -and the one certainty is that many people are involved -will require a changed attitude of mind to every aspect of civil as well as military security. It is painstaking work requiring constraints that people will understand in the immediate aftermath but will soon come to resent as infringements of their liberties. Part of the price of vigilance is inconvenience. It is a difficult course for democracies to sustain. Where there is proof against an individual, group or country, America should take robust military action. But haste brings dangers not merely of hitting the wrong target but of making the dangers worse. It is important to avoid doing anything that would make life any more difficult for moderate Arab governments whose unfeigned horror at what has happened is dictated as much by anxieties about the impact on their own publics as it is by common humanity. These Manhattan murderers will be heroes to Islamist extremists; and even among those who are not, it will be assumed that these were "martyrs" out to punish America for its support of Israel. Rulers such as Egypt's Hosni Mubarak, Jordan's King Abdullah and the Saudi Royal House will fear the strengthening of anti-Western forces. However irritated Washington has cause to be with their recent play-acting at the Durban conference on racism, America must move with circumspection in this treacherous political terrain. Mr Bush's second care must be to ensure that this disaster does not turn Americans in on themselves. Never has there been less good reason; but not for a long time will the temptation have been so great. This disaster has, in the most appalling and unwanted circumstances of national catastrophe, vindicated Mr Bush's longstanding argument that the end of the Cold War has not ended the threats to American security. It underpins his strategic case for missile defence. These suicide bombers have proved his point about America's vulnerability. They prove, too, however, that missile defence -as the President has always contended -is only part of a strategy for the defence of the law-abiding against the villainy of outlaw states and groups. The response cannot be retreat.

This carnage has shown that there can be no retreat that does not add to danger. This attack was, as Tony Blair says, not against America alone part of a battle between terrorism and the entire free world which can be met only by standing shoulder to shoulder. Mikhail Gorbachev famously that in ending the Cold War he was doing something terrible to the West, depriving it of its enemy. The enemy today is Moscow's, Western Europe's, America's and the law-loving world's. Against this monstrosity, the grandest of coalitions must be forged if evil is not to prevail.

**Appendix B**

Articles related to the war on  
Afghanistan

(07/10/2001)

<b>Arabic Newspapers</b>	
<i>Al-Ahram</i> (09/10/2001)	أول حروب القرن

<b>British Newspapers</b>	
<i>The Telegraph</i> (08/10/2001) John Keegan, Defense Editor	In this war of civilisation, the west will prevail.
<i>The Times</i> (09/10/2001) Leading Article	The greater game; Afghanistan is the first but not the only battlefield.
<i>The Independent</i> (10/10/2001) Terence Blacker	This is a caring war-we weep as we bomb.

## قضايا و آراء

الثلاثاء 22 من رجب 1422 هـ 9 أكتوبر 2001 العدد-126 السنة 41945

### رأى الأهرام أول حروب القرن

مع بداية أول حرب في القرن الحادي والعشرين, نريد للولايات المتحدة أن تنتصر علي الإرهاب لا أن تؤدي حربها الراهنة ضد أفغانستان الي إيجاد جيل جديد من الإرهابيين أشد قسوة وفتكا - ونريد للولايات المتحدة أن تنشر السلام والوئام بين جميع شعوب العالم ولا نريد لها ان تكون سببا في انقسامهم وشيوع الكراهية بينهم وتغذية النزاعات العنصرية التي يمكن أن تفجر أزمات وحروباً دولية جديدة. ونريد لها ان تنشر العدل كما يجب ان يكون, ولا نريد لها ان تواصل الكيل بمكيالين أو تنصر الظالم علي المظلوم. ونريد لها ان تجعل من الإرادة الدولية قاعدة صلبة يستند إليها جهد عالمي واسع النطاق لاقتلاع الأسباب التي أدت الي اندلاع موجات الإرهاب هنا وهناك, ولا نريد لها أن تجعل من هذه الإرادة مسوغاً في يديها لفرض الهيمنة والانتفراد بتحديد مصير العالم.

إننا أمام لحظات فارقة في تاريخ البشرية سوف تحدد مصيرها لعقود قادمة, ومن ثم فإننا نتمني ان تنتهي الحرب الراهنة بأسرع ما يمكن, وألا يكون لها رد فعل يهدد حياة الأمريكيين داخل وخارج الولايات المتحدة, تماماً مثلما نتمني ان تكون بداية قوية لعصر جديد من الوئام والسلام في كل ربوع العالم. والخطر كل الخطر ان يؤدي إعلان الولايات المتحدة ان الحرب ستطول أطرافاً أخرى الي توسيع دائرة الحرب ومن ثم فإن هناك نتائج وخيمة يمكن ان تقع يتوه فيها الحق مع الباطل ولا تجني منها البشرية سوى ميراث جديد من العداة والكراهية. ولذلك فإن الولايات المتحدة تحتاج أكثر من أي وقت مضى الي التنسيق والتشاور مع كل الأطراف الدولية التي عانت من الإرهاب ولديها رغبة صادقة وقوية لنشر السلام بين جميع شعوب العالم, كما أنها في حاجة الي أقصى درجات الحكمة وضبط النفس, وهي تتعامل مع تداعيات الحرب الراهنة ضد أفغانستان, أو بالأحرى مع الحرب الطويلة والواسعة مع الارهاب في كل مكان. وحسنا فعل الرئيس الأمريكي جورج بوش في بياناته الأخيرة التي حدد فيها موقف الولايات المتحدة من الحرب, والتي أكد فيها انها ليست حرباً ضد الاسلام وأن الإرادة الدولية متحدة وراء واشنطن في القضاء علي بؤر الارهاب, وحسنا فعل باتصالاته المستمرة مع قادة المنطقة ليضعهم في الصورة أولاً بأول. ولكن وصف الحرب بأنها طويلة وستطول أطرافاً أخرى يحتاج الي المزيد من التشاور والتنسيق علي كل المستويات الاقليمية والدولية, وهنا فإن الخطر هو أن تؤدي تداعيات توسيع نطاق الحرب الي تعقيد قضية الارهاب أكثر مما هي عليه, مما يمكن ان يقلل من امكانية وضع حل نهائي لها, ولذلك لابد ان يبحث المجتمع الدولي عن آليات أخرى للتعامل للموقف فور انتهاء الحرب الأمريكية ضد أفغانستان.



# Telegraph.co.uk

In this war of civilisations, the West will prevail

(Filed: 08/10/2001)

PRESIDENT BUSH'S threatened war against terrorism has begun. What is so striking at the outset is the brief lapse of time between its declaration and its outbreak.

The Gulf War, also led by the United States, took six months to prepare. This war, declared on September 11, the day of the atrocities, is in full swing only 27 days later. All the same stages have been gone through - organisation of an alliance, diplomatic preparation, positioning of forces. The first blow has been struck in one-sixth of the time.

Striking quickly, as well as hard, may be a quality of this war deliberately chosen, and with good reason. A harsh, instantaneous attack may be the response most likely to impress the Islamic mind. Surprise has traditionally been a favoured Islamic military method. The use of overwhelming force is, however, alien to the Islamic military tradition. The combination of the two is certainly designed to unsettle America's current enemy and probably will.

Samuel Huntington, the Harvard political scientist, outlined in a famous article written in the aftermath of the Cold War his vision of the next stage hostilities would take. Rejecting the vision of a New World Order, proposed by President Bush senior, he insisted that mankind had not rid itself of the incubus of violence, but argued that it would take the form of conflict between cultures, in particular between the liberal, secular culture of the West and the religious culture of Islam. Huntington's "clash of civilisations" was widely discussed, though it was not taken seriously by some. Since September 11 it has been taken very seriously indeed.

If I thought Huntington's view had a defect, it was that he did not discuss what I think the crucial ingredient of any Western-Islamic conflict, their quite distinctively different ways of making war. Westerners fight face to face, in stand-up battle, and go on until one side or the other gives in. They choose the crudest weapons available, and use them with appalling violence, but observe what, to non-Westerners may well seem curious rules of honour. Orientals, by contrast, shrink from pitched battle, which they often deride as a sort of game, preferring ambush, surprise, treachery and deceit as the best way to overcome an enemy.

This is not to stereotype Afghans, Arabs, Chechens or any other Islamic nationality traditionally hostile to the West as devious or underhand, nor is it to stereotype Islam in its military manifestation. The difference in styles of warfare is borne out by the fact of military history. Western warfare had its origins in the conflicts of the citizens of the Greek city states who fought to defend the strictly defined borders of their small political units. Beyond their world the significant military powers, however, were nomads, whose chosen method was the raid and the surprise attack. Once they acquired a superior means of mobility, in the riding horse, they developed a style of warfare which settled people found almost impossible to resist.

The Arabs were horse-riding raiders before Mohammed. His religion, Islam, inspired the raiding Arabs to become conquerors of terrifying power, able to overthrow the ancient empires both of Byzantium and Persia and to take possession of huge areas of Asia, Africa and Europe. It was only very gradually that the historic settled people, the Chinese, the Western Europeans, learnt the military methods necessary to overcome the nomads. They were the methods of the Greeks, above all drill and discipline.

The last exponents of nomadic warfare, the Turks, were not turned back from the frontiers of Europe until the 17th century. Thereafter the advance of Western military power went unchecked. One Islamic state after another went down to defeat, until in 1918 the last and greatest, the Ottoman empire, was overthrown. After 1918 the military power of the Western world stood apparently unchallengeable.

The Oriental tradition, however, had not been eliminated. It reappeared in a variety of guises, particularly in the tactics of evasion and retreat practised by the Vietcong against the United States in the Vietnam war. On September 11, 2001 it returned in an absolutely traditional form. Arabs, appearing suddenly out of empty space like their desert raider ancestors, assaulted the heartlands of Western power, in a terrifying surprise raid and did appalling damage.

President Bush in his speech to his nation and to the Western world yesterday, promised a traditional Western response. He warned that there would be "a relentless accumulation of success". Relentlessness, as opposed to surprise and sensation, is the Western way of warfare. It is deeply injurious to the Oriental style and rhetoric of war-making. Oriental war-makers, today terrorists, expect ambushes and raids to destabilise their opponents, allowing them to win further victories by horrifying outrages at a later stage. Westerners have learned, by harsh experience, that the proper response is not to take fright but to marshal their forces, to launch massive retaliation and to persist relentlessly until the raiders have either been eliminated or so cowed by the violence inflicted that they relapse into inactivity.

News of the first strikes against Afghanistan indicate that a tested Western response to Islamic aggression is now well under way. It is not a crusade. The crusades were an episode localised in time and place, in the religious contest between Christianity and Islam. This war belongs within the much larger spectrum of a far older conflict between settled, creative productive Westerners and predatory, destructive Orientals.

It is no good pretending that the peoples of the desert and the empty spaces exist on the same level of civilisation as those who farm and manufacture. They do not. Their attitude to the West has always been that it is a world ripe for the picking. When the West turned nasty, and fought back, with better weapons and superior tactics and strategy, the East did not seek to emulate it but to express its anger in new forms of the raid and surprise attack. September 11 was a declaration of war. October 7 was the declaration of a counter-offensive. The counter-offensive will prevail.

Sir John Keegan is Defence Editor

# THE INDEPENDENT

## Terence Blacker: This is a caring war - we weep as we bomb

Published: 10 October 2001

So the balloon has gone up. We are no longer merely on a war footing, but have been called to action. The great clichés of modern warfare – "awesome firepower", "smart bombs", "legitimate targets", "the long haul", "the fog of war" – have duly been rolled out and sent into battle.

So the balloon has gone up. We are no longer merely on a war footing, but have been called to action. The great clichés of modern warfare – "awesome firepower", "smart bombs", "legitimate targets", "the long haul", "the fog of war" – have duly been rolled out and sent into battle.

The smart, cynical publisher who chose this moment to relaunch Andy McNab's blood-on-the-sand SAS books chose the moment well. Not so long ago there was something faintly pitiable about those who thrilled to stories of modern warfare and were excited by the sleek deadliness of sophisticated modern weaponry. They were the kind of fantasists who joined rifle clubs and drove around in butch, jeep-imitation vehicles. Bored and jaded by years of peace, they were people who longed for a bit of action, but action without any risk to their person.

Now we are all caught up in an Andy McNab adventure. Page after page of the newspapers is devoted to dramatic photographs of the B-52 heavy bomber, the B-2 Stealth bomber, the B-18 Lancer, the tungsten-tipped warhead. Nerdishly detailed factfiles reveal the specifications of bombers and fighters, missiles and bombs.

The tone of these features and even some of the names of the weapons (the "enhanced paveway bunker-buster", the "longline light strike vehicle") seem to belong to a grander, more deadly version of a motor-show supplement; only instead of torque, gear ratios and acceleration, the statistics are all about range capability and payloads.

War is great copy. It provides career opportunities not only for politicians and generals but also for journalists who had despaired of ever being let loose on the truly big story. They don their flak jackets and breathlessly file their copy to the sound of distant gunfire, as missiles light up a horizon several miles away.

It is difficult not to be caught up in the size and excitement of it all. Even for those of us watching from the safety of our homes, there is something oddly cathartic about the bangs and the flashes, the sense of modern technology being deployed to deadly effect. It is as if the years of relative peace were thinner, tamer, lesser versions of what we are now going through.

Yet this, as we are repeatedly told, is a war unlike any other. America and Britain may appear to be pulverising one of the poorest nations on earth, but, in fact, our enemy is not a nation but one man – a celebrity terrorist, a dangerous, messed-up rich boy – and his followers. The hundreds of thousands of pounds of bombs and missiles are being dispatched not in a spirit of revenge or out of any desire to hurt, but for the cause of justice.

For it is a caring, post-Diana war. We weep as we bomb. We are deeply concerned for civilians and refugees and starving children. In a gesture that might have come from a dark, 21st-century version of *Alice in Wonderland*, some of the bombs being rained down on Afghanistan turn out not to be bunker-busters or tungsten-tipped warheads but food parcels, gestures of love from the West.

Unlike the attacks on Baghdad, which were said to be part of "video-game" war, this one involves those at home. Politicians in America and here, while urging their people to live life as normal, have encouraged the idea that the enemy is everywhere. He could strike at any time. He could be at work right now in the air-conditioning at your office.

In this supremely modern conflict, ambivalence is everything. We are involved, yet we are not. A country is being pulverised, but in a spirit of concern. The campaign is against an abstract idea – terror – rather than against any nation.

Let us hope that the Muslim nations of the world appreciate the full subtlety of the West's position.

THE  TIMES

Edition 2WTUE 09 OCT 2001, Page 23 **The greater game; Afghanistan is the first but not the only battlefield; Leading Article**  
**FEATURES**

The American servicemen engaged in Operation "Enduring Freedom" have no need of their President's assurance that their cause is just. But it must be less obvious to them that, as Mr Bush has also said, their "mission is defined" or that its objectives are clear. Even in immediate operational terms, there is an inbuilt ambiguity to an air campaign which, in this ruined country, can have few conventional targets. Political and strategic success is even harder to discern in advance. The course of each phase in this campaign will be influenced to a quite exceptional extent by political developments in and around Afghanistan.

The dismemberment of Mullah Muhammad Omar's Taleban regime is certainly an objective and is inseparable from the pursuit of Osama bin Laden. It is anyone's guess whether, as some factions in the Afghan opposition predict, air bombardment will break the fierce but ill-organised Taleban grip on the country. Their first reaction has been to dig in around Kabul. The limits imposed on the first strikes acknowledge the risk that the regime could exploit fear and anger to rally resistance -in the notoriously unstable border areas of Pakistan as well as in southern Afghanistan, the Taleban's Pashtun heartland. But the targeting must not be so cautious that the Taleban can shrug off the attacks as a mere irritation. In this "mission to unnerve", they must be thrown off balance, denied any possibility of military organisation, kept on the run and prevented therefore from presenting a serious challenge to the second phase on the ground, as special forces move in against bin Laden.

This, however, introduces a further complication. The more comprehensively the Taleban are disorganised and demoralised, the more likely is a rapid advance on Kabul by the Northern Alliance; and that would be a call to arms for the Pashtun majority in the south. The Northern Alliance must be part of a post-Taleban settlement, preferably determined by all Afghan factions in a Loya Jirga of the country's traditional leaders; but it cannot claim to represent all Afghans. If it swept in triumph into Kabul, that would open another phase in the civil war; and civil war is a recruiting sergeant for the Taleban and al-Qaeda. Their biggest recruiting ground is not among the desperate and war-weary Afghan people but in Pakistan, whose "Talebanisation", as President Musharraf is coldly aware, is a clear and present, if containable, danger. The rise of a successor terrorist generation to bin Laden, in a nuclear-armed region rife with militancy, would constitute severe "collateral damage". There lies the clear, if subsidiary, interest in the political and economic stabilisation of Afghanistan.

Destabilisation is, however, the name of the immediate military game and the momentum must be quickened because by mid-November, flying conditions will be atrocious, mobility on the ground will be hampered by heavy snows and Ramadan will begin. The Taleban may fight on, not least because these ignorant men genuinely believe that the whole Muslim world will rally to them. But successful guerrilla operations require local support. It must be a key objective to persuade Afghans that this is a war to rid them both of "the Arabs" and of the miseries of Taleban rule -and that leading allied troops to bin Laden, or delivering him into their hands, will hasten the end of hostilities and generous assistance to rebuild the country.

This campaign must be exemplary in another respect; it must impress on all governments that the US is serious when it says there is no neutral ground. Almost every Islamic State was quick to condemn the attacks on America; but when they meet in Doha today and tomorrow, Arab and Islamic foreign ministers will be tempted to vacillate. Bin Laden's ugly broadcast was intended to intimidate them as well as the West; it may have done so. One of the peculiar features of the Islamist terrorist movements is that they paralyse those whom they seek to destroy -even Saudi Arabia, which bin Laden has demonised. The Arab world, in particular, should note well the US decision to notify the UN Security Council yesterday that it is prepared to launch military strikes against other organisations and states that harbour terrorists or give them money, as Saudi and other elites still do. The Greater Game extends far beyond Afghanistan.

### Appendix C

Articles related to the war on Iraq

(20/03/2003)

Arabic Newspapers	
<i>Al-Quds al-Arabi</i> (16/02/2003),	مظاهرة الغضب و خطورة سوء تفسيرها
<i>Al-Quds al-Arabi</i> (20/03/2003), Abd al-Bari Atwan, Chief Editor.	حرب ظالمة و غير أخلاقية
<i>Al-Sharq al-Awsat</i> (25/03/2003), Abd al-Rahman al-Rashid	و هل يجوز تصوير الأسرى العراقيين؟
<i>Al-Quds al-Arabi</i> (27/03/2003), Ali Fakhru	الحياد الاعلامي و غياب الروح

British Newspapers	
<i>The Telegraph</i> (17/02/2003), Barbara Amiel.	If this was a peace march, why did Saddam get no stick?
<i>The Times</i> (20/03/2003), Anatole Kaletsky.	Oil, intimidation, rage-why we are really at war.
<i>The Independent</i> (25/03/2003),	President Bush is right to condemn Iraq's treatment of captured soldiers-but his outrage rings hollow.





# الشرق الأوسط

## جريدة العرب الدولية

الثلاثاء 21 محرم 1424 هـ 25 مارس 2003 العدد 8883

### وهل يجوز تصوير الأسرى العراقيين؟

كنت اتوقع ان يأتي النقد ضد محطات التلفزيون العربية في جوانب اخفقت فيها، مثل احتكار وجهة النظر لصالح الحكومة العراقية، والتحريض المتعمد لإلهاب مشاعر الناس. لكن ما اثار حفيظة الحكومات الغربية وكذلك المؤسسات الحقوقية والاعلامية ضد وسائل الاعلام العربية هي صور الأسرى الاميركيين، معتبرين ان عرضها على شاشات التلفزيون مخالفة خطيرة لاتفاقية جنيف الدولية، التي تلزم الدول المتحاربة بقواعد في التعامل مع الأسرى.

وعندما نقول ان هذا النقد في غير محله فليس دفاعا عن محطة الجزيرة، التي اكلت معظم التوبيخ والتهديد ايضا، انما رفضا لما هو غير منطقي ومعقول في حرب لا يجوز الزام البعض بقوانين واعفاء خصومهم الآخرين من مثلها.

فاذا كان عرض الاسرى الاميركيين في حوزة العراقيين على شاشات التلفزيون عملا غير قانوني، فلماذا لا يقال الشيء نفسه عندما عرضت صور الاسرى والقتلى العراقيين في ام قصر قبل ثلاثة ايام. وكما ذكر لي صديق اذ يقول امضيت ليالي الحرب الاولى اقلب المحطات الاميركية، «سي بي اس»، «ان بي سي»، «سي ان ان»، «اي بي سي»، «فوكس»، جميعها اظهرت صوراً للعراقيين الأسرى وضحايا القصف الاميركي على الجماعة الموالية لـ«أنصار الإسلام» في الشمال.

رأينا صفوفاً من العراقيين المستسلمين يتم تفتيشهم او حراستهم، وكثير منهم ظهرت سحنات وجوههم واضحة. وكان من بينهم أسير عراقي صور عن قرب مع حارسه الاميركي يسقيه الماء، واثنين يقفان فوق رأسه بالاسلحة. رأينا صوراً للعراقيين القتلى ايضا في خنادقهم وبانت وجوههم كذلك، وكان احدهم مستندا الى علم ابيض.

ان اتفاقية جنيف عندما وقعت قبل اكثر من نصف قرن كتبت في ظروف تقنية مختلفة وراعت بشكل انساني مسألتين، واحدة نتفق جميعا معها وهي رفض التمثيل وعرض جنث العدو بل يجب احترامها، وهي منصوص عليها دينيا في الاسلام. والثانية، تعنى بعائلات الأسرى حيث تحرم عرضهم، صونا لكرامتهم، وثانيا حماية لمشاعر أهاليهم. وضمن قواعد الاعلام يجب الاتذاع أسماء القتلى حتى في حوادث الطرق الا بعد تبليغ اهاليهم رسميا.

لكن منع التلفزيون من بث صور الأسرى بشكل قطعي امر صعب تطبيقه مع سرعة تطورات الحرب وسرعة حركة وسائل الإعلام التي ترافق الجنود وتنقل الاحداث في لحظاتها، ايضا صعب منعها تماما بسبب الحاجة للثبوت من صحة الانباء عند تضاربها وضياع الناس بين مكذب ومصدق، فتستخدم صور الاسرى للتأكيد على صحة البيانات. فهذه الحرب نصفها نفسية ودعائية.

واذا كان الاميركيون يخشون من ان تحرج صور الأسرى اهالي جنود الحلفاء وتجرح مشاعر الجنود، فان وضع الجندي العراقي اكثر خطورة. انها قد تكون مسألة حياة او موت لأهالي الأسرى عندما يتم التعرف على ابنائهم من خلال شاشات التلفزيون. فهناك ميليشيات معارضة لصدام قد تلجأ لتصفية اهالي هؤلاء الجنود، كما ان النظام العراقي نفسه يعاقب هؤلاء حتى بعد الافراج عنهم اذا ظهروا خاضعين او مستسلمين. وبالتالي فان الخوف من تأثير التلفزيون على الجندي العراقي اعظم من مبررات حماية الجنود الاميركيين. واذا كان الجميع يريد منع صور الاسرى فلنتم حماية الجميع لا فريق واحد.





# Telegraph.co.uk

## If this was a peace march, why did Saddam get no stick? By Barbara Amiel

(Filed: 17/02/2003)

The most revealing aspect of the anti-war march in London was what you did not see. You did not see any messages to Saddam Hussein or criticism of Iraqi policy.

These earnest seekers of peace, with so many signs denouncing George W Bush and Tony Blair, had nothing to say to Saddam Hussein; no request to please co-operate with the UN inspectors. Not one small poster asking Saddam to disarm or destroy his weapons of mass destruction. Perhaps somewhere in that million people there were some bravely asking him to "Leave Iraq and prevent war", but I could not find them.

If this were a genuine anti-war demonstration, why, along with demands on the British and Americans, would there be no demands of the other party to the conflict - Iraq? Commentators on the march were taken by the good order of it. I was taken by the sheer wickedness or naivete.

All those nice middle-aged people from middle England with their children bundled up against the cold, marching for peace; did they have nothing to say to the party that had ignored 17 UN resolutions? A similar silence existed in all the anti-war marches in Europe. One either has to question the good faith of the marchers - or their brains.

Television gave us brief interviews with "ordinary" people marching. ITV's Mrs Noon on the peace train from Stockport had never marched before, but she had work experience dealing with "challenging" children and adults, which she compared with dealing with Saddam. "The first rule," she said, "is to be non-confrontational." The TV cameras cut to the "----ing Bush" and "Stuff Your Imperialism" signs stacked in the train compartment.

A colleague I met at the march said he had counted only two or three anti-Israeli signs. "Torture, Murder, Ethnic Cleansing!!! Welcome to Israel" was the wording of a large banner from the Muslim Association of Great Britain, but that was to be expected. The MAB, co-organiser of the London march, has a number of ideological and personal links with the Muslim Brotherhood, the oldest Islamist organisation, four of whose members assassinated Anwar Sadat and whose offshoot is Hamas.

In fact, there were hundreds of anti-Israeli signs. What disguised this was the activities of the Jewish establishment. The Board of Deputies of British Jews, well-meaning but dreadfully inept, had worried about all the hate signs against Israel in the last "peace" march. Not understanding that it is best not to help your enemy disguise itself, they had written to the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament asking it about its relationship with anti-Israel groups.

The Deputies were reassured to receive a letter promising them that CND was "working hard to ensure that this march would be free from inappropriate slogans and chants". The result was that apart from a few "Boycott Israel/Boycott Murder" banners, the MAB restrained itself to hundreds of posters with the coded anti-Israel message: "Freedom for Palestine".

Freedom for Palestine, of course, could come the day the Arab world accepts the existence of a Jewish state. There could have been an independent Palestinian state as early as the Peel Commission in 1937 or the UN partition plan in 1948, if only the Arabs had said yes to co-existence with Israel. But anyone who has read the literature of the MAB knows that now, as then, "Palestinian freedom" for the MAB is achieved only at the expense of eliminating a Jewish state in the Middle East. All that the complaints of the British Board of Deputies had done was to make the MAB respectable to the ignorant.

In the end, under the guise of peace, this march was essentially an anti-America, anti-free enterprise, anti-Israel display. A similar approach appeared to have taken hold in the various other "peace" marches in Tokyo, Athens, Paris, Berlin and Madrid.

Looking at the news clips of jubilant Europeans marching behind banners saying "Death to Uncle Sam" shows how much the zeitgeist towards America has changed. I can remember the good-natured humour of the film *The Mouse That Roared*. America was seen then as the generous saviour of Europe and the welcomed guarantor of freedom. In that 1959 film, a Ruritanian prime minister, played by Peter Sellers, declared war on the United States in order to get American aid. These days the mouse roars to scare or blackmail America.

The spirit towards Israel was different in those times too. After defeating the Arabs in the 1967 six-day war, Israel was seen as an incredible success story by virtually all observers - intellectually, morally and practically. The country was the recreation of a lost state, made all the more credible by its unique parentage - a democratic decision of the world through a UN vote.

One didn't have to be a Zionist in 1967 to list Israel's achievements. That small nation had revived a dead language for the first time in history, absorbed a million and a half people from both Europe and the Orient in 19 years and had made the desert fertile. It had no oil, its waters were insufficient and vulnerable to Arab diversion, and it had never had one day of peace.

Within five hours of its birth, it faced declarations of war by all its Arab neighbours. With no military background or weaponry to speak of, and facing the British-trained Jordanian army among others, it had defeated its enemies in 1948, 1956 and again in 1967. Israel was a classic success story.

Up to 1967, the Jews gave the impression of being the underdog against impossible odds, and the winner. Both those components are attractive to people and to nations. But the sheer weight of size and demographics on the Arab side and the willingness of Arabs to employ terrorism in the West began to eat away at this perception. Gradually, the tables turned. The sense that in the long run the Arabs would prevail gathered steam. It became the Arabs' turn to be carried on the double wings of underdog and winner status.

Israel is now seen as a surrogate for the United States and so destroying it has the added thrill of throwing sand in America's face. For centuries, the Arab world has faced the humiliation of punching below its weight. Given the value in its culture of the romantic masculine virtues of martial prowess and dominance, this realisation that its culture is regarded as backward and insignificant has created much resentment.

The Islamists have come along with the message that, if Islam's large population and wealth could be fused with its mystical fundamentalism, they would create the same fanatical strength that made rising empires from Christendom to Japan pre-eminent. In this climate, America and Israel are viewed as obstacles to an Arab renaissance.

Laying out the world's changing attitudes to Israel and America so bare, makes it sound like a conscious decision - which is absurd. But changes in the spirit of the times are as difficult to explain as those immense flocks of birds you see sitting on some great African lake, hundreds of thousands of them at a time, till all of a sudden, successively, they fly up and turn in a specific direction. One can never analyse which bird started it and how it became this incredible rush. All you see is the result.

One senses that the Islamists, with a billion Muslims in the world, and access to great riches (with some partial success in Iran and Afghanistan, where they defeated the Soviets, albeit with American help), now feel that they may be able to reassert themselves - and the Caliphate.

The world walks, unsure what to do as Muslims hesitate, poised on vast lakes of oil, ready to fly in some direction. The world hedges its bets by backing the Palestinians, who may benefit by any resurgence of Islam.

And one of the reasons many people sense how important it is for America and her allies to be successful against the regime of Saddam Hussein - quite apart from all other valid reasons - is that a perception that the side with the momentum, the winning side, is the Islamist-terrorist side, must be broken. It is a dangerous and self-fulfilling prophecy that can cause untold bloodshed and tyranny in the world. There are infinitely better, more tolerant, less bloody ways forward for the Arab people. But the West is not yet a paper tiger, even if nearly one million of its inhabitants meekly followed behind those meretricious paper slogans held high in Hyde Park on Saturday afternoon.

News: Blair feels heat in war of words

THE  TIMES

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**Oil, intimidation, rage -why we are really at war; Comment; Opinion****ANATOLE KALETSKY****FEATURES**

Now that the war has started, every sane human being must surely hope it will end in a matter of weeks, if not days -with the unconditional surrender of Baghdad and the capture or death of President Saddam Hussein. Luckily, this is a very likely outcome. Why, then, does this war command less popular support than almost any military conflict in history?

During the 12 months of phoney war, we heard several plausible answers: sympathy for Iraqi civilians who will die in the allied bombing; the "illegality" of war under the UN Charter; loathing of an arrogant, ignorant and bullying American President. All these explanations for the anti-war movement contain a measure of truth, but they miss the heart of the matter.

Iraqi civilians will inevitably be killed in the coming weeks; but these deaths will be far outnumbered by the tens of thousands butchered by Saddam in his reign of terror. This war may not have been approved by the UN; but neither were the invasions of Bosnia and Kosovo. Yet those "illegal" interventions enjoyed strong popular support. As for President Bush, while he is certainly disliked in most of the world (and with good reason), very few people, even in Arab countries, genuinely believe him to be worse than Saddam. To get closer to the truth, we must focus not on the probable consequences of this war, which will almost certainly be benign for the Iraqi people, but on America's motives. "The end justifies the means" has been the slogan of warmongers since the beginning of time, while pacifists always insist that no political objectives can justify loss of life. The oddity in this case is that the standard dichotomy between means and ends has been reversed.

Today, unusually, the war party emphasises means, rather than ends. To people like me, who support this war for pragmatic, humanitarian reasons, disarmament and regime change are just means -to justify a brief, one-sided conflict which will liberate 25 million people. On the other hand, the anti-war movement must now look for deeper arguments beyond the simple desire to save lives or preserve world peace. Saddam is a genocidal butcher, whose removal will almost certainly save far more lives than it destroys.

The argument that attacking Iraq will undermine the institutions required to maintain world peace is even weaker. International law would have been immeasurably strengthened by UN support for Washington, since this would have provided the UN system with the one essential characteristic of an effective government it has always lacked: access to unchallenged coercive power. It was this insight that motivated Tony Blair, a genuine UN idealist, all along.

Why, then, are human rights activists rejecting the chance to save millions from a bloody tyrant? And why are idealistic internationalists turning away from that opportunity to construct a genuine world government?

The peace movement is driven mainly by fury about America's "real" objectives - the belief that Mr Bush is pursuing an agenda very different from the official purpose of this war. And even though I back this war for pragmatic, humanitarian and institutional reasons, I fully agree with peaceniks about the question of Mr Bush's motives.

Mr Bush, and certainly the neo-conservative ideologues who surround him, do have a vast agenda which goes far beyond disarmament or even regime change in Iraq. It is the contradiction between Washington's not-so-hidden agenda and its publicly stated objectives that explains the power of the anti-war movement -and accounts for the agonies of Tony Blair.

What, then, are America's unstated objectives in this war? One is undoubtedly oil, but not in the simplistic sense of vulgar peaceniks. America is not going to "steal" Iraq's oil or sell it to Exxon on the cheap. On the contrary, the US occupation will ensure that the Iraqi Treasury gets a much better price by repudiating the sweetheart contracts Saddam offered Russian and French oil companies in exchange for bribes and support. Whether or not these contracts are transferred to US companies, they will be let on openmarket terms, just like oil contracts in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia or Norway. But, even though America will be scrupulously fair in its commercial policy, the US invasion will be motivated partly by Iraq's oil. What matters to the US is not whether it can get more oil into the hands of Exxon or BP, instead of Total. It is whether Iraqi oil output is boosted in the next few years from three to ten million barrels a day, about the same as Saudi Arabia.

If Iraq could match Saudi output (it is the only country in the world with enough oil reserves to do so) the economic and geopolitical benefits would be immense.

Iraqi production in the hands of a stable pro-Western regime could neutralise the power of Opec and protect the world economy from the oil shocks that have triggered each of the past four recessions.

Iraqi oil could also disarm the Arab "oil weapon" that has threatened Western interests since 1973. This is an admirable objective which I totally support, although Americans delude themselves if they think that they can break their dependence on Middle Eastern oil without curbing their excessive energy use.

A second unstated objective is simply to demonstrate military power.

Even before September 11, key members of the Bush Administration were convinced that America should demonstrate its immense military might -and its ability to use it. This, they believed, would help to preserve global order by intimidating potential enemies such as China, Russia and North Korea. By putting America on a war footing, they also hoped to recreate some of the social order and respect for authority that prevailed in the 1950s -to exorcise the demons of the 1960s, the counter-culture, the defeat in Vietnam and the "moral pollution" of Bill Clinton, all of which they saw as symptoms of the same national malaise. September 11 played into their hands, creating the enemy and the McCarthy-style hysteria they were seeking.

But a big military victory was also essential for its demonstration effect. The neo-conservative view is that America's enemies believed it to be weak and ineffectual, lacking the courage and patience to use its military power. Even the victory in the Gulf War was negated by the Clinton Administration's ineffectual meddling with Somalia, Central America and North Korea. A decisive military victory in Iraq is seen as a crucial component in the war against terror because of its capacity to "shock and awe" America's foes, wherever they are.

This shock-and-awe argument may well have some merit, but a third American objective in Iraq makes me almost literally sick. Some Americans still believe that they are entitled to some kind of national catharsis after September 11. What is worse, this irrational, self-indulgent rage is shared and encouraged by many right-wing politicians and commentators.

Christopher Caldwell, a senior editor on the neo-conservative Weekly Standard, explained America's fury with France, without a trace of irony in yesterday's Financial Times: "Americans assumed that the world was as panicked, infuriated and viscerally terrified by September 11 as they were. They were not. The Europeans are nowhere near to understanding the event's impact on the American psyche. The French assumed that if they themselves did not feel terrified by the arrival of terrorism in New York, anyone who did was overreacting."

When Europeans read comments like this, which closely reflect off-the-record comments by many US officials, their suspicion of American motives becomes easier to understand. And I haven't even mentioned the final item on Washington's not-so-secret agenda: to ensure that Mr Bush is re-elected in November 2004.

But luckily for the world, Americans are as capable as any other nation of seeing through their politicians' motives. If history is any guide, the 2004 election will not be won in the battlefields of Iraq but on Main Street and Wall Street.

And the damage done to the US economy by the Bush Administration will be hard to put right in 18 months. As the war begins, I can therefore share an aspiration with the anti-war lobby.

Let us hope that Saddam is gone by the end of next month -and George W. Bush by the end of next year.

# THE INDEPENDENT

**President Bush is right to condemn Iraq's treatment of captured soldiers - but his outrage rings hollow**

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The international outcry over the display of American casualties and prisoners on Iraqi state television is thoroughly justified. This was not only a flagrant violation of the Geneva convention, which requires that prisoners of war "must at all times be protected, particularly against acts of violence or intimidation and against insults and public curiosity"; it was also an offence against the very fundamentals of human decency.

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As the Prime Minister rightly said, such treatment only demonstrates the true nature of the Iraqi regime. That condemnation has come not just from Britain and the United States, but from countries, such as Russia, that are taking no part in the military conflict and objected strongly to the use of force in the first place, only reinforces how universally unacceptable it is.

If Baghdad hoped to dispirit the US administration to the point where it called off its action and withdrew its troops, it has made a gross miscalculation. George Bush, and Tony Blair with him, have set their central aim as "regime change". This is not a humanitarian mission on the model of the ill-fated Somalia expedition; this is war. Now started, it will be waged to complete, and perhaps – alas – bloody victory. No one need harbour any illusions about that.

There is none the less a troubling aspect to President Bush's grim-faced denunciation of Iraq's behaviour. Speaking against the backdrop of the military helicopter in which he had just arrived at the White House, he said he expected US prisoners to be treated humanely, "just like we'll treat any prisoners of theirs that we capture humanely". If not, he warned, "the people who mistreat the prisoners will be treated as war criminals".

Now, there are no grounds at all for fearing that the several thousand Iraqis said to have been taken prisoner by US and British forces are being treated in anything other than exemplary fashion, in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of the Geneva Convention. We have not seen any of them paraded or questioned on television. None has been identifiable to viewers. We must hope that the American and the British forces continue to treat their prisoners correctly, however many of them there may ultimately be and however great the temptation to do otherwise.

For all his pledges that the US would treat Iraqi prisoners of war humanely, however, Mr Bush's words rang just a little hollow. The fact is that Iraqis are not the only foreign combatants in US custody. When the military operation against Iraq began, the US was already holding more than 600 foreign prisoners in camps in Guantanamo Bay, its base in Cuba. The vast majority were captured in or around Afghanistan during the operation to root out al-Qa'ida bases in that country in the aftermath of 11 September.

That operation, which ended Taliban rule and has brought a fractious peace to Afghanistan, enjoyed broad international support. The removal of hundreds of prisoners to Guantanamo Bay, however, and their subsequent treatment there, constitute one of the reasons why the Bush administration lost so much of the foreign sympathy that flowed to it after the attacks of 11 September. It also contributes to the international unease that made it so difficult for President Bush to build a truly broad coalition for the war on Saddam Hussein.

There were times, especially at the start, when the prisoners at Guantanamo Bay came very close to being paraded before television cameras. They were shown in conditions that seemed designed to humiliate, confined to metal cages, led hooded and blindfolded to interrogation sessions that were not, and could not, be monitored. The American authorities resisted all efforts by foreign governments and human rights organisations to have their "detainees", as they termed them, recognised as prisoners of war and so subject to the provisions of the Geneva Convention.

Fewer than a dozen of the Guantanamo prisoners have so far been released; none has been charged, and none has been allowed access to a lawyer. US officials insist that they are being treated humanely, but there is no international scrutiny. Only two weeks ago, a US appeals court rejected a plea brought on their behalf that they should be brought into the US judicial process. They are in a total legal limbo, in US detention but not recognised as being subject to US jurisdiction – which was the reason why the administration took them to Guantanamo at the start.

There were those, in the US and abroad, with the prescience to warn that America's refusal to recognise their detainees as PoWs could rebound in the event that US soldiers were taken prisoner in future. Even if the US authorities saw a difference between the "terrorist" suspects they had captured in Afghanistan and rank-and-file soldiers subject to military discipline, it was in the US interest – they argued – to recognise them as PoWs.

Rarely indeed does the decision of a political leader return so swiftly to haunt him. More often, it is the next and future leaders who must extricate themselves from such unintended consequences. Mr Bush's call for US prisoners to be treated humanely would command more credibility and wider sympathy if his administration had appeared more amenable to accepting rules that most other civilised countries accept. This does not excuse the behaviour of the Iraqi regime, even one that is fighting for its survival. But it should be a lesson to a President who has eschewed multilateral obligations – from the Kyoto treaty to the International Criminal Court – and ignored the UN to take his country to war.