

LEBANESE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

**POLITICAL IDENTITY FORMATION IN POSTWAR
LEBANON:**

*GROUP IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN THE DISCOURSE OF
HIZBULLAH AND LEBANESE FORCES*

By

MONA DAOUD

A thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in International Affairs

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Lebanese American University

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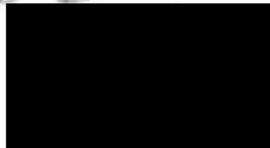
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*To my parents who sacrificed their lives for us
To my two lovely nephews, my hope in tomorrow*

*To my beloved country, my only place of belonging
To every Lebanese activist and thinker working towards change*

Political Identity Formation in Post War Lebanon:

Group identity construction in the discourse of Lebanese Forces and Hizbullah before and after Doha agreement

Mona Daoud

Abstract

This thesis examines how the discourse of two political leaders in Lebanon, Sayyed Hasan Nasrallah, the Secretary General of Hizbullah, a Shiite based party and Samir Geagea, the leader of the Lebanese Forces, a Maronite based party, contributed to the shaping of group sectarian identities before and after the Doha agreement of 2008. Based on the Critical Discourse Analysis method and the group/social identity approach, this thesis shows that in-out group polarization is pervasive in the leaders' speeches during both times of crisis and times of accommodation. Moreover, speeches in both times, with slight differences, are based on the following elements: categorizing the other as an enemy, appealing to emotions, and highlighting the fear and threat of the other. Mobilization of violence and religion exists as well in their speeches during both times, but more present during times of war. Speech analysis shows that both Nasrallah and Geagea claim to represent and address the nation and to represent a national unity, especially after the Doha agreement. However, their discourse is conflictive and works on categorizing the other as an enemy, and on distancing the "in-group" from the "out-group" even when claiming to address this nation. Finally, this thesis concludes that in the context of these manipulative and persuasive techniques which are practiced by the political leaders throughout their speeches, increasing national consciousness in Lebanon is not an easy or quick task. However, this study recommends one basic element of reform to be focused on: working towards increasing the level of critical thinking of citizens, especially of the children and youth.

Keywords: Social/group identity, in-out group polarization, Hizbullah, the Lebanese Forces, enemy categorization, discourse analysis, speech analysis, critical thinking, sectarianism, political mobilization, language and identity.

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List of Abbreviations

AUB: The American University of Beirut

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CDS: Critical Discourse Studies

CL: Critical linguistics

L.F: The Lebanese Forces

LAU: The Lebanese American University

PLO: Palestinian Liberation Organization

U.S: United States of America

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1–Situating the Thesis

Prior to the 1975 Lebanese Civil War, Lebanon was known as the “Switzerland of the Middle East” (Hudson, 1976, p.110). However, Lebanon did not enjoy the independence it gained in 1943 due to a long history of continuous conflicts among its religious-ethnic communities (Kliot, 2008). Kliot (2008) argues that besides its internal sectarian conflicts, Lebanon has always been prone to the interests of external power in Lebanese affairs: historically, the Great Powers (Great Britain, France, USSR, and United States), Syria, and lately Israel. As a result, the country has been subject to periods of fluctuation, communal harmony, and conflict. In the early 20th century, Lebanon was regarded as the home of modernity, and its Christian nation-state was viewed as a model of modern state formation in the Levant for its inter-communal national coexistence and liberal affluence. However, by 1975 and the end of the 20th century, Lebanon was viewed as the opposite; as the habitat of civil strife and a predecessor of failed nations (Ziadeh, 2006).

Lebanon consists of eighteen recognized sects; most are represented within a power sharing arrangement described as a consociational democracy, a type of democracy which usually exists in relatively small states characterized by extreme cleavages among communal groups based on linguistic, racial, religious, sectarian, or tribal reasons

(Lijphart, 1969 & Salamey, 2010). Salamey (2009) argues that the national identity in such countries is deeply challenged by a single centralized national identity. In this respect, it is important to differentiate between the concept of a nation and that of a state. A nation stands for a group of people who share a number of commonalities such as common history and heritage, a common language and customs, or similar attitudes of owing one's allegiance to the nation and to its legal representation, the state. However, a state stands for four major factors that are more technical: a geographically defined territory, a stable population within this defined region, a government, and diplomatic recognition of this state by other states (Mingst, 2008). Mingst (2008) argues that the nation and the state do not coincide, but over time, a common identity and nationality is forged, even in the absence of religious, ethnic, or cultural similarity.

By examining the nation-building in Lebanon, Ziadeh (2006) indicates that it has been clearly characterized by the mixed inheritance of communalism. Eriksson's identity based approach claims that people's perceptions of themselves in relation to others determine their viewpoint of the reality around them (Kreidie, 2010). In other words, the way people see themselves is constructed by the environment, culture or specific events and situations (Kreidie, 2010). Stuart Kaufman (2006) believes that conflict and wars in the world are mainly driven by identity. In their struggle for state power, sectarian political leaders may resort to promoting narrow political interests and unifying symbolic nationalism instead of endorsing national interests (Kaufman, 2006). For that purpose, the use of religious symbols and rhetoric to mobilize followers have been proven most effective. Ralph Crow (1962) argues that while religious explanations are not enough to understand Lebanese politics, one cannot deny its importance due to the

influence of religious attitudes and organizations (Crow, 1962). In this sense, political sectarianism has come to encompass aspects of both modernism and that of nation-state building. Their interplay has characterized the dynamics of the Lebanese national identity formation (Makdisi, 1996). Many authors and thinkers believe that the Lebanese are not joined based on a common national identity but rather on a set of cleavages between different religions and sects (Khashshah, 1992).

1.2-Views on Sectarianism in Lebanon: Different Propositions

Sectarianism in Lebanon is examined by different scholars using different propositions, such as: the historical and cultural (Makdisi, Kamal Salibi, Phares, Richard Hrair, Dekmejian, and others), the political economic approach (Nelsen, Fawwaz Traboulsi, and others), and the institutional (Ziadeh, 2006, Salamey, Safa, and others), and identity politics, which this thesis endorses.

Makdisi (2000) believes that sectarianism cannot operate outside history and that Lebanese modernity is defined by sectarianism in the modern Mount Lebanon. The latter is a discourse produced by a specific historic conjecture; the Ottoman reform during the European domination related directly and indirectly to the 19th century Mount Lebanon (Makdisi, 2000). According to Salibi, the study of the Lebanese identity dates back to the first half of the 19th century. Richard Hrair Dekmejian argues that Lebanon's multiconfessional elite has its origins in the Ottoman period, and that there is a widespread alliance of elites, representing segments of the society that is faithful to the conservation of the existing system. Furthermore, there is a rift between nationalist

growth on one hand and allegedly pre-modern religious leaders on the other hand (Makdisi, 1996). Sectarianism, which is known as “taifiya” in Arabic, stands for the claimed ancestral or inherited trend among Lebanon’s religious communities in weakening patriotism or what is known as “wataniya” in Arabic (Makdisi, 1996, p.23).

In an attempt of studying sectarianism, Nelsen explains sectarianism from a political economy approach, arguing that religious ideology is determined by social class and other variables that contribute to one’s perspective of the world (Nelsen, 1972). Nelsen (1972) interprets sectarianism as a reflection of how individuals with limited or simplistic backgrounds or from the lower classes and rural areas perceive the world. In other words, sectarianism interprets the marginalized people’s lives simplistically, knowing that religious ideology and life experiences are interconnected.

Regarding sectarianism in Lebanon, Traboulsi (2007) explains it from a political economy approach as well, arguing that the reduction of the Lebanese identity to one unique form of identity is insufficient with respect to the complexity of the situation. In other words, sects in Lebanon demonstrate how pre-capitalist formations are reprocessed to take new roles in a peripheral capitalist economy (Traboulsi, 2007). These capitalist formations penetrate Lebanon’s life carrying a struggle for both power and socio-economic structures (Traboulsi, 2007).

On the political level, Ziadeh (2006) believes that the political leaders and their allies (regionally and internationally) consciously constitute the foundation of the communal nature of the power-sharing system, the state administration, the constitution, and even the national identity. Moreover, understanding the process of Lebanese nation-building

is strongly related to looking at the development of the Lebanese constitution. In other words, constitutionalism dates back to the communal system during the 19th century Mount Lebanon (Ziadeh, 2006). For a long time, the 1926 Constitution contributed to legitimizing a Christian nation-state, unlike currently, in which the constitution is highly praised as consecrating communal power-sharing and empowering a Lebanese nation-state (Ziadeh, 2006). Ziadeh (2006) examines nation-building through three cycles:

(1) The rise of communal Maronite self-awareness under the two qa'immaqamiyas backed by France, and the success in giving Mount Lebanon proto-national identity as a Christian enclave.

(2) The rise of the Muslim opposing movement of re-assertion in the 1930s supported by the growing Arab and British authority in the period, followed by a Second World War. Moreover, this cycle is characterized by a complex power fighting between two opposing groups (Muslims and Maronites).

(3) The stage of reincorporation, renegotiation, and compromise within the intervention of national, regional, and international actors. Moreover, Muslims backed by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the wave of Arab nationalism attempted to make use of the communal power-sharing system for their benefit. However, Christians tried to resist that by thinking of dividing the country in a way that preserves the Christian majority (Ziadeh, 2006).

Furthermore, Ziadeh (2006) argues that existing communal identities in Lebanon undermine nation-building and the nation-state. In the context of these eighteen recognized sects in Lebanon, and the continuous sectarian conflicts happening,

Christians, especially the Maronites, and Shiite sectarian identities stand as interesting phenomenon in Lebanon to be studied. Christians and Maronites in particular constituted the dominant group before the Lebanese Civil War which ruled the Lebanese state and nation. This power was regarded by many scholars as “Christian hegemony”. Meanwhile, Shiites, who were excluded, started to empower themselves. Now, after it was one of the marginalized sects, Shiites in Lebanon are considered as have risen to impose a power stronger than that of Christians. Khalifah (2001) believes that the Christians in Lebanon have lost the war; that Christians in general and Maronites in particular, still feel unsatisfied with their participation in the process of rebuilding Lebanon. For this reason, an overview on Christian and Shiite identities is to be reviewed in the next section.

1.3 – Shiite and Maronite Identities

1.3.1– Why Christians and Maronites?

Christians, especially Maronites, have their own perspective of Lebanon and of their relationship to it. Their belief in Maronite nationalism, which is also called Political Maronitism, is the reason behind choosing them as target group for this thesis (Khashan, 1990). Moreover, they believe that they are distinguished from other Lebanese communities (Khashan, 1990). Furthermore, Maronites constitute the oldest Christian sect to inhabit in Mount Lebanon since the arrival of Christianity to Lebanon.

Transformation, catastrophe, decay, and adjustment to various conditions, characterize their history, which shaped and is still shaping until now the Middle East (Khalifah, 2001). Maronites associate themselves with the name Lebanon, believing that the latter is a larger manifestation or translation of Mount Lebanon, the “historic” habitat of Maronites (Khalifah, 2001). It is believed that the Maronites in Lebanon have traditionally acquired a great importance in determining the outlook of the Lebanese political framework, the reason behind having most published work concentrated on the Maronite community when discussing individual Lebanese sects (Khasshan, 1992).

Maronites were always concerned about establishing a Christian Lebanese state or a Maronite nation-state. In this context, Christians and Muslims in Lebanon had different viewpoints on the independence of the Lebanese state. Muslims did not accept the idea of establishing the Greater Lebanon, an idea favored and endorsed by Christians. Prior to 1958, the year that featured tensions between the two groups, Christians associated themselves with modernity and strong ties with the West. On the contrary, Muslims associated themselves with pan-Arabism and with other views which consider Lebanon as linked to Greater Syria and to the greater Arab region (Nicolaysen, 2008).

Maronites’ perception of themselves as a vigorous community should be understood through two ways: first, the way they perceive themselves as a Christian community in comparison to other Christian and non Christian sects in and outside Lebanon. The second way is by looking at their close ties with Europe, specifically with France and Rome (Khalifah, 2001). Moreover, Maronites consider that they have descended from the old Phoenicians who settled in the territories of today’s Lebanon and some parts of Syria. They also regard themselves as responsible for defending Lebanon, and as

representing the only “true” democracy in the Arab world. For example, this perception can be recognized in the writings of the Maronite Patriarch Istfan Douaihy, as he says that the Maronite history is a permanent struggle to sustain religious and national identity in a prevailing Muslim environment (Khalifah, 2001). Furthermore, Maronites claim that Lebanon’s roots and history date back to the Phoenician merchant civilization for about three to four thousand years ago (Shaery-Eisenlohr, 2008). Viewing Lebanon as a constituent of the Mediterranean civilization, many Maronites do not associate the Lebanese culture with the Arabic language and Islam (Shaery-Eisenlohr, 2008).

Kaufman (2010) calls this claim of having a Phoenician origin in Lebanon a “Phoenician myth”. He believes that all national movements, including those in Lebanon, worked on creating new communal myths of origin and historical memories which emphasize their cultural uniqueness. Furthermore, the Phoenician myth has fulfilled the needs of the whole elements of the myth of origin, such as: “myths of ancestry, migration, liberation, golden age, and decline and not least of all –rebirth” (p.74). Consequently, groups of people found in this Phoenician belief a combination of three main elements that suit the way they want to define themselves: Christian faith, Latin culture, and geographical determinism. For instance, in 1919, the Maronite Patriarch, Elias Huwayyek, carried the claims of the Lebanese Phoenician descent which differentiate them from their “Arab neighbors” to the West; to the Western delegates in Versailles. Moreover, Huwayyek associated the Maronites with the French on an ethnic level, through the ancient Phoenician origins of the Crusaders. Furthermore, he describes the creation of a

Lebanese nation as being linked to the Maronites who immigrated from ¹Antioch and into the Mount Lebanon in the sixth century and “assimilated into the indigenous local Phoenician population, after they proselytized them to become good Christians” (Kaufman, 2010, p. 185).

According to Kaufman (2010) there are several factors which contributed to the formation of the Phoenician myth of origin in Lebanon. One of these factors is the Maronite church, by promoting a distinctive Maronite-religious identity for centuries. This Maronite identity gained as well political importance with the end of the 19th century. However, the first people to support this Phoenician identity were not Maronite clergymen, “but rather non-clerical Christians who had been exposed to Western culture and education”; a new group of ‘liberal’ Syrians who was willing to modify the political situation of the Syrian provinces in the Ottoman Empire (Kaufman, 2010, p.189).

1.3.2- Christian Hegemony

The fear of the Maronites losing their community cohesion and Maronite identity, which would threaten their Maronite hegemony as well started during the period of the late 1960s and early 1970s. This fear resulted in the arousal of political parties which held progressive slogans and worked on getting as much supporters as possible (Hagopian, 1989). During the 1960s and 1970s, the Lebanese National Movement developed under the leadership of Kamal Jumblatt, who represented a coalition of the left, the Arab nationalist Sunni middle class, and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).

¹ Antioch on the Orontes, was an ancient city on the eastern side of the Orontes River. It is near the modern city of Antakya, Turkey, and was was a cradle of Gentile Christianity.

These national movements in Lebanon stimulated the Lebanese Maronites' fear of changing the confessional system, which would reflect negatively on their preponderance (Salamey, 2010). Hagopian (1989) asserts that the Maronites had already thought that the National Pact and the assumed support from the West would solve the “dual problem” of maintaining their exclusive identity and assuring their eternal political control of the state, despite any demographic changes. Fearing to lose their control and identity, Maronites built their Maronite militancy, encouraged and supported by Israel (Snider, 1984). Maronites, under the leadership of Bachir Gemayel, relied on a heavy stock of Maronite ideological mythology which dates back to the seventeenth century, which played a role in reminding, re-energizing, and recommitting Maronites to their identity and their assumed rights and role in Lebanon (Hagopian, 1989).

The period between late 1960s and early 1970s under the leadership of Bachir Gemayel and the Kaslik monks of the University of the Holy Spirit, was clearly focused on re-launching Christian hegemony and demographic prevalence in Lebanon. Fearing a Maronite reduction and aiming at creating a Christian hegemony were two features of that era (Hagopian, 1989).

1.3.3- Political Maronitism and the Lebanese Forces

Khashan (1990) highlights the Maronites' belief in their uniqueness, through reviewing literature on Maronite nationalism (Maronitism or Lebanisim), mostly written by non-Lebanese and Western Maronite scholars. This literature better explains how Maronites perceive their role in Lebanon.

To start with, Bulus Na'aman, a former leader of Maronite monks, believed that the uniqueness of the Maronites' attributes, manifested in three major characteristics, allowed them to establish their own nation, and their social and political entity. These three attributes of Maronites are: their genuine respect for humans, their "spiritual" visualization, and their faithfulness to "authenticity". Moreover, Na'aman described the Maronites as the "owners of their history" due to their connection to their land (Khashan, 1990, p. 727). According to Ibrahim Najjar, who was previously a member of the Phalange party political bureau, the best way to reconcile the Muslim and Christian civilizations is through Muslims' acknowledgment of Christian superiority (Khashan, 1992).

Ibn al-Qila'e portrayed Christians of the fifteenth century as special people chosen by God among other Christians in the East to maintain the Christian identity in the invulnerable Lebanese mountains (Khashan, 1990). Furthermore, Patriarch Astfan al-Duwayhie in the seventeenth century called the Maronites to come together under one umbrella to dismiss all outsiders, including Muslims or Jacobites. A'kl (1976), a well-known Maronite poet and ideologue, believed that the Maronites have been victimized through history, and that they are closely attached to their spiritual and political leaders due to their suffering. Fahd (1980) regarded Lebanon as the "Maronite heaven" and as an international requirement, since the democratic Maronites' values are not common internationally. Furthermore, the preservation of this Christian identity and civilization is attributed to history and dictated by the religious authority of the Church, which in turn demanded its political representation as well (as cited in Khashan, 1990). Hagopian (1989) indicates that Maronitism shares with Zionism a lot of ideological

commonalities. One of those commonalities is the tendency to exclude others. While Zionism justifies the establishment of the state of Israel, Maronitism justifies the creation of a Christian state and the domination of Lebanon by Maronites over other sects and religious groups. During the 1940s, Patriarch A 'rida called for the creation of a Zionist state in Palestine and a Christian state in Lebanon (as cited in Khashan, 1990).

Dagher (2000) argues that Maronites associate their identities with Mount-Lebanon; that the Maronite and Lebanese identities have become identical. Maronites concerned about the new Lebanon have become uncomfortable with themselves after the war. Elias Sarkis, the late president of the Republic, considered that the Lebanon's history is defined by the Maronites. Christian nationalism was established before and during the 1975 Lebanese Civil War and was mainly manifested in the Lebanese Forces party (as cited in Phares, 1995). Moreover, in July 1980, the Lebanese Forces (LF) acknowledged a national resistance movement in order to pursue a struggle that started thirteen centuries ago; the guaranty of security and freedom to the Christian society (Phares, 1995). It was until 1993 that it has become an official party, but was banned a year later (1994), in which its leader Samir Geagea was detained and sentenced for several war crimes (El Khazen, 2003). However, the party resumed its work when Geagea was pardoned by the parliament on July 18, 2005. The LF party claims that they represent the Lebanese Christian community. They also assert that the party was founded after the Lebanese Christian community has realized the necessity of defending itself against the imminent risks on the internal and external level (Lebanese Forces, 2010).

1.3.4- Lebanese Shiites and Hizbullah

While Maronites were ruling the Lebanese state and nation in all forms (political, cultural, and economic) starting 1920 till 1975, Shiites also intended to reconstruct the Lebanese national discourse which emphasized their marginality (Eisenlohr, 2008). The Lebanese Shiites have been regarded as both politically and geographically excluded within Maronite dominated areas of Lebanon. They were perceived by the general public as unfit in either the Libanist national narrative, which is dominated by Maronites, or in the project of Arab nationalism, which is dominated by Sunnis. So Shiites were left with the option of creating a sub-national narrative focused on South Lebanon.

Furthermore, Shiites experienced discrimination and marginalization through the state, public services and institutions. They also felt that their view of the nation is not well represented, which led them to start taking an action in the 1960s and early 1970s (Eisenlohr, 2008). Shiites believed that Maronite nationalism did not provide a vision of Lebanon which embraces its citizens (Eisenlohr, 2008). Shiite citizens mobilized not only because they were marginalized economically and politically, but because their vision was informed by a historical memory that was at odds with the Maronite vision of Lebanon. In Shiite Lebanese nationalism, the heavily populated Shiite areas took a more central role than Mount Lebanon (Eisenlohr, 2008).

The Shiites' perspective of the nation was not only challenged by Christians, but also by Sunnis. After the end of the civil war in 1990, Lebanese politics was led by the former Prime Minister Hariri, whose national view of Lebanon was also far from Shiites' imagination of Lebanon's identity (Eisenlohr, 2008). While Shiites perceived Lebanon from a Shiite Islamic "subaltern" viewpoint, Hariri perceived Lebanon from a secular

“yet clearly Sunni- centered, oligarchic model with close ties to the West, especially to France” (p.22).

Shiites’ movement from their rural peripheries of the South and Bika’ to Beirut, referred to as the core, was mainly driven by their extreme deprivation (Ghorayeb, 2002). Shiites’ social movements and political mobilization were based on their lack of money, political organization, and literacy (Eisenlohr, 2005). Their settlement in Beirut was concentrated in slums, which encouraged a communal awareness among the settlers, who were displaced on the social, cultural, and psychological levels. Furthermore, they were exposed to the rich and westernized means of life of the Sunni and Christian. As a result, they felt that they were self-deprived and identified themselves as Lebanon’s proletariat (Ghorayeb, 2002).

Shiites’ empowerment was facilitated by the establishment of the Shiite-led part, Hizbullah or the “Party of God”. Armed and funded by Iran, Hizbullah, was officially founded in 1985, after it has announced itself as an Islamist party dedicated to the establishment of an Islamic state in Lebanon and the endorsement of Ruhollah Khomeini’s Wilayat Al Faqih (Saouli, 2003). Hizbullah was originally involved in the war, during the Israeli invasion in 1982 (El Khazen, 2003). Two factors accelerated the formation of Hizbullah: the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the Islamic revolution in Iran (Saouli, 2003). However, Ghorayeb (2002) argues that Hizbullah’s establishment was not only a result of the 1982 Israeli invasion, but also of the Shiites’ political mobilization in Lebanon, which started in earnest in the late 1960s.

Hizbullah is an Islamic movement that subscribes to the Shiite version of Islam, and believes politically and spiritually in “Wilayat Al Fakih”, a theory of the supreme Shiite leader Khomeini who has an unchallenged authority (Saouli, 2003). Hizbullah has been calling for making Lebanon become part of a greater Islamic state (Hamzeh, 1993).

One of the main political goals defined by Hizbullah leaders and Fadlallah (Shiite leader) is establishing an Islamic state as stated by the Islamic law; however many factors emerged since 1989 and changed their political stance (Hamzeh, 1993). With the beginning of the 21st century, Hizbullah has emerged as the strongest political party in Lebanon (Matar, 2010). The July War of 2006 with Israel played a strong role in enhancing the party’s credibility in the Muslim and Arab world, and in strengthening its position in the Lebanese politics (Matar, 2010).

1.3.5- A Transformation in Parties’ Representation in the Parliament

It is worth noting that the sectarian composition of parties’ representation in the prewar period is different from that during postwar period (El Khazen, 2003). Hizbullah’s participation in the parliament has strongly increased after 1989 Taif agreement, especially in 1992 parliamentary elections. Moreover, Hizbullah obtained the greatest number of representatives (8 seats), which increased to 14 seats in the 2005 elections (Matar, 2010).

1.4- May 7, 2008 and the Doha Agreement

Since time of crisis is represented by May 7, 2008 civil clash, and time of accommodation is represented by the period after Doha agreement, giving a quick overview on each of these two period is necessary. May 7 has been added to Lebanon’s

remarkable history of internal wars. The fighting resulted from two decisions taken by the government in the beginning of May 2008 which were considered by Hizbullah as a strong offense targeting their weapons: first, its attempt of shutting down Hizbullah's telecommunication network, and raising the issue to the judiciary. Second is removing Wafic Shkeir, the security chief of Beirut Airport over alleged ties to Hizbullah Hizbullah (Al Azzi, 2011, paragraph 20). The fighting started on May 7, 2008 when the opposition forces attacked Beirut and controlled it in four days only (Al Azzi, 2011, paragraph 20). This conflict was resolved by the interference of Qatari Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, by inviting all Lebanese political parties to Doha for a Lebanese National Dialogue (Salamey, 2010). The agreement was signed on May 21, 2008 by the Lebanese political leaders participating in the conference and in the presence of the president and members of the Arab ministerial Committee (Salamey, 2010). Consequently, as a result of this agreement, the opposition received a veto power in the new cabinet, which facilitated the election of a new president, General Michel Suleiman, the former head of the army. More important, a “national unity government” joining Hizbullah and its allies was established 47 days later (Knio, 2008). In addition, an accord on a new parliamentary electoral law and ending opposition protest camps in central Beirut as also a part of the agreement (Knio, 2008, p.446). While many believed that the Doha agreement is a positive accomplishment, Knio (2008) argues that developments carried by Doha agreement did not resolve many primary issues that still divide Lebanon's politics. Others have argued as well that the way the president Suleiman was elected weakened the role of the parliament and “stripped the national election from any majoritarian or popular meaning” (Salamey, 2010, p.95). Also, sectarianism was even more strengthened through the new electoral redistricting,

moving from the mid-sized Muhafaza to a small- sized Caza electoral district (Salamey, 2010). Pierre Atallah (2008) argues that the only achievement Christians achieved in this agreement is electing a Christian president, which emphasizes the troika of governance in Lebanon, and the insistence of having a Christian president (An-Nahar, 2008).

The identity politics is critically strong among those two sectarian groups, which prompt the question of how such identity politics is being emphasized and manipulated by populous leadership. It also leads us to ask what does this mean for the establishment of a common national vision for the country and the state.

1.5– Research questions

Having examined the deep rooted division in identity politics among the sects, this thesis aims to examine various questions for revealing the prospect of common politics in a divided identity and society. First, how does language of leaders (speeches in particular) contribute to group identity construction? Second, to what extent does each of the political leaders of Hizbullah and the Lebanese Forces emphasize their mobilization strategies and the exacerbation of group identity politics? Third, where does national discourse stand in the political discourse of Geagea and Nasrallah? Fourth, how do political discourse and the accompanied mobilization strategies vary with times of crisis and accommodation? Fifth, what possible prospects can well target the interrelation between language and identity?

This thesis aims to address these questions by analyzing the framing of identity politics vis a vis national consciousness within the context of leaders' speeches. Revealing the

major themes from the speeches will present a strong framework to address the questions above. This research examines identity politics in the context of a society deeply divided by sectarian and religiously charged communities. Furthermore, it aims at highlighting the importance of language in creating and shaping a group sectarian identity, rather than a national identity.

1.6– Research Design

An examination of the political sectarianization of two communal groups (Shiites and Maronites) struggling to control the state and its resources will be compared. The role of leaders determining followers' political choices and reinventing their sectarian communal identities will be studied. Two parties and their leaders will be the target of this research: Christian Maronite based Lebanese Forces party, and the Islamic Shiite based Hizbullah party. The speeches of the leaders of these parties, Sayyed Hasan Nasrallah and Samir Geagea, respectively, will be examined. Sayyed Hasan Nasrallah is the Secretary-General of Hizbullah, and at same time he is the religious/spiritual leader of the Shiites, a religious sect in Islam. As for the second leader, Geagea, although he did not get the opportunity to pursue his academic work in medicine (Lebanese Forces, 2012), he is still called as “Dr., or “*Hakim*” in Arabic, which stands for a medical doctor. Geagea is currently the commander of Lebanese Forces, after he has previously led it as well before his imprisonment in 1994 for eleven years due to crime related wars (Al Jazeera English, 2006). He was later released on 26 July, 2005, through a vote by the new cabinet established that time (Al Jazeera English, 2006). Geagea is currently a member of the anti-Syrian “March 14” parliamentary group (Al Jazeera English, 2006).

The Lebanese Forces, Lebanon's most prevailing militia during the Lebanese civil war, represents the Christian Maronites, who in turn formed a kind of hegemony in Lebanon until the Lebanese Civil War. On the other hand, Hizbullah represents the Shiites, who after have been marginalized and excluded politically and socially, have become the major represented sect in the parliament. While the Lebanese Forces currently represents the pro-government group named as "March 14" Coalition, Hizbullah represents the opposition to the government named as "March 8 Coalition". This shift in political power between the two sects constitutes the main reason behind choosing these two parties to be the target of this study.

The thesis will examine the contexts of parties' leaders' speeches in mobilizing respective supporters in their struggle for state power. This is to reveal group/social identity construction that dominates leaders' political appeal, which in turn can serve as indicators of the driver of communal identities. A critical discourse analysis will be implemented during these periods: first, during May 8 and May 9, 2008 (respectively), which stand for time of crisis. The second period is after Doha agreement (May 21, 2008 and September 21, 2008), and it refers in this thesis to time of accommodation. Through speech discourse analysis, main mobilization speech contexts will be examined and compared to time of accommodation. It is suspected that Lebanese political leaders work on social identity constructions to manipulate their followers and achieve their political interests at the expense of national interests. Although social identity mobilization and the strengthening of sectarian identity improve sectarian leadership positions, it complicates the formation of a collective national consciousness.

1.7– Research Plan

The thesis is divided over five chapters: The first chapter has introduced sectarianism in general and Lebanon in particular. It gave a quick overview on different propositions on sectarianism mainly four: sectarian communalism (identity politics), economic struggle, institutional, and historic. The second chapter will describe the methodology implemented in the chapter, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), to examine how political leaders can construct a group identity through their discourse. Knowing that CDA is considered as a non-specific direction of research since it lacks a unitary theoretical framework (Schiffrin & Tanen & Hamelton, 2001); a whole chapter will be dedicated to explaining this methodology. The third chapter will analyze thoroughly two speeches of Hizbullah's leader, Sayyed Hasan Nasrallah, relating his discourse to group identity construction. The fourth chapter will analyze two speeches of Lebanese Forces's leader Samir Geagea, relating his discourse to group identity construction as well. The fifth chapter will be the conclusion and will consist of two major parts: first, a comparative conclusion to the discourse analyses. Second is my personal opinion about possible recommendations for the future supported by experts' interventions.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

2.1– Discourse and Politics: Contextualization

Any political action relies heavily on language, whether in the preparation process or in later stages of influence and control. Moreover, language plays a significant role in converting a political will into tangible social action which is recognized by political parties before anybody else (Schaffner, 1997). Dijk (1994) called for discourse analysis to involve an actual social, political or cultural analysis. The study of language has recently become more central to academic disciplines concerned with politics. But, the correlation between language and politics is studied through various theories and methods (Schaffner, 1997).

Matar (2010) describes political speeches as per-formative political speeches and argues that they require a semiotic world culture of communication. A culture of communication is defined as a communicated aggregation of references in religion, history, literacy, and methodology, regarded by a group of people as valid tropes which they draw on in all times, and which they treat as authentic (Matar, 2010). Performative political practices constitute what Foucault calls the “meticulous rituals or the micro-physics” of power which characterize ordinary people’s lives in many aspects (Matar, 2010).

Althusser (1971) argues that discourse is a medium which produces subject or identity. Similarly, Gramsci (1971) believes that hegemony, power through “consensus,

persuasion, and complicity” organized by culture industries, is largely practiced through discourse (as cited in Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 30). In other words, the consent of subjects to particular constructions of power is a result of the discourse produced by the prevailing cultural group, which carries with it persuasion of “essential truth, desirability, and naturalness”. This discursive view of identity is followed by Foucault’s (1972) “discursive production of the subject”, which states that prevailing discourses fixed in social formations and practices constitute the source of production of subjects or identities (as cited in Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p.30-31). Habermas believes that language is a means of control and a social force, as it helps in legitimizing relations of organized powers (as cited in Wodak& Meyer, 2001).

The Critical Discourse Analysis is a kind of discourse analytical research that mostly studies how social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are created, replicated and repelled in written and oral words in the social and political context (Dijk, 2008). All CDA are based on these three concepts: the concept of power, the concept of history, and the concept of ideology (Wodak& Meyer, 2001). Dijk (2008) emphasizes that CDA is mainly concerned with a specific kind of power, the abuse of power, which is manifested in forms of domination that lead to racism, social inequality and discrimination. CDA analyzes the demonstration of both opaque and transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control in language (Wodak& Meyer, 2001)

2.2– Requirements of CDA

There are a number of requirements which critical research on discourse needs to meet in order to realize powerfully its objectives. It mainly focuses on social problems and

political issues, and particularly how the relationship between power and authority in society is enacted, confirmed, legalized, reproduced, or challenged, through discourse structures (Dijk, 2008). There are eight principles of CDA, as described by Fairclough and Wodak (1997):

1. CDA tackles social problems.
2. Power relations are discursive.
3. Discourse forms society and culture.
4. Work of discourse is ideological.
5. Discourse is historical.
6. The connection between the text and society is reconciled.
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
8. Discourse is a type of social action.

CDA does not have a unitary theoretical structure, knowing that it is not a definite course of research. There are of course many forms of discourse analysis, since an analysis of a conversation is different from an analysis of a political speech or a professor's lecture. However, since CDAs are based on common aims, their theoretical frameworks are often highly interrelated. Some of the most familiar terms used by critical discourse analysts are: "ideology, power, dominance, hegemony, class, interests, discrimination, reproduction, institutions, etc..." (Dijk, 2008, p.4).

There is no leading theoretical perspective that is constantly applied within CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). According to Dijk (2008) discourse studies can be considered critical when they meet one or more of these criteria:

- 1) Relations of domination are studied mainly from the standpoint of, and for the benefit of the dominated group.
- 2) The experiences of (members of) dominated groups are also used as verification to assess dominant discourse.
- 3) Revealing the illegitimacy of discursive actions of the dominant group.
- 4) Formulating feasible alternatives to the dominant discourses that are dependable on the interests of the dominated group.

CDA methods focus particularly on the complex relations between social and discourse structure. Moreover, it is concentrated on how discourse structures are affected by social structure. Language is the only medium through which power abuse can be apparent in use, where there is the option of variation or choice, “such as calling the same person, terrorist or freedom fighter, depending on one’s position and ideology.” To be more specific, CDA is concerned about the “in -out group categorization” (Dijk, 2008, p. 4).

The “in-group” is what is referred to as “we”, who constitute members inside “our” group, while “out group” implies them, those who are outside the group. So, “in-group members” rely on this racist and ideologically discourse, to highlight the positive features of one’s own group and its members in comparison to the negative features of the out group. This general strategy is called “in-out group polarization”, or “in-group praise versus out group derogation” will be used in this thesis, believing that it may be recognized in different ways and at many ranks of discourse.

2.2.1- Interpretation

It is the operation of making meaning of a text through reading and analysis. It relies on three dimensions of discursive practice: 1) its linguistic expression. 2) Its representation of a social practice (political, ideological, etc...). 3) The concentration on socially constructed practices of production, distribution, and consumption which indicate the processes of making, circulating, and using texts (Wodak& Meyer, 2001)

2.3- CDA and Power

CDA mainly focuses on the relationship between language and power, considering the text as the basic element of communication. Critical linguistics (CL) and CDA are sometimes used interchangeably (Wodak& Meyer, 2001). However, with time CDA has become more appealing, through its focus on language as a social practice. Dijk (2008) prefers to replace the label of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) because “CDS uses any method which is related to the aims of its research projects and such methods are largely those used in discourse studies generally (Dijk, 2008, p.2). Kress outlines the main assumptions of critical discourse analysis that were prominent in the early stages and were developed later:

- 1) Language is a social phenomenon.
- 2) Individuals, institutions, and social groupings have particular significances and principles that are manifested in language in systematic strategies.
- 3) Texts are related components of language in communication.
- 4) Readers and hearers are critical recipients when it comes to their relationship to texts.

- 5) There are similarities between the language of science and the language of institutions, and so on.

Since readers and hearers are regarded as critical recipients by CDA, it is worth noting that in my speech analysis, I am not assuming that all listeners are not aware of the hidden ideologies behind speeches. Moreover, I believe that there are many listeners who are very critical of leaders, even if they follow their political approach, and this study can help them in even becoming more critical. However, since since others may be unaware, this study highlights the covert purposes behind speeches.

2.4– Why CDA?

What distinguishes CDA from traditional content analysis and other analysis methods is that it relates the study of text with context (Dabbous-Sensenig, 2006). CDA is focused on discovering power relationship; it aims at “ideological unmasking” by uncovering “hidden meanings” or “covert purposes” (Schaffner, 1997, p.51). Being able to analyze certain exemplary speech fully in its rhetorical elements might lead to the following possible conclusion: that the speech addressed is a powerful device and that a “power relationship” has been constructed ideological unmasking. Although CDA is not based on rhetorical analysis, we can still leave a space for rhetorical analysis (Schaffner, 1997, p.51). In this context, the speech analysis in this research involves some rhetorical analysis when necessary.

Van Dijk (1988) divides the work of CDA into macro and micro levels: The micro is focused on syntactic (the study of the patterns of formation of sentences and phrases from words), lexical (pertaining to vocabulary of language), and rhetorical features of the text. The macro level is concerned with the overall content of the text. In this respect,

my analysis is based on two levels rather than one; on the rhetorical analysis within the micro level, and the overall content within the macro level.

Since CDA does not have a specific methodological and theoretical approach and since there is no particular framework for the study of manifestation of power relations (Dabbous-Sensenig, 2006), I will choose a methodological framework which suits the purpose of the study: I will follow different work samples on discourse analysis which are mainly related to speech and rhetorical analysis, and therefore can help me identify the main elements that are usually used in speech analysis. I will refer as well to linguistic references when it comes to structure and grammar. In this respect, I will follow Badran's sample (2010) on critical discourse analysis of Nasrallah's speech (2006), Dabbous-Sensenig's sample (2006) on critical discourse analysis of Al Jazeera's religious talk show *Al Shari'a wal Hayat*, Fairclough's sample teaching on the method (2010), and Koch's article on *Language of Arabic Rhetoric* (1983). Moreover, the basic dogma of critical discourse analysis; that language unmasks the power ideological relationship, will lead my analysis. However my analysis will not go deep into the method's implementation and reliance on linguistic dissection of the text.

Some assume that discourse analysis is only based on linguistic analysis. However, discourse analysis is not necessarily reliable on linguistics, but rather it can involve various methods in the research of human communication found across humanities and social sciences. Discourse analysis in this thesis relies on two main components: the first studies the overall content, while the second focuses on some linguistic features. For example, the following elements are examined in the overall content:

- 1) In-out group polarization (in group praise versus out group derogation).
- 2) Image Theory: enemy categorization.
- 3) Mobilization of religion, violence, and emotions.
- 4) Repetition (in terms of content) and persuasion.
- 5) Manipulation.

As for linguistic and rhetorical analysis, it is based on the following elements:

- 1) Modality and extreme case formulations.
- 2) Linguistic empathy.
- 3) Transitivity and nominalization.
- 4) Rhetorical figures (tropes and figures).
- 5) Foregrounding.
- 6) Repetition in terms of form (cumulative and morphological parallelism).

It is worth noting that speeches of Hizbullah's leader Sayyed Hasan Nasrallah, and the leader of the Lebanese Forces's leader Samir Geagea, are originally in Arabic.

2.5- Social/ Group Identity Approach

The speech analysis is based on a social/group identity approach. The social identity is a social psychological approach developed by Tajfel (1970) and it is concerned with studying group processes and intergroup relations. Furthermore, it is used by political

psychology to understand conflict between groups (as cited in Hudson & Hogg, 1999). Cottam, Dietz-Uhler, Mastors, and Preston (2004) define the social identity as the layer of identity which develops from the individuals' knowledge of their membership in a social group and from the significance of emotional impact associated with that membership. In identity conflict, politicians resort to symbolic politics, the use of symbols for controlling the emotions of their audiences in order to achieve their own political purposes, instead of endorsing any national interest (Kaufman, 2003).

The social identity approach is the approach concerned with groups' categorization. According to this approach, there are two categories classified by "us" and "them": in-groups and out-groups, respectively. The first is the one which "we" (as perceived by the group or party) belongs to, and the latter is the one which we do not belong to, but rather "they" do. Furthermore, Tajfel's experiments (1970) show that groups under examination before categorization had no reason or clue about discriminating against the other groups. Tajfel and Turner (1979) indicate that discrimination against the out-group results from the group's motivation to find theirs as more positively enhanced in comparison to others (as cited in Cottam et al., 2004). Furthermore, there are probable reactions to any threatening to their positive social identity: first, social mobility, which is a way that depends on putting the other-group in a lower status so that the positive social identity would be preserved. Second is social creativity, an approach which relies on either changing the comparison dimension or comparing one's group to a lower status. Third is social competition, which depends on competing with the other group to gain more uniqueness (as cited in Cottam et al., 2004).

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF SAYYED HASAN NASRALLAH'S SPEECHES BEFORE AND AFTER DOHA AGREEMENT

3.1- Multifunctional Roles of Nasrallah and types of Persuasion

The Secretary-General of Hizbullah, Sayyed Hasan, plays multifunctional roles, reflected on his position as a speaker. He plays the following roles at the same time: a military leader of a group (Hizbullah or “the Resistance”), a political leader since he is the leader of the largest parliamentary bloc in the opposition, a spiritual leader of the Shiites, a religious group/sect in Islam, and the socio-ethnic leader of the Shiites as a “socio-ethnic sect”, which has been usually perceived as the “largest and single poorest ethnic group” in Lebanon (Badran, 2010, p. 194). So, ethos, the process of persuasion through the moral character of the speaker can be well recognized and maintained at multi levels. It is worth noting that Sayyed Nasrallah is considered as one of the leading liberation theologians in contemporary Islam (Matar, 2010). Originally, Hibzullah’s discourses are highly influenced by the intellectual contributions of Imam Musa al-Sadr, the spiritual leader of the Shiites in Lebanon, and which are approved by the Islamic Shiite Higher Council (Matar, 2010).

According to ancient rhetoric, particularly the pragmatic subdivision of Aristotle to effective argumentative strategy or modes of persuasion, there are three types of persuasion: ethos, pathos, and logos. Persuasion in each of the three types is accomplished differently. Moreover, in ethos, persuasion relies on the morality which the speaker holds. Pathos, on the other hand, stands for setting the audience in a specific emotional frame of mind. And, in logos, persuasion relies on the speech itself. So, persuasion is the ultimate objective of rhetoric (Badran, 2010).

3.2– Part One: Nasrallah’s Speech on May 8, 2008

3.2.1– Introduction and Background

This chapter will analyze and interpret two speeches of Secretary-General of Hizbullah, Sayyed Hasan Nasrallah, according to particular elements of CDA. The chapter is divided into two sections, each analyzing a speech. In this section, I will analyze Nasrallah’s speech during time of crisis, a day after May 7, 2008, events which featured strong fractions and fights between alliances of March 8 and March 14. It is worth noting that the Arabic video/audio version is the same from all sources, but the English transcribed translation may differ. For this reason, I am relying on Hizbullah’s translation available on their website, to guarantee that the message, when translated, is transmitted as it is. However, due to some weaknesses in these translations, they are further edited by a professional translator.²

²The English version of the speech is cited in the references. The Arabic version is found at: <http://video.moqawama.org/details.php?cid=1&linkid=470> (cited as well).

3.2.2- Reactions to the Speech

This speech, delivered by Nasrallah on May 8, 2008, was regarded by pro-government (March 14 Coalition) supporters, as aggressive and war leading (An Nahar Newspaper, May 9, 2008)³. Following this speech, the situation has exacerbated and the violence between each of the two groups (opposition and pro- government) remained and even increased until the Doha agreement on 21 May, 2008 (Salamey, 2010). On May 9, 2008, a day exactly after his speech, Hizbullah forces targeted Al Mustaqbal centers, and a number of injuries and casualties fell due to war dismemberment in the streets (An Nahar, 2008).⁴ Respectively, on May 10, 2008, pro-government media station, Future TV was assaulted by the opposition group, and the news channel was unplugged by Hizbullah backers (Abu-Fadil, 2008). This action was followed by a supportive protest by Lebanese journalists and civil society groups of all leanings, and was considered by An-Nahar daily newspaper as an action that represents the rejection of the Lebanese to “darkness, oppression, tyranny, injustice” (Abu-Fadil, 2008, paragraph 3). This not to say that Nasrallah’s speech constitutes a direct or indirect reason behind the exacerbation of violence, but to narrate what happened during this period, especially after his speech which held a lot of war and threat connotations (An Nahar, 2008)⁵. Some reactions to his speech came as follows: Geagea considered Nasrallah’s speech as a metaphor of announcing war, believing that his smart approach of attempting to

³There are also other pro-government newspapers that can be checked out such as Al Mustaqbal and Al Liwaa, which convey the same description of reactions to the speech

⁴ For more information, readers can visit:
<http://www.nowlebanon.com/Arabic/NewsArchiveDetails.aspx?ID=41695>

⁵ Readers can check other newspapers’ headlines and news for further perspectives

obscure the practical positions of Hizbullah does not deny that he announced war in his press conference (An Nahar, 2008). The Minister of Communication Marwan Hamadeh considered that the resistance has turned into a militia and later a “gang” (An Nahar, 2008, p. 1).

3.3– Speech Analysis

The analysis in this section is based on the image theory, a theory that explains a form of group categorization according to the social identity approach. Such a type of categorization (image categorization) is not only capable of excluding the out-group as discussed before, but even of categorizing the “out-group” as an enemy. Image categorization usually applies to states’ categorization of others as enemies or allies. However, I argue that this type of categorization is used in this speech, even if the “out-group” does not constitute any state or outsider in terms of territory. I argue as well that the “other”, denoted by Nasrallah as the “authority group” is perceived and represented as an enemy. This is manifested in associating the image of the “authority group” with the image of Israel and the United States, two well-identified enemies of Hizbullah. For example, Nasrallah (p.130) says that Jumblat is an “employee for Condileeca Rice”, and that this war which is initiated by Walid Jumblat against the Resistance and its weapons is for the interest of America and Israel and on behalf of them. Nasrallah also accuses them of conspiracy, by allying with them for destroying Hizbullah, especially during July War 2006. This is when he considers that their decision is made to serve American and Israel by igniting a civil war. He makes it clear by saying:

Secondly, this decision has unveiled the truth about this group, its background and the truth of their commitments and behaviors and performance during the

July War of 2006, to which they felt sad for its results. Third, this decision is intending to disarm the resistance from its most important factor that protects its leadership, commanders, and infrastructure. It aims at disclosing it in an attempt to assassinate it, kill it, and destroy its infra-structure. Consequently, they are partners in the killing, at least by providing the first steps and opening the roads (Nasrallah, 2008 a).

3.3.1- Enemy Categorization

In this speech, two types of enemies appear: first are the external, which are familiar: Israel and the United States of America. Second is the internal, represented by March 14 coalition, Premier Walid Jumblat and government members in particular (Sanyoura, Haririri, and Minister of Information). March 14 coalition is usually identified as an opposing coalition to March 8, but not as an enemy as it appeals in this speech. This becomes evident throughout the following excerpts.

Nasrallah (2008 a) says:

What a government? This is not a government at all; it's a gang. It's neither a state of laws nor a state of institutions; it's a gang. It isn't even a militia; it's a gang. It's a shame, shame in order to turn blinded-eyes to the weapons of the resistance you are abusing internal issues and affairs.

According to image theory, images hold information about a country's capabilities, culture, motives, types of decision-making groups (whether many or few), and views of threat or opportunity (Cottam et al., 2004). Capability refers to the following: military

strength, economic status, domestic political permanence and efficiency in making and implementing policy (Cottam et al., 2004). It is worth noting that whether the enemy (so-called “authority group”) is inferior or superior in capability and culture is not clearly indicated. For instance, it can be superior in terms of capability since according to Nasrallah, they own the authority and the money. This description can be realized in the following parts, where Nasrallah (2008) says in reference to his discourse about his agreement with “authority group” about contacting Hizbullah in case they detected any international call:

Tell us if you detected any international call and we can deal with it together. We believe that illegal calling is wrong and its money to us is tainted corruption, and stealing of public money

Nasrallah (2008 a) also accuses them of stealing public money by saying:

When the government was made, they wanted to monopolize the airport, not for taking bribes, for they were already repeatedly doing so. Only God knows what’s inside those boxes and bags: weapons, money, white, green, black...God knows.

On the other hand, the authority group can be inferior due to the fact that they are not strong militarily strong as Hizbullah is, and since their authority is considered by Nasrallah as illegitimate, since Nasrallah (p.130) keeps on repeating and emphasizing that “it’s not a state; it’s a bossy gang...” Due to the uncertainty and ambiguity of defining the ‘enemy’s’ capabilities and culture, the interpretation will include two possible types of enemies, in which each of the three is based on applicable criteria: the diabolical and the degenerate enemy.

A diabolical enemy is the enemy who is strongly linked to threat and intense emotions, and approximately equal in capability (Cottam et al., 2004). Nasrallah, in this speech, denotes them as “authority group” and “illegitimate cabinet”. Meaning, the capability that he perceives in them lies in their authority, despite its illegitimacy in his opinion. In extreme cases, the enemy is seen as having the following permanent characteristics: aggressive motivation, monolithic decisional structure, and high rational decision making (Cottam et al., 2004). The first two characteristics, except the last one, according to this speech, apply to the government as perceived and represented as diabolical enemy. In such cases, citizens who do not agree or may have a more complicated perception of the enemy are often accused as possible traitors (Cottam et al., 2004). Expert in political psychology, Lina Kreidie (2011) argues that associating the authority group with Israel does not only intend to cause a dichotomy between each of the in-group and out-groups, but within the out-group themselves, and the Sunnis in particular. Moreover, his statement can be interpreted as showing the Sunnis that their leaders are traitors and agents (Kreidie, personal communication, Nov. 1, 2011). In this respect, it is noteworthy that according to some analyses, May 7, 2008 communal strife was considered as the climax of Sunni-Shiite confrontation (Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 2011).

The authority group can be also categorized as a degenerate enemy which is associated with disgust, contempt, scorn, and anger, a combination of feelings that can eventually end in hatred. Also, contempt and disgust can also lead to dehumanization and to genocidal violence. This combination of emotions can also lead to the need of eliminating the enemy, and to a risky underestimation of its capabilities. Although a

degenerate enemy may be characterized with equal or stronger capability, its leadership is perceived as failing to build an efficient strategy (Cottam et al., 2004).

Describing the government group as “gangs” stands for Hizbullah’s perception (represented by that of Nasrallah) of the culture of the authority group. Nasrallah (2008 a) also describes Premier Jumlat, the head of the Progressive Socialist Party, which is a major group within the March 14 coalition, as “a liar and gifted in lying, and a killer by his own confession”. As well, he considers Seniora, former Prime Minister and a member of the March 14 coalition as “poor employee of Jumlat.” This representation does not only stand for his perception of inferiority in terms of culture but also for his perception of their brutality, represented by killing and lying. He also mentions that the government is “the government of Mr. Jumlat”, who was already described as “a liar and killer” (Nasrallah, 2008 a, p.133).

The next excerpt of the speech denotes the enemy as “the bad seed” or “the spoiled child” who needs punishment in order to reform (Cottam et al., 2004). Planning to punish that spoiled child for the past and possible future harm is recognized when Nasrallah (2008 a) threatens the authority group saying:

Excuse me, we have begun a new phase, we aim to arrest those who want to arrest us, and shoot at those who want to shoot us. And we are going to cut the hand that approaches one of our youth.

Nasrallah also says:

And from now I inform them that we will never tolerate anything related to the security of our own commanders and leaders. They would say kidnapping, arrest, no problem.

In other parts Nasrallah (2008 a) mentions that everything that happened before was not serious enough to lead to a war, but what happened recently is worth declaring a war, saying:

After the decisions made by the government on the dark night, we consider that a war has started and it's our right to defend our weapons, our resistance, and the legitimacy of these stipulations.

3.3.2-Mobilization of Religion and Violence

As mentioned earlier, knowing that Nasrallah is a religious leader and that Hizbullah is a religious-based political party, emphasizing Islam as one of the essential themes is expected. However, religion is not only used as an essential theme, but also as a tool of mobilization, especially that Nasrallah's role as a spiritual leader and liberation theologian makes persuasion easier.

Furthermore, giving himself the right to decide that his group and the authority group will not meet in the after-life, Nasrallah implies an extreme distancing from the authority group based on religious beliefs and not only political ones:

Anyway in the afterlife we will definitely not be together, but on this earth they are not going to see it. This is due to the recommendations of Winograd and Welch and the hot summer...

The question is: why wouldn't he and the out-group (authority and government members) meet in the afterlife? In general, saying that they would not meet in the afterlife may imply that "they" (the other group) is not within the in-group's category. It is not explicitly indicated which category would fit each of them. However, it is clear that he is totally distancing himself from them, particularly regarding their life endings⁶. According to Islam, which Nasrallah and Hizbullah and Muslim Sunnis (who are in the authority group) follow, after life is based on the Day of Resurrection. Moreover, this day rewards the faithful and obedient followers with paradise, and punishes the sacrilegious, deviating, and wrong-doers with hell (Qassem, 2005). Since Hizbullah is founded on Islam intellectually, religiously, ideologically, and practically (Qassem, 2005), this implies that he does not mean that the in group would be in hell, and the out group would be in heaven.

Supported by the U.S, Israel requires Hizbullah's resistance and a holy war (jihad) against the enemy's occupation, since Jihad, the path to God, denotes every single effort made to fight against the enemy (Qassem, 2005). Based on that, the implicit statement which Nasrallah made can be: they are going to hell, while we are going to heaven. This is an extreme categorization, which is not only capable of leading followers to regard them as enemies, but also as inferior. Moreover, in such a case, followers of Nasrallah are expected to mobilize through their religious beliefs and to practice jihad towards this group which is an enemy in religion, and not only in politics. Knowing that Nasrallah is not only a political leader, but also a spiritual religious figure (Sayyed), who stands as a

⁶However, March 14 coalition is made up of different parties, all which belong to three monotheistic religions: Muslim (Sunnis), Christians, and Druzes. While Druzes believe in reincarnation, Muslims and Christians believe in the afterlife (Itani, 2008).

credible reference by being one of the most leading theologians in Islam (Matar, 2010), his religious perception of the enemy's categorization and punishment in the after-life are more likely to be believed. Nasrallah already established himself his image of honesty, and he uses his image for his benefits. Even if he lies once time, it's difficult to prove it's a lie due to this image of credibility (Kreidie, personal communication, Nov. 1, 2011).

3.3.4– Extreme Case Formulations

Nasrallah's discourse involves a lot of extreme case formulations; that his constructions of any issue or belief do not leave much room for alternative choices. Such constructions or extreme case formulations can be regarded as having rhetorical and ideological appeals and not only merely grammatical. Such formulations are regarded as rhetorical since they are constructed to manipulate audiences with his own interpretation, and ideological or hegemonic because they empower the existing socio- religious power relations through religious consensus and public consent (Dabbous-Senseing, 2006).

For instance, Nasrallah (2008 a) says:

Today they want to coax the Lebanese army and Lebanese Security Forces into a direct confrontation against the Resistance, by the task of neutralizing this network. This is how we see the decision.

By this, Nasrallah has interpreted the decision and considered that there is no alternative interpretation. It could be concluded from the above excerpts of his speech a number of constructions and interpretations he made about the authority group and about their

position regarding that. These interpretations are not presented in the form of “I think or I believe”, but rather as statements. These constructions about the out group, which is identified by Nasrallah as “they”, include the following:

1. They have started the war; they are the first to declare it against Hizbullah. And so Hizbullah has “the right to confront them in defending their right, weapon, resistance and presence”. He declares that this decision of self-defense is “certain”. And by this, he is not declaring any war, but rather declaring defense.
2. They want to start a civil war or drive a conflict between Lebanese Army and Lebanese Security Forces.
3. That they are illegal, illegitimate, and a gang.
4. That they are stealing the public money.
5. That they are allying with “America” and Israel with the aim of destroying Hizbullah, and that their project is purely American.
6. There would be no Sunni-Shiite clash.

3.3.4- Mobilization of Emotion

The discussion of social identity falls into the category of cognition and politics (Cottam et al., 2004). However, this discussion leads to the discussion of emotion, another important element of political psychology, knowing that even if the reaction to political issues is cognitive-based, emotions still permeate this cognitive process. According to Cottam et al. (2004, p. 48) “people have emotional reactions to political issues, actors, and events, and also to political principles and ideals they value”. So, despite the fact

that it's difficult to study emotions and affect taking their presence into consideration is important, especially that the reaction that was taken after Nasrallah's press conference on May 8, 2008 by his supporters was violent. In this context, defining affects and emotions can be helpful in interpreting the opposition's reaction to Nasrallah's speech. Fiske and Taylor (1991) define an affect as "a generic term for a whole range of preferences, evaluations, moods, and emotions". They also define an emotion as "a complex assortment of affects, beyond merely good feelings or bad to include delight, serenity, anger, sadness, fear, and more" (as cited in Cottam et al., 2004, p.48).

Accordingly, the authority group was dealt as an enemy and emphasized as such not only through using insulting descriptions, but also through regarding them as a source of threat which aims at destroying Hizbullah, and as inferior in terms of culture by stealing money, killing, and acting illegitimately. So, it can be concluded that the emotion which was manifested in the action, of the opposition group against the authority group during the civil strife of May 7, 2008, was anger. This anger can be interpreted as a result of the mobilization strategies which Nasrallah was emphasizing in his speech, within a group identity he is forming, which in turn is contradictory to the concept of the nation-state.

Kreidie (2011) interprets this speech as a justification of an act of violence, through representing their action as a result of fear and imminent threat. Nasrallah's action was a reaction to a perceived threat, and that his speech was a continuation of war. It is interpreted as well as an act of war knowing that war does not happen through action only but also through speeches. Furthermore, his speech did not stop the war, but rather continued the war until Doha agreement (Kreidie, personal communication, Nov. 1, 2011).

3.4– Part Two: During Liberation Memory (2008)

3.4.1– Introduction and Background

This section will analyze excerpts of Nasrallah’s speech during time of accommodation, manifested in the period after signing the Doha agreement on May 21, 2008. The process of in and out- group categorization and its possible leading consequences (such as discrimination) will be examined. This speech is delivered on the day of the Resistance Liberation Memorial on May 26, 2008, after few days from signing the Doha agreement of 2008. Unlike Nasrallah’s speech on May 8, 2008 which transmitted direct threats against the government and March 14 Coalition⁷, this speech is less conflictive and more nation-oriented. More important, Nasrallah addresses the nation and dedicates it the resistance’s victory. While he says so, he addresses his supporters as the purest and the noblest people.

3.5– Speech Analysis

3.5.1– In- out group categorization versus nation address

The in-group is what is referred to as “we”, who constitute members inside our group, while the out group implies “them”, those who are outside the group. So, the in-group members rely on this racist and ideologically discourse, to highlight the positive features of the in group (referred to as our) and its members in comparison to the negative features of the out group (Dijk, 2008). This strategy exposes participants to deep and

⁷The speech is cited as both video and transcribed, for readers interested in both listening to it in Arabic and reading it in English.

complicated “socio-cognitive process” of the participants, in which they are disposed by discourse structures on the one hand, and “influence interaction”, and therefore “future discourse”, on the other hand (Dijk, 2008, p.5). Below are two examples on how Nasrallah highlights this in-out group categorization:

Nasrallah (2008 b) starts his speech saying:

Here you have congregated in huge crowds to prove once more your identity and truth, and also the fact that you are the most honorable people, the most generous people, and the purest people [followed by yelling from the audience].

Here, there is a comparison between the attendees of the liberation memorial and the outsiders through using comparatives and superlatives, forms which are used to compare between adverbs or adjectives (Winterowd & Murray, 1983). While comparatives are used to compare between two adverbs or adjectives in which one is better than the other, the superlatives are used to indicate the best, using either *er/est* or *more/most* (Winterowd&Murray, 1983). Most of adverbs and adjectives form their comparative and superlative degrees with the words *more* and *most*. Adverbs and adjectives can show lesser amounts by using the word *less* in the comparative degree and *least* in superlative degree (Winterowd & Murray, 1983). When Nasrallah uses the superlative form, he explicitly announces that the attendees are more honorable, more generous, and more pure than the others, regardless of their identity.

Nasrallah continues talking about division groups in Lebanon saying:

The Israeli occupation split the Lebanese people into numerous groups: a neutral group that stands on the sidelines waiting, a second group that is indifferent about what happens as long as it eats, drinks, and goes on outings on the weekend, a third group of cheap collaborators and tools such as Lahd's army who are both cheap mercenaries and Lebanese...a fourth group that originally had intersecting interests with the Israelis and continues to collaborate with them, a fifth previously defeated group, of mainly elites, that cooperates with the occupiers on all levels within the framework of cutting national losses. And there is a sixth group that, politically and publicly rejects occupation, but is not ready to practice what it preaches. And lastly, a seventh group that believes that its humanitarian, national, religious and moral obligation is to take up arms and liberate the country regardless of the price; this is the group of the resistance that believes in resistance and resists in practice" [His voice is raised]

Here, Nasrallah makes it clear that this seventh group, which comprises of the resistance's followers, is the best category. As well, he identifies the identity of the outsiders as one of those six categories which are described negatively. Once again, he puts the in-group members at the highest rank and the out group members at a lower rank. This is at the heart of the social identity approach (Cottam et al., 2004). For more clarification, each of these six categories will be dissected and analyzed separately:

To start with, Nasrallah (2008 b) says that the first group does not react; it just stands and waits and that the second group is not concerned about what happens as long as it drinks, eats, and goes on outings on the weekend. He emphasizes that these people are not concerned about the state and the future of their country; however he does not

indicate if these people are concerned about other issues such as studying, working, volunteering, etc... In this context and according to three definitions provided by the dictionary of such a behavior, it could be interpreted that these people are described as passive.

1. Not reacting visibly to something that might be expected to produce manifestations of an emotion or feeling.
2. Not participating readily or actively; inactive.
3. Not involving visible reaction or active participation: to play a passive role.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that in his description of all of the six groups he uses the simple present tense and not present continuous tense, knowing that the simple present is used to express the idea that an action is repeated or usual. The action can be a habit, a hobby, a daily event, a scheduled event or something that often happens⁸. Therefore, this can imply that these actions taken by each of the six categories are almost stable or happening in most of the times. Therefore, those out-group members are heroes in most of the times, and in-group members are indifferent and cowards in most of the times.

The other three groups are described negatively since they are considered as collaborators with Israel. The less negative description is appropriated to the sixth group, who is similar to the Resistance by its rejection of the occupation. However, unlike the Resistance, that group is still incapable of taking an action to end the occupation.

⁸(<http://www.englishpage.com/verbpage/simplepresent.html>).

Therefore, the Resistance is better than the sixth group in its readiness to take up arms regardless of the price.

However, in the light of this extreme in-out group polarization, Nasrallah insists on addressing the nation repetitively in his speech. More important, he dedicates the victory of the resistance against defeating Israel to the nation. He gives the nation significance by inserting the term “nation” in almost every context. Furthermore, Arabs, Muslims, and the Lebanese nation are all together addressed. In other words, the Lebanese nation is considered a target audience as much as the Arabs and the Muslims are. For instance, Nasrallah (2008 b) says while he is giving the listeners different choices between different types of action:

Or will you take the stance that is dictated by your religion, your Islam, your Arabism, your nationalism, your ethics, and your humanity?

However, it cannot be considered the nation is the target audience as much as it can be considered that the audience is ambiguous. In other words, his discourse appeals to have a diverse and unrestricted target audience, but actually the target audience which is accredited is the “seventh group”, the resistance members and supporters, which he salutes in the beginning of his speech. Furthermore, Nasrallah’s frame of jihad and muqawama or “Resistance” is hybrid and ambiguous; he does not differentiate between the Islamic frame of Jihad from the political frame of muqawama, as if they have the same implication, in order to assemble all the Lebanese people as a national group (Matar, 2010). This ambiguity in discourse implies that world perspectives are subject to

interpretation and appropriation by miscellaneous publics, regardless of their political or religious beliefs or choices (Matar, 2010).

In addition to that, he even justifies divisions in the Lebanese nation as a result of a natural historic social division, and says that the Lebanese case is not an exception in that regard. This justification can be interpreted as if he is saying: no group is to be blamed for these sectarian divisions, including Hizbullah, who was accused of war waging in his speech on May 8, 2008 and the actions followed his speech. Saying that “many tried, through their media, to twist this truth”, proves that he is trying to keep away the blame directed against him. It is noteworthy that this speech was only 17 days after the 1st speech (May 8, 2008), and 4 days only after signing Doha agreement. So, this justification can be interpreted as an attempt of rejecting the accusations that Hizbullah has caused divisions between different groups in the nation, especially that he emphasizes in this speech that Hizbullah does not seek power in Lebanon, and that they believe that “Lebanon’s diversity should be preserved”. Therefore, this justification can be inferred as a counter-argument to those who accused him of aiming to take over Lebanon and endanger its diversity.

3.5.2- Modality

In general, modality generates the degree of authority of an utterance. The modal auxiliaries (may, must, can, etc...) play this role of authority, but they contain a systematic uncertainty about the nature of authority whether it is based primarily on knowledge or on power (Kress and Hodge, 1979). Examples: he can walk means either he is able to walk (representing the speaker’s knowledge about his abilities) or he is allowed to walk (representing speaker’s permission).The speaker’s choice of modal

expressions indicates both the degree and type of involvement a speaker has in the content of his/her message, and therefore her/his ideological standpoint/s (Badran, personal communication, Aug. 19, 2011).

With you as a subject, the speaker is giving himself an authoritative power on the other's actions. The modality depends on specific verdicts about the participant's trustworthiness (Kress and Hodge, 1979). First and second persons are considered as determiners that constrain the space and opportunities of the utterance. The relationship between the first two persons is controlled and structured by speech roles in what is called transactive speech model, due to its conception of the speech exchange as vibrant and interactional.

According to Kress and Hodge (1979) the speech model usually takes three forms where in each there is a relationship between the speaker and the hearer, as follows:

- 1) Statement, in which the speaker plays the role of the giver of information, while the listener is the seeker of information. The neutral form of a statement is declarative. Statements forms are present a lot in this speech, in which Nasrallah informs about the resistance's strategy, the divisions in Lebanon, the resistance in Palestine and Iraq, and the internal Lebanese situation past then.

An example from Nasrallah's speech on that:

Regarding the resistance, the resistance has set an example and offered a strategy in two fields instead of one: the strategy of liberation and resistance, and the strategy of defending the people and the nation against invasions and threats.

This division is a natural historic social division and is not limited to Lebanon and it is the result of losing national consensus on any issue.

Nasrallah's statements are not preceded by I believe/I think, which may imply that his statements are not opinions but facts. In this excerpt, there are two case formulations: first that the resistance was capable enough to set an example of a strategy, and second that the division that is occurring in Lebanon is "natural and historic". Hizbullah succeeded in constructing an effective strategy, which his adversary failed to do. The emphasis on the enemy's failure in planning a strategy constitutes one of the factors for categorizing the other as a degenerate enemy. (Cottam et al, 2004).

- 2) Command, in which the speaker commands and the hearer receives the command. The neutral form of a command is an imperative.

An example from Nasrallah's (2008 b) speech on that:

And I call upon any occupied nation as I have in the past that the resistance doesn't wait for consensus.

This is the command which comes directly after his call: It rather takes up arms and moves on to the duty of liberation, the liberation of land, people, and captives. To regain dignity and glory with arms, blood, and heavy sacrifices. So, the command is: to be dignified; taking part in the resistance is a must.

- 3) Question, in which the questioner is an expert and aims at producing the right answer through his question rather than finding from the hearer the right answer. So, the hearer's role is receiving the right answer from the speaker. Its neutral form is an

interrogative. To demonstrate this type of modality, below are examples from Nasralla's speech (2008 b) presented in a form of question and answer:

1) Question two raised by the speaker:

Today you are faced with a test. Will you hand over Iraq to the Americans forever and ever? Or will you take the stance that is dictated by your religion, you Islam, your Arabism, your nationalism, your ethics, and your humanity?

Answer as answered by the speaker:

He does not answer the question explicitly but he gives the audience one of the two contradictory and different choices. Moreover, the first choice is regarded as "spy, collaborator with the Americans and Israelis, unloyal, etc...", while the other is popularized as "honorable, reputable, etc." These two distinctions are very clear in this speech, as we will see, in which he differentiates between the resistance members and others. The command implied here is to: stand against Americans' take over in Iraq.

So here is the construction: his above stated command should be recognized as long as people are already attached to one of the following: their religion Islam, Arabism, nationalism, ethics and humanity. It can be interpreted that he is declaring that there is only his perspective of seeing the issue, the one put forth by him, as if there are not any further perspectives and interpretations of the issue.

2) Question two asked by the speaker:

The July-August 2006 war is the example. How was it possible for a public resistance.....? How was it possible, as judge Winnograd put it, for several thousands to withhold for weeks in the face of the strongest army in the Middle East?

Answer as answered by the speaker:

We are not discussing a defensive strategy studied in books and universities, rather, of a defense strategy that was implemented and inflicted defeat on the aggressor and usurper in the confessions of its entire society

3.5.3- Foregrounding

It is a stylistic technique where the text pushes foreground specific element/s (Badran, personal communication, August 19, 2011). This technique is used to make a subject of the speech more prominent than the other (Freeborn, 1996). This technique can be done through many ways as: foregrounding text, foregrounding rhythm, foregrounding the final syllables of lines, and foregrounding consonants and vowels (Freeborn, 1996). Nasrallah (2008 b) mainly uses text foregrounding, in which he starts the speech by informing the audience about the outline of the speech according to priority of information.

Examples on that:

I will skip all introductions. I will start with Lebanon. Regarding the Resistance, the Resistance has set an example and offered a strategy in two fields .So, the priority of the speech is the strategy which the resistance has offered.

Before I conclude my research on the resistance and move on to the internal Lebanese situation, I would like to tell you that we have presented an example of a strategy of defense as was the case in the liberation strategy.

Here he is not offering new information, but rather repeating and emphasizing that Hizbullah/the Resistance (referred to as “we”) have presented an example of a strategy defense.

He says as well:

I prefer, for now to postpone this debate and stand the unjust accusations against the Resistance for the sake of reunification.

This debate is about a press conference held during that week; he indicates his confusion of whether he should discuss that or if he should postpone the discussion for later. He decides that this discussion should be postponed so that people’s joy and happiness for having a new president elected would not be ruined. Thus, by continuously putting forth these statements, he is prioritizing information, and the prioritized information is related to the Resistance’ defense strategy.

3.5.4- Linguistic empathy

This strategy is done through establishing audience-speaker empathy through using personal pronouns as “we/us”, instead of “I/me”. This can be done also through using interrupting narratives in the middle of a sentence, such as: Interrupting the sentence to say “and now” (time) or “and here” (place) which helps in letting the audience feel that they are part of the story and the issue (Badran, personal communication, August 19,

2011). For example: “Yet again, the resistance’s liberation strategy won, and today, I repeat, speaking on Hizbullah in precise”.

He also says:

I will skip all introductions for we have much to talk about today

Our eighth anniversary

We Lebanese are no exception in this matter

As Arabs, as a nation, and as Muslims, our sole way out of the catastrophe and all its ideological, psychological, military, security, political, and social implications...

We are not discussing a defensive strategy studied in books and universities; rather, a defense strategy that was implemented and has inflicted defeat on the aggressor and usurper in the confessions of its entire society. Yes dear brothers and sisters, your nobleness and courage, your resistance which thwarted Israel’s war and aggression all weakened the possibility of war in the region. In Lebanon, we are the most dignified people because we fought in the July War and will continue to fight in any future confrontation.

Here the audience is considered as part of the resistance not only in terms of support, but also in terms of the resistance’s fighting work, and strategic planning. In fact, the strategic defense is not put by the audience, but rather by specific officials in the resistance, knowing that most probably many of the audience may have known nothing about this defensive strategy before the speech. However, by saying “we have

presented”, audience would feel more association with the resistance, and more important they would feel that they are given credit and importance in the strategic work and decision-making of the resistance, while in fact they are only receiving information from their leader in that regard.

Other examples from Nasrallah’s speech (2008 b) on that:

We sought no thanks, prizes, or gifts from anyone. We did not seek share of power or share of offices. We did not want anything at all.

Yes, dear brothers and sisters, your steadfastness in Lebanon, the blood of your martyrs, your nobleness and courage, your resistance which thwarted Israel's war and aggression on Lebanon...all weakened the possibilities of war in the region.

All these examples demonstrate the audience-speaker empathy. Moreover, he emphasizes the union and cooperation of the speaker and audience in standing against “the other” (Badran, 2010). Simultaneously, distancing from “the other” is empowered by using emotionally loaded words to denote followers of Hizbullah as “your steadfastness, your martyr, your nobleness and courage, your resistance”, while using the words “collaborators with Israel, defeated group, cheap collaborators such as Anthony Lahd, cheap mercenaries and Lebanese at the same time” to describe the other. This is at the heart of pathos, or persuading through speaking to the emotions of the audience, knowing that pathos is entwined in the view that the way reality is understood is deeply rooted in the feeling of the audience towards that reality (Badran, 2010).

3.6–Conclusion

This chapter started by stating that rhetoric automatically leads to persuasion and that there are three types of persuasion. As the speech analyses have shown, the three types of persuasion apply to Nasrallah's discourse and to the speech after the Doha agreement in particular, especially that the former fits more with war waging category.

Moreover, in both speeches Nasrallah's rhetoric relies on ethos, pathos, and logos in persuading the audience, i.e. on the morality of Nasrallah, by: classifying who is evil, liar, and stealer and who is not, specifying the frame of mind for listeners, and third through the speeches themselves. These three factors which met together contribute to persuading listeners. Furthermore, the speech during time of crisis can be interpreted as persuading listeners that the other group deserves to be attacked or deserves the war. However, the second speech persuades listeners by the significance existence and persistence of the resistance as a force which joins the Lebanese nation, Arabs, and Muslims. While Nasrallah's speech during time of crisis was addressed to the Lebanese groups in general and March 14 Coalition in particular, the second speech (during time of war) was addressed to the Israelis. While the first was based on war waging against the Lebanese "out-group" (March 14 Coalition), the second was based on direct and fixed statements directed to the Israelis on the continuity of the resistance's presence, and to the Lebanese who are questioning their weapons. The speech after the Doha agreement shows a shift in his rhetorical frame, this time emphasizing the nation and national unity and even Lebanon's diversity.

It can be concluded from the above discourse analysis that Nasrallah's discourse after Doha agreement is not nation-oriented as it appeals, but rather in-group oriented.

Nasrallah claims to seek a national unity and to care about the nation rather than the subdivisions, but in fact he highlights in this speech intergroup polarization by putting his group at the highest rank and the other group at the lowest rank, and by reviving past talks related to the in-group's victory versus the out-group's concern about nothing more than seeking political power. As for enemy categorization, it is pervasive strongly and explicitly during time of crisis. However, it is suddenly replaced during time of accommodation by Hizbullah's concern about national unity. Moreover, the enemies referred to in this speech are: Bush, who is associated with Pharaoh, America, and Israel. Knowing that during time of crisis, the authority group was associated with these major enemies, and therefore with Pharaoh and all the evil image it carries, and knowing that Nasrallah did not beg off his associations, it can be concluded that March 14 Coalition is still regarded as enemies, without mentioning that explicitly. So, the tone during time of accommodation is much different than that during time of crisis; more peaceful, less violent, and concerned about the nation. It can be also interpreted as a justification for the violent discourse during time of crisis. In both however, we can recognize the presence of:

- 1) Mobilization of emotions, religion, and violence.
- 2) Persuasion and manipulation.
- 3) Extreme case formulations.

4) Extreme in-out group polarization while claiming to address the whole nation and call for national unity.

5) Ambiguity in discourse.

Based on the belief that people are expected to discriminate and differentiate when they are in a situation which involves prominent and relevant intergroup categorization, in an attempt of enhancing their social identities (Tajfel, 1970), an exacerbation of the conflict between the two coalitions is expected to occur after such speeches.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF SAMIR GEAGEA’S SPEECHES BEFORE AND AFTER DOHA AGREEMENT

4.1 – Elements of Speech Analysis in Geagea’s speeches

Fairclough’s “three-dimensional model” is based on three levels of analysis: discursive practice, text, and social practice. The level of analysis which this research is concerned about is the text, since it is the most suitable level to answer the research questions (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002). Fairclough suggests a number of tools for text analysis that help understand how texts construct events and social relations and therefore produce specific constructions of truth, social identities, and social relations (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002). Out of his proposed tools, the following are to be considered: modality and grammar (nominalization and transitivity). In addition to that, the following elements will be examined as well: in-out group categorization, moral emotions, mobilization of violence, and mobilization of religion (Christian roots and identity). Arabic rhetoric is also examined according to two elements: repetition and persuasion (in terms of content and form) and rhetorical figures of speech (tropes and figures).

4.2– Part One: Geagea’s Speech before Doha Agreement, on May 9, 2008

4.2.1– Introduction

This speech was delivered on May 9, 2008 after Nasrallah’s speech on May 8, 2008 (analyzed in Chapter 3), and after the attack of the opposition group (March 8 Coalition) to the group of government adherents (March 14 Coalition), which has started on May 7, 2008 (Al Azzi, 2010, paragraph 20). Unlike the second speech, this one is short, which explains the difference in length between the two speech analyses. In this speech, Geagea speaks based on his concern about national unity and partnership, which he considers is threatened by Hizbullah.

4.3– Speech Analysis

4.3.1– Group Polarization and Enemy Categorization: Manipulation towards a Sunni– Shiite Clash

Knowing that the main approach of this research is social identity, the speech analysis will start by examining the same element examined in Nasrallah’s speech analysis: group categorization. This speech shows that like Nasrallah, Geagea works on in-out group polarization by differentiating between the in group who is resistant and the other group who is leading a bloody and nationally destructive revolution. Unlike the second speech under analysis (after Doha agreement), the categories (in-groups and out-groups) are not left ambiguous, but rather clearly identified. The in-group is not only clearly

identified as the March 14 group but as Sunnis and Druzes, precisely. That's when he salutes each of Saad Hariri, Walid Jumblat, and his father Kamal Jumblat.

This group categorization is enhanced through a process of manipulation. Manipulation is a term that describes an action of rigging decision making by a group member who is in most cases the leader. In general, manipulators use three strategies: affecting group structure so that their allies would control decision making, manipulating agendas and framework of group individuals, and manipulating their personal relationships with group members in formal and informal ways. Using the third way, leaders put themselves in encouraging and positive stands to influence the decision's outcome (Cottam et al., 2004). Manipulation occurs when political leaders know what are the dominant norms and values of people and appeal to them for certain political interests. Leaders can manipulate followers through, for example, encouraging them focus on the divisionary factors rather than looking at the historical part of the political issue, a strategy used in this speech (Kreidie, personal communication, Nov 1, 2011). In this context, language can be used to manipulate thought (Wilson, 2001).

Manipulation happens through either persuasion or coercion, and in this speech manipulation is achieved through persuasion. This speech is interpreted as trying to manipulate listeners by playing on their emotions and their fear in particular. Moreover, Geagea addresses the fear of the "Sunnis" and "Beirutis" of Lebanon, rather than addressing the fears of Christians (Kreidie, personal communication, Nov 1, 2011). Moreover, Geagea (2008 a) says:

Beirut did not fall when Israeli invasion raped it, and it resisted, and it will not fall today.

Beirut was invaded treacherously in the darkness, by the hordes of Hizbullah, the claimers of resistance, who were embraced by the proud capital of Lebanon...

Although Beirut is for all, it is usually referred to as the demographical site of the Sunnis and associated with the Sunni identity. The emphasis is on Beirut, the capital, where the Sunnis associate themselves with, in an attempt of causing a Sunni-Shiite division. Kreidie (2011) argues that Geagea is manipulating listeners' fear by using the term "invasion" of specifically the capital "Beirut", knowing that the fights took place in the mountain as well. This is a humiliation of the other because it is associated with an enemy action (Kreidie, personal communication, Nov 1, 2011). In that respect, it is noteworthy that Geagea specifies former Prime Minister Saad Hariri by a special salutation for his resistance in "his capital" and among "his people". Saying that the capital is Hariri's can imply implicitly that the region attacked by Hizbullah is that of the Sunnis. This interpretation becomes clearer when he says that although Beirut has protected and embraced them, they turned their weapons against it. So, Beirut is not represented as their original place, but as a place they were accepted and welcomed by the in group (Sunnis) to stay at. Furthermore, Hizbullah is portrayed as the enemy who is using his weapon to fight the "Beirutis" and "Sunnis".

For social identity purposes, Geagea is trying to persuade his own people with the strongest threat, the existential threat: that Shiite threat is challenging the Maronite

existence. However, he and who endorse this argument cannot say it explicitly because the other group would respond saying that they have been already in the government without turning it into an Islamic state. So, they are not able to expose this existential threat explicitly and directly, therefore turning the threat to the Sunnis, as if they are warning them from the Shiites who may take Beirut from them (Kreidie, personal communication, Nov 1, 2011).

4.3.2- Modality

As explained in chapter three, analysis of modality is mainly concerned with the speakers' degree of affinity with or association to her or his statement by committing themselves to their statements according to different degrees (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). A complete commitment of one's self to truth is one kind of modality, and it is practiced in Geagea's speech. Moreover, Geagea describes Hizbullah's angry action in the street in this way: "it is an armed revolution" and "it is an assault of national partnership" rather than saying "I think or we think it is an armed revolution" and "I think it's an assault of national partnership" respectively.

4.3.3- Appealing to Moral Emotions: Moral Outrage and Empathy

Moral emotions are defined as emotional reactions that encourage supportive actions which promote the interests of the other or of society as a whole (Pagano &Huo, 2004). Moral emotions apply as well to situations which encourage support for precise political actions on behalf of political bodies, an area of focus which this study is concerned

about. Moreover, this study is not concerned about studying how Geagea appeal to these moral emotions to influence the whole Lebanese society, but rather how he influences his in-group. Moral emotions include: guilt, empathy, and moral outrage. Geagea appeals to two moral emotions in this speech: empathy and moral outrage. Each of these moral emotions has different psychological roots and action tendencies. To explain moral outrage, it will be compared with a more frequently used term, guilt. While guilt focuses on blaming victims for their pain, moral outrage focuses on the agents that caused the victims' harm. Moreover, unlike guilt, moral outrage does not allocate the blame for the victims' pain to the in-group, but rather to an external "perpetrator", a third party (Pagano &Huo, 2004, p.231). Moral outrage can stand as well for an emotional reaction to an unjustified offense to oneself or to others, or even to communal values (Pagano &Huo, 2004).

For example, Geagea (2008 a) says:

A salutation to our people in the resistant and proud Beirut...

A salutation to every one of you

A salutation to every resistant mother and frightened child...

In this extract of the speech, Geagea appeals to the listeners' moral outrage, by representing his in-group as victims who are resisting a third external party.

Consequently, moral outrage may lead either to retributive actions which aim at punishing the perpetrator or to reformative actions that aim at avoiding recurring insults (Pagano &Huo, 2004). Furthermore, this type of language used by Geagea is considered by Fairclough (2010) as conformist, in which speakers speak on the behalf of

nations on such occasions using conventional pre-constructed terms (clichés): salutation, resilient Beirut, faith in Lebanon, etc...

Another type of moral emotions featured in this part is empathy, which holds feelings of “sympathy and compassion” for the victim or the sufferable individual. Empathy has been regarded as the ability to experience an emotional response matching with the perceived welfare of another person (Pagano & Huo, 2004, p. 233). It is created by choosing to depict the mother and her child in a frightening situation. It is also featured when Geagea (2008 a) describes the consequences of Hizbullah as follows:

A number of the innocent citizens have died and others have been wounded.
These citizens do not own any weapons but their dignities, free wills, and
attachment to their nation, Lebanon, before anything else.

Empathy is highlighted once again through describing victims as innocent victims and lacking weapons to fight back Hizbullah’s attack. It is worth noting that by saying “citizens” and previously “national wound”, he is speaking on behalf of the nation. However, this “nation” address contradicts the group categorization he highlights in other parts of the speech. While he highlights the Shiite existentialist threat to Sunnis in particular and while he addresses Sunnis and Druzes (members of March 14) in some parts, he contradicts himself by addressing the nation and the citizens in other parts of the speech.

4.4– Part II: Geagea’s Speech after Doha Agreement: On September 21, 2008 Annual Memorial Prayer for the Convenience of the Souls of Martyrs of ‘Lebanese Resistance’:

4.4.1– Introduction

The Doha agreement was signed as a result of May 7, 2008 strife on May 21, 2008 (Salamey, 2010). The period after signing the agreement, within year 2008, is referred to in this research as time of accommodation, despite the continuation of disagreement between each of the two groups (March 14 and March 8). This speech was delivered on the memorial prayer of martyrs of the Lebanese Forces (LF) which is held every year by the Lebanese Forces, and in which its leader, Samir Geagea usually delivers a speech after the prayer. Knowing that the prayer is dedicated to the souls of LF martyrs, the speech delivered usually tackles political issues arising during the year of the memorial. In this speech, Geagea mainly accuses the unspecified “other” for attempting to distort the image and purity of LF members’ martyrdom.

This speech is selected because the occasion (memorial of LF martyrs) in which it is delivered is very significant to Christians of the Lebanese Forces. Knowing that it is preceded by a religious occasion (Lebanese Forces, 2008), this can help studying how it can affect the political discourse. In other words, it can help answer the following questions: does this religious spirit of the occasion shape the political discourse of Geagea and make it more focused on the Christian, and specifically the Maronite sect to which this party belongs to, rather than on the nation? Or does it lead to changes in Geagea’s political discourse? And to what extent is the political discourse delivered

influenced by this religious spirit; that is, to what extent does it work on group categorization and polarization, instead of calling for national unity?

Excerpts of this speech are presented in their original version in Arabic whenever necessary along with their English translation. The translation is mine, since the website of LF does not provide any translations to Geagea's speeches under analysis, but it is edited and approved by a professional translator.

4.5- Speech Analysis

4.5.1- In- out group Categorization

In their experiment, Tajfel and his colleagues (in Abrams & Hogg, 1999) were able to reach the result that social categorization per se was enough to cause inter-group discrimination. Furthermore, in intergroup situations, people struggle for positive uniqueness. Meaning, in an attempt of positively evaluating themselves, they distinguish their own group from the out group, because in doing that, the positive implication of in group membership returns to the self.

In this respect, it is important to briefly discuss self-categorization theory, a production of social categorization, which is evident in this speech when Geagea praises the “in group” while antagonizing the “out” group. Moreover, social categorization leads to a depersonalization process of group prototypes (defining models), manifested in the production of divergent in-group and out-group defining models that incorporate relevant group members. Consequently, the way individuals embody themselves, perceive issues, feel, and behave are ruled by in-group prototype, when the in-group

members apply this process to themselves. Moreover, some possible future consequences include: consistency and group influence, unity and solidarity, and stereotyping (Abrams & Hogg, 1999).

In the majority of the speech, Geagea distinguishes between LF group and martyrs and the “other” without explicitly naming it. This is evident by denoting the other as “some” and “they”. This unidentified other is represented as attacking the in group and attempting to distort their image and the truth. For example, Geagea (2008 b) says in reference to their attempts of distorting the in group’s logic of right and truth:

So, the insulters, hypocrites, liars and deceivers shall be silenced by the deafening sound of truth, and Lebanon shall triumph.

It is clearer when he compares between each other’s causes by categorizing the in group cause as the one characterized by crucifier and the out group as characterized by destruction:

Their cause is one forever: attempting to damage the symbolism of our martyrdom.

Our cause is one forever: to be crucified so that we would deserve Lebanon’s rise.

This in-out group polarization is enhanced through focusing on the effect and omitting the agent. This is evident in two grammatical features: transitivity and nominalization (to be analyzed below, p.67).

4.5.2- Mobilization of Violence through Grammar

The two grammatical features (transitivity and nominalization) are used in this speech analysis to demonstrate an extreme case of group polarization; mobilization of violence. In this respect, a definition of violence is necessary. Violence Prevention Alliance, which was formed at the WHO- hosted Milestones of a global campaign for violence prevention meeting, defines violence as:

The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation.

There are three main kinds of violence: Inter-personal, self-directed, and collective (political, social, and economic). The analysis of this speech is concerned about the third kind of violence, the collective political, which stands for violence committed by larger groups. The analysis in the following will focus on how the discourse highlights the violence perpetrated by the other group against the in-group through studying grammar and repetition.

Transitivity

Transitivity is a linguistic feature which uses the passive form and excludes the agent. Therefore, it omits the agent of responsibility, and highlights the effect rather than emphasizing the cause. The purpose of studying transitivity is to study the connection

between events and processes and between subjects and objects. Transitivity is important as well in examining the ideological consequences of different sentence structures (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002).

For example, Geagea (2008) says:

We were attacked more and more, but this time for our role in putting an end to the war

So, they overturned it on you and portrayed you as criminals and mercenaries aiming for a crime on one hand, and stealing bread on the other hand.

So, the violence, the moral attack of LF members and martyrs, committed by the other group is highlighted, through depicting them as criminals. However, the agent behind this attack is not identified, for reasons to be analyzed later on (in p.69).

Nominalization

It is another linguistic feature that reduces agency and highlights the effect by having the noun standing for the process. The majority of the speech is based on nominalization, whereby Geagea starts by saying that LF martyrdom is featuring attempts of distortion and denial, without indicating the agent behind these attempts. He continues the whole speech with that tone, discussing how LF martyrs are treated by “those”, without naming them.

Below are different excerpts of Geagea’s speech (2008 b):

And is there any indication of treason more ugly, awful, and painful, than delving in empty graves and in the hated past... in order to distort the image of the others and to achieve cheap political gains?

Is there any sign of sedition greater than their intention of forgetting who the enemies of Lebanon are, and even defending them ...? And in contrast attacking, day and night, the innocent fighters and martyrs, who triumphed over the torture and oppression which they experienced in prisons?

So, the emphasis in this part is on the destructive and violent effects of this action of discrimination committed by “the other” on Lebanon’s destiny, on the “in-group”, and on the martyrs of the Lebanese Forces. Representing them as violent is achieved through the following ways: first is through comparing the violence of the out-group to that of Ottomans, who were famous for their oppression and violence. Second is through attacking a Christian religious figure and the Christian martyrs of the Lebanese Forces.

4.5.3- Possible Interpretations for Omitting the Agent of Violence

The agent behind this violence and the process of the action are left unstated. But, the destructive and offending end result that the unspecified “they” has caused is stated. At the same time, although Geagea does not explicitly indicate the identity of the agent, the target audience, if aware of the political updates, can figure out some of the agents. Moreover, Geagea mentions the event of attacking the Patriarch, which was associated with Sayyed Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah’s reply to Sfeir that Lebanon’s glory was

given only to the resistant and activist nation of Lebanon⁹. So, Sayyed Fadlallah and his supporters can be considered as one of the missing agents who caused the effect emphasized, not to forget the Christian opposition who also criticized the Patriarch during that time. Accordingly, the emphasis in this excerpt is on the effect on what the other has done to distort LF image and Lebanon's destiny.

This dialogue is defensive, and can be interpreted as intending to leave the other undetermined and up to people's interpretations, whether it's the Christian opposition or Hizbullah. Perhaps, Geagea does not want to point the finger against the Christian opposition specifically so that his call for Christian unity in this speech would sound more acceptable to the Christians. Therefore, he does not specify the other as either Christian opposition or Hizbullah, or both, because he is addressing the Christians and calling them to unite, and so it is not for the benefit of his call to attack them directly. So, this passive tone is intentionally done to serve his call for Christian unity (Kreidie, personal communication, Nov. 1, 2011).

In addition to that, the other is unidentified in almost the entire speech, although this other is accompanied with a lot of demonization. However, Gaegea implicitly reveals the identity by mentioning the weapons of Hizbullah for several times in different contexts, and at some points without explicitly mentioning the name Hizbullah. For instance, he concludes his speech wondering sarcastically how the state acts can be powerful if "their weapons" are weakening the state. Kreidie (2011) argues that it can

⁹ To check this news on the website of the LF readers can check: <http://www.lebanese-forces.com/web/MoreNews.aspx?newsid=58525>. For more information, readers can also check sources such as: *Jaridat Al Sharq Al Awsat Now Lebanon*, *Lebanese Forces*, *Al Rai*, *Al Hizb Al Takadomi Al Ishtiraki*.

be also a demonization strategy, by not naming the other, but still associating them with the bad image (liars, hypocrites, etc...), and with the violent image (attack, discrimination, crying mother and children, etc...).

4.5.4– Mobilization of Violence: Repetition and Persuasion

This section is concerned about an Arabic linguistic analysis, which interprets repetition used in this speech; a characteristic of Arabic language, as an attempt of persuading listeners with the violence perpetrated by the other against the in-group.

Through linguistic analysis of a number of texts in contemporary Arabic which are characterized by persuasion, Koch (1983, p. 47) focuses on Arabic argumentation and concludes that it's “essentially paratactic¹⁰ and analogical¹¹”. In other words, Arabic modes of argument rely on repetition (in terms of form and content) and paraphrase in order to make sure that its argumentation is “present”, and therefore to persuade the audience. While Koch (1983) argues that this type of argumentation is a necessity in the cultural ‘centrality of the Arabic language in “Arabic-Islamic society”, I argue that this mode of argumentation is pervasive in Geagea’s speeches, especially in this speech under analysis. In other words, the interpretation of this speech shows that Geagea keeps on repeating the same words/phrases which have the same meaning, in order to emphasize his message: the violence perpetrated by the outer group against the in-group. This strategy, called a presentation, is characterized by proof. To elaborate more,

¹⁰ Paratactic: from parataxis, which is the placing together of sentences, clauses, or phrases without a conjunctive word or words

¹¹ Analogical: from analogy; this is similarity or comparability.

selective parts from Geagea's speeches are to be examined. Linguistically, the strong presence of repetition can be recognized in these texts on a number of levels and in various forms, by using pairs of words which are nearly or almost synonymous (Koch, 1983).

The speech is characterized by many types of repetition in terms of content and form, as reverse paraphrase, morphological parallelism, and cumulative parallelism. The dominant kind is the cumulative parallelism in which the speaker cumulatively repeats the same phrase/word (Koch, 1983). Moreover, the phrase repeated is used in different contexts and not in one context only, for raising different issues or various sources of conflict between each of March 14 and March 8 Coalitions: Hizbullah's weapons, the July War of 2006, military helicopter, etc... To better explain, below is an excerpt which demonstrates cumulative parallelism:

For God's sake, tell me for what shall we unite?

Shall we unite for the decision of leaving Hizbullah's weapons at the expense of the Lebanese government until Palestine is gained back and all the occupied Arab lands are liberated...?

Or shall we unite for the correct opinion of the devastating War of July 2006 and about the concept of open war, and for dedicating Lebanon as an only front for resistance the time people of the resistance are negotiating Israel?

So, different issues are raised by asking the same repetitive rhetorical question phrase: shall we unite about (x and y)? Or for what shall we unite for? The same element is

used repetitively for different situations. Actually, he is implying that unity is hard to be achieved according to these different contexts. Consequently, the divergence in the beliefs between the in and the out group is at the heart of group categorization. The violence of the other group is highlighted as well by mentioning the July 2006 War, the weapons of Hizbullah, etc.

Below are other types of repetition and contributors of persuasion:

Morphological parallelism:

It is a common type of parallelism which is frequently used in syntactically parallel constructions, and in which the morphologically parallel items are not necessarily synonyms.

For example, Geagea (2008 b) addresses martyrs saying:

Martyrs, you are the martyrs for all of Lebanon...

When the homeland remained, it remained for everyone. However, some reject you, do not want you, do not want to hear about your memory, do not want to hear about your victories, nor about the wailing of your mothers, and your fathers, your spouses, your children, and your friends...

So, his cumulative emphasis on the other's rejection of them is realized as well as the appeal on emotions. In other parts, besides cumulative parallelism, listing parallelism, the repetition of form and content through a listing form are also present:

They intend to forget who was threatening them, their country, their earnings, their freedoms, their futures, and the future of their children. They are attacking who died for defending them. So the loyalty, morality, and values were lost, and the history was violated

Geagea's main point is that, in this case, the out-group intends to forget who was threatening them and their country. However, a consecutive list of words that reflect one's aspects of life and country accompanies the object "them". In this listing parallelism, he appeals to the emotions, not only by accusing the other of forgetting intentionally the source of threat, but by listing these emotional terms such as freedom, future of the children, loyalty, morality, values, etc..The out-group is violent to an extent, that while forgetting the real source of threat, they are "attacking" the in-group, the ones who died to defend the out group. This action, which the other has done, has resulted in a strong and destructive effect, described by heavily emotional terms: the loss of loyalty, morality, values, and history. This is referred by Fairclough (2010) as "a claim to moral authority", through judging who is evil and hypocrite, and who is not.

Listing parallelism is also present in other parts of this speech (2008 b), such as

And more, dear ladies and gentlemen, I hear you in your homes, in your offices, in your industries as well as in your schools, your universities, and your homes, in your homeland as well as abroad, asking God, day and night, to inspire us to agree, to unite.

Here, he is listing all possible places his audience can be in, starting from home country reaching abroad. By this, he is trying to make them feel closer to him by stating that he

is listening to them and feeling with them wherever they are (Kreidie, personal communication, Nov. 1, 2011). More important, he is speaking in the first singular pronoun “I” (Fairclough, 2010). He is also speaking informally to his people, knowing that approaches which are formal and informal, public and private at the same time, and join both ceremony and feeling, adds more power to the speech (Fairclough, 2010).

4.55-Style

This speech involves a number of figures of speech, which have traditionally been categorized into two types in the field of rhetoric: tropes and figures. A trope is a device that involves meaning, and a figure is the one which involves expression. Both figures and tropes are to be identified in Geagea’s speech. This speech is full of tropes (simile, metaphor, and personification) and figures of speech (irony, hyperbole, and oxymoron), which contribute to making the style a rhetorical style and making persuasion easier.

Hyperbole

For example, Geagea (2008 b) says:

After we got out of the past hell fire, the prejudiced people had no choice but to live in their collective buries and search in them, evoke the past in their own dirty way, and read their devil book to collect all the pain and ugliness of the Lebanese Civil War, trying to accuse us for that: we, people of the cause, alive and dead.

Besides being featured by cumulative parallelism, this excerpt is characterized by the hyperbole, which is an exaggerated or extravagant statement, used to express strong

feeling or produce a strong impression, and not intended to be understood literally (Freeborn, 1996). This exaggeration lies in the strong words used as “collective buries” and “devil book”. The latter holds a number of connotations and raises a number of questions to stop at: Which book of the other is he talking about? Is it their religious book or history book? In both cases, the word “devil” demonizes (representing the other as evil or diabolic) the other, but in case it is referring to their religious book, then this is an obvious attack on the other’s religion, the Islam religion, and therefore an obvious bias to Christianity and a strong contribution to a Muslim-Christian clash, especially that the occasion is a Christian occasion. Moreover, this occasion is very special to the Christians for two reasons. First, because it is a religious occasion (memorial prayer), and second because it is dedicated to the souls of the martyrs of the Lebanese Forces. Therefore, mobilization of violence in such a sacred occasion has a stronger power than other occasions.

Personification

Personification is when an object is turned into a person or entity. For example, Geagea turns their lie into a person that kills a person:

A lie is capable of killing a person, but it cannot kill the truth

He also continues in demonizing the other, by describing their action as a trading action and by turning the latter to an action which is usually done in terms of money into an action done in terms of blood and pain:

And for the rogue people, who are trading with our pain and the pain of people I
say: stop trading and making use of peoples' blood and tears, stop deceiving
history, fear God he is the only judging ruler.

4.56–Repetition, Presentation, and Proof

Repetition and balance, synonyms and paradigms, are essentially and authentically Arabic. They are at the heart of the language, the discourse, and the rhetoric in a way that cannot simply be disposed of. “The ideas are the language, and persuasion is presentation, the bringing into the present of the oratorical and poetic history of the Arabic language” (Koch, 1983, p.47). According to Koch (1983), argumentation is related to truth in various ways, since arguments are based on established truths, and truths result from arguments. Moreover, she differentiates between two cases, one that conveys presentation, and another which conveys proof. Presentation, the first kind of argumentation, occurs in situations where some truths are clear and universally established (in the particular universe of discourse). In such a case, argumentation aims only at conveying the truth to the hearer (Koch, 1983).

Proof, the other kind of argumentation, occurs in situations where the truth is not clear or universal. Furthermore, argumentation starts with a situation that doubts the truth, and therefore the aim of argumentation is to create or prove the truth (Koch, 1983).

Being based on repetition, this interpretation shows that this speech involves both presentation and proof. When Geagea (2008) addresses his group, he raises issues that constitute for the in group “established mental schemas” (Kreidie, personal communication, Nov.1, 2011). Therefore, it tends to be a presentation, since in such a

situation, Geagea is raising issues which are taken for granted as facts among the ‘in group’, such as Christian uniqueness, importance of LF’s martyrdom in Lebanon, we being better than them, we being right and they being wrong, etc..

However, when addressing the out group, which is mainly the opposition in general, and Christian opposition in particular, his argument tends to be a proof, where he tries to prove the same beliefs which are not considered as facts in the out group’s perception.

4.57–Mobilization of Religion and Identity building: History and Past Talks

In this speech, Geagea (2008 b) creates what Matar (2010) calls “culturally significant frames”, by continuously referring to the past. In other words, through his reference to individuals and locations, military battles, and state organizations from an appropriated past, he brings the past to the listener’s mind and makes it applicable to the present (Matar, 2010). Moreover, he evokes from the past the victories done by Lebanese Forces during the civil war, their efforts done to end it, their sacrifices during and after the war, their blood for Lebanon, and their impartiality. That’s for example when Geagea (2008 b) says:

When everyone left, you were forced to defend your nation, preserve sovereignty and freedom, control security, provide public safety, and even to control the smuggling process of merchandise, flour, and bread to Syria and...

Chelkowski and Dabashi (1999) argue that in this way, he builds frames which are culturally significant and which appeal as well to a “symbolic realm of operation” (as cited in Matar, 2010). Such a realm of operation involves a process of defining

identities, expressing destinies, and suggesting and legitimizing the sense of purpose in life and of meaning in the world.

Geagea does not only bring the past in terms of the in-group's achievements, but also in terms of their "historical uniqueness" as Christians. He emphasizes the term "history" in many parts of his speech, some of which are already analyzed above, linking it to Christian existence and unity.

Moreover, Geagea (2008 b) says:

Peace is God's will and the purpose of history, which from we started and to which we get back.

The point of fulcrum of any Christian unity lies in the Christian historical roots of Lebanon.

We are all looking forward a Christian unity, because it's by itself important, and because it is the only natural prerequisite of unity in Lebanon.

In this respect, it is important to recap a bit of the literature review discussed in chapter one about Christian uniqueness in terms of history, religion, and civilization. Moreover, many Christians believe that Christians of the fifteenth century are people chosen by God among other Christians in the East to preserve the Christian identity in the Lebanese mountains. Furthermore, as discussed earlier, Maronites, who are the dominant group in the Lebanese Forces, associate themselves with the name "Lebanon", deeming the latter as their "historic" habitat. Furthermore, the emphasis on the historical roots and uniqueness of Christianity, are related to this Christian identity which has

joined Christians (and Maronites in particular) starting 1960s and 1970s, continuing to the era that featured Bachir Gemayle's power, and reaching the present moment.

The importance and efficiency of Geagea's political discourse has increased by lying on a socio-historical basis rooted in the wider environment of a culture of communication. This is what Foucault calls "episteme", a term referring to the unrestricted political signs by being based on a wider socio-historical grounding (Matar, 2010).

Here is another excerpt which clearly shows that Geagea (2008 b) is warning Christians from the demographical threat they are facing (Kreidie, personal communication, Nov. 1, 2011). He says:

The Lebanon you want in fact is in danger: the demographical danger, the destructive populism, and the poisonous suggestions. But, its rescue is in your hands.

By this, Geagea is constructing a fear of existential threat of the Christian presence and manipulating it for political purposes. This is best evident when he (2008 b) explicitly asks them to overcome small considerations and vote for the next parliamentary elections:

Dear Christians,

I will be honest with you as usual. Lebanon's destiny as well as the destiny of your grandsons is in your hands, through the upcoming parliamentary elections.

Mobilization of religion is mainly empowered by emphasizing martyrdom as an essential cause to the Lebanese Forces and to Christians of March 14 Coalition, but faced with the out-group's attempts of destroying its purity, whether in the past, present, or future. Moreover, Gagea (2008) states their cause as: "Our cause is one and forever; to be crucified so that we would deserve Lebanon's rise". The terms "martyrs" and "martyrdom" are repeated for more than 16 times in the speech. On par, he repetitively emphasizes the other's destructive attempts of their martyrdom. This emphasis on "martyrdom" is a basic element in Christianity, in which Christian believers are expected to witness the Christ by either suffering or even dying for him, and their way of bearing these elements would be a crucial element of their testimony (Wicker, 2006). As mentioned in the Bible, the earlier belief of Christianity in martyrdom is related to witnessing to their belief that Jesus died for them, and that they are willing to bear unjust treatment from men just like Jesus. Then, the belief developed, and now the belief that is agreed on is that martyrs in Christianity are those most respected believers who die for refusing to give up on their faith in Christianity. In this context, mobilization of religion is also evident in apologizing for past mistakes, asking God to forgive them for those mistakes and giving themselves the authority of calling the "out-group" to obey God.

Furthermore, Kreidie (2011) interprets Geagea's famous apology for what happened during the 1975 Lebanese Civil War as part of persuasion and manipulation since he was blamed by the Christian opposition as a "killer". So, to get rid of this blame he used forgiveness, which is a Christian value, and therefore he spoke to the hearts and minds of the Christians (Kreidie, personal communication, Nov. 1, 2011).

Since the occasion of this speech is both religious and political since it's a prayer in the memorial of martyrs who died for the sake of political beliefs of this political party, the emphasis of religion is expected.

4.6- Conclusion

After analyzing two speeches, one representing time of war, and another representing time of accommodation, there are a number of comparative conclusions to be outlined regarding both speeches:

- 1) In-out group polarization is pervasive in both speeches with approximate equal degrees. The difference in the way the other or the out-group is identified. Moreover, while the out-group was clearly identified as Hizbullah during time of crisis, it was left ambiguous and unidentified after the Doha agreement of 2008. It was labeled as “some” and “the other” without explicitly indicating if it's Christian opposition or Hizbullah, who are the “liars, hypocrites, killers, and history modifiers”.
- 2) Enemy construction and categorization was pervasive in both speeches : During May 7 incidents, the construction of the enemy is associated with the external famous enemy (Israel), and in the second speech, after Doha agreement it has become more represented as the internal destructive enemy who aims at destructing the “in group”.

- 3) The dialogue is conflictive in both speeches, since it reached a stage claiming that “we are right” and “the other” is wrong (Kreidie, personal communication, Nov. 1, 2011).
- 4) Mobilization of violence is pervasive in both speeches.

As for time of crisis:

- 1) Geagea addresses the Sunnis and highlights a Shiite threat, which is interpreted as an attempt of causing a Sunni-Shiite clash.
- 2) Geagea’s discourse emphasizes the nation and its wounding by Hizbullah’s forces. However, while he appeals to the nation, his discourse is interpreted as an attempt of causing a sectarian clash (Sunni-Shiite clash, as mentioned above). The speech relied on demonization of the other, victimization, and strong appeal to the emotions.
- 3) The “other” is constructed as an enemy, but associated with the big external one (Israel).
- 4) Mobilization of religion was highlighted more than that of violence.

As for time of accommodation:

- 1) Geagea’s distancing from the other relies on his emphasis on the ‘in-group’s’ Christian uniqueness which is grounded in history.
- 2) Geagea’s discourse does not emphasize the nation and “national unity and cooperation” as much as he does during time of war (May 7, 2008). His discourse is rather concentrated on the Christian belief which joins members of the LF, through

emphasizing Christian uniqueness and the purity of LF martyrs in comparison to the violence of the out-group (March 8 Coalition, and Hizbullah in particular).

- 3) Although the speech was delivered during a religious occasion and the period did not include violent confrontations (like May 7 street confrontation), the speech carried a lot of humiliating descriptions of the other.
- 4) The speech was persuasive and relied on a lot on repetitive and rhetorical language. Although the speech was delivered during time of accommodation, it carried heavy mobilization of violence as well as enemy categorization.
- 5) Mobilization of both religion and violence were highlighted interchangeably and with almost equal degrees.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1- General Findings

This thesis analyzed social identity construction in the discourse of the leaders of the two Lebanese parties: Hizbullah, a Shiite Lebanese party, and the Lebanese Forces, a Christian Maronite party. Two speeches for each of Nasrallah and Geagea were analyzed during two different times, times of crisis and times of accommodation: One before Doha agreement and during the events of May 7, 2008, and another after the Doha agreement of 2008. The analysis of speeches is mainly based on social identity approach, a theory which is based on the belief that identities are formed by a process of distancing between the in-group, the group which the individual belongs to, and the out-group, which refers to those who are outside and different from the group (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). This process is referred in my thesis as in-out group polarization, and forms a basic element of concern to critical discourse analysis (CDA), the methodology used in this thesis. Furthermore, CDA is selected as well due to its emphasis on studying how social and political talk endorses and reproduces social power abuse, authority, and discrimination (Schiffrin & Tannen & Hamilton, 2001).

According to social identity (or group identity), the approach used in this thesis, individuals are strongly concerned about preserving a positive social identity, which to some extent leads them to make affirming comparisons between the in-groups and out-

groups. This in-out group categorization is capable of causing stronger stereotyping and prejudice because out-groups are “more easily and reductively characterized than in groups” (Benwell&Stokoe, 2006, p.25). Believing in the strong role that language plays in politics, this study is concerned about studying language as a medium of manipulation. However, this does not deny the importance of studying other elements in speeches such as the unspoken words and semiotics.

5.2– Comparative Conclusions

The separate analyses of the discourse of Gaegea and Nasrallah lead to the conclusion that the process of in-out group polarization is pervasive in the speeches of the two leaders in both, times of crisis and times of accommodation. Positive self-categorization is dominant as well, in which the “in-group is praised, while the “out-group” is antagonized. As previously argued, this trains the in-group on conformity and consistency when stereotyping and discriminating against the other. It is concluded as well that both Nasrallah and Geagea claim to represent and address the nation and national unity, especially after the Doha agreement. However, their conflictive discourse, works on categorizing the other as an enemy and on distancing the in-group from the out-group even when claiming to address this nation. During time of crisis, Nasrallah’s discourse was offensive and defensive at the same time, while Gaegea’s was defensive. Perhaps, believing that Christians did not receive any new interest or benefit from Doha agreement (Atallah, 2005) may be the reason behind Geagea’s offensive tone. And perhaps, being able to receive a veto power in the cabinet, a great achievement to Hizbullah, can be the reason behind Nasrallah’s satisfaction reflected in

the calmness of his speech after Doha agreement. Furthermore, the following main elements appear in both speeches:

1. Categorizing the other as an enemy

Both categorized each other as enemies, and associated the image of the other with the image of Israel. During time of crisis, while Geagea associated Hizbullah with the image of Israel, which is aiming at invading Beirut and Lebanon, Nasrallah categorized the whole “authority group” (March 14 Coalition) as traitors and agents of “America” and “Israel”. He also associated them with threat and intense emotions, and this association is interpreted as capable of causing a dichotomy between the “out-group” itself, i.e. between Sunnis themselves, since their leaders are represented as agents of Israel, the eternal major enemy. The “authority group” is also associated with feelings of intense disgust, contempt, scorn, and anger, a combination of feelings that can eventually end in hatred.

However, during time of accommodation, Nasrallah’s enemy categorization has become replaced by his concern about the nation, national unity, and diversity in Lebanon. On the other hand, Geagea’s enemy categorization has instead increased during time of accommodation, in which he represented the other as attempting to destruct the image of Lebanese Forces and the pure image of LF martyrs.

2. Appealing to emotions and highlighting the fear and threat of the other

In both speeches, both leaders highlighted the threat of the other in destructing the “in-group”, and the fear of the “in-group” of this threat. Both Nasrallah and Geagea highlighted this fear during time of crisis: While Nasrallah pictured the authority group

as has been willing to destruct Hizbullah; Geagea highlighted the Shiite existential threat, which is interpreted as capable of causing a Sunni-Shiite dichotomy. As for time of accommodation, the threat of the other was not the main focus in Nasrallah's speech, but it remained as such in Gaegea's speech. In addition, appealing to the emotions is present in both times of crisis and accommodation in the discourse of both leaders. Moreover, during time of crisis Gaegea's discourse played on two moral emotions: first is moral outrage, by focusing on the agents behind victims' harm, and allocating the harm to a third party, a third perpetrator. Second is empathy by describing the victims' helplessness (children and mothers in particular) in front of Hizbullah's weapons.

3. Mobilization of Religion

Mobilization of religion is recognized in Nasrallah's speech, since Nasrallah gives himself the authority to decide the after-life ending of his in-group and the out-group; that they will be in different places in the after-life. This categorization can be interpreted as: we will be in heaven, while they will be in hell. Consequently, listeners are mobilized to take a religious jihad action against the out-group.

As for Geagea's speech, mobilization of religion is recognized through emphasizing martyrdom as an essential cause to the Lebanese Forces and to Christians of March 14 Coalition. It is reconginzed as well through highlighting that martyrdom is faced with the out-group's attempts of destroying the purity of their martyrdom, whether in the past, present, or future. Furthermore, as the literature review on Christians' perspectives of themselves and their presence in Lebanon says, Geagea highlights the uniqueness of the Christian roots. This shows that as the literature review explains, stressing on the

uniqueness of Christianity (and Maronism in particular) as a religion, history, and civilization, is used as a tool of mobilization in Geagea's speeches.

It can be realized as well that martyrdom is a common essential theme used for mobilization by both leaders during time of accommodation; especially that time of accommodation is represented by two special occasions that relate to these martyrs who devoted their lives for the political and religious beliefs of these two religiously-driven political parties.

4. Mobilization of Violence

During time of crisis, discourse of Nasrallah mobilized violence through extreme group polarization, enemy categorization, and mobilization of religion. During time of accommodation, mobilization of violence has almost disappeared. As for Gagea's discourse, it mobilized violence in both times with almost equal degrees. Moreover, his discourse during time of accommodation focused on the destructive and violent effects of this action of discrimination committed by "the other" on Lebanon's destiny, on the "in-group" (most probably LF), and on the martyrs of the Lebanese Forces.

Representing them in a violent image is achieved through the following ways: first, through comparing the violence of the out-group to that of Ottomans, who were famous for their oppression and violence practiced. Second is through accusing them of attacking a Christian religious figure (the Patriarch) and the Christian martyrs of the Lebanese Forces as well.

5. Modality (committing one's self to statements)

Both leaders have committed themselves to truths through their statements which represent their extreme perspectives of issues whether in times of crisis or time of accommodation, which contribute to the process of manipulation and persuasion of their stands on issues. Enemy categorization, in-out group polarization, and mobilization of religion and violence are considered as being facilitated by leaders' commitment to truth, which convey discriminatory representations of the other.

5.3-Possible Prospects

As discussed earlier, sectarianism in Lebanon is examined based on different propositions, as the historical/cultural, political economic, institutional, and the political psychology, which this thesis has adopted. In this respect, many scholars, thinkers, civil society activists, professors, political scientists, and even young intellectuals have been recommending several ways for combating sectarianism and increasing the level of national consciousness. In the light of these attempts of fighting sectarianism in Lebanon or at least reducing its level, this study highlighted the importance of language in contributing to the empowerment of this sectarian identity, which is by being used violently is discriminating against the other, and even excluding it. Therefore, in my opinion, possible prospects should target this interrelation between language and identity, through: first, increasing the level of critical thinking of citizens, to rethink their identities and the speeches of their leaders. Second is through working on educating citizens in Lebanon on peace, since leaders' speeches involved mobilization of violence. However, to give my perspective of possible prospects more credibility, experts in

education were interviewed, and they agreed that we cannot rely on any of those tools alone, but rather collaboration between these elements is needed.

Based on the belief that education is a future investment, (Ismail, Dec. 1, 2011), and since sectarianism is embedded in education as well (Al Habbal, 2011), national consciousness and critical thinking can be acquired at schools and universities. Mona Nabahani (2011)¹², an Associate Professor of Education at the Lebanese American University, argues that the education system can contribute to raising awareness on national consciousness. Moreover, Nabahani states that each of the foreign schools, religious schools, and different faith schools, instill the love of its culture in the students indirectly through making that culture attractive. Also in the absence of a national identity that focuses on pride in being Lebanese and belongingness to the nation, the Lebanese children grow falling in love with whatever culture is endorsed and presented at school (Nabahani, personal communication, December 5, 2011).

Mahmoud Natout (2011),¹³ a professor of cultural studies at LAU, believes that national consciousness can result from many factors, which education can furnish the ground for. Moreover, education can provide students with certain predispositions that can let them reconsider their identities in critical ways, which can therefore help them think of national consciousness (Natout, personal communication, Nov.1, 2011). Moreover, it is important to get the student become reflective and approach historical narratives with critical thinking. Similarly, Nabahani (2011) recommends Al Amine's suggestion of

¹²Dr. Mona Nabhani is also the director of LAU's Teacher Training Institute.

¹³ Dr. Natout holds a PhD in Education as well.

engaging students in critical thinking after studying authentic history documents in order to formulate their own convictions and beliefs.

5.4– Peace Education in Lebanon

Peace education constitutes both a philosophy and a process which involves the following skills: listening, reflection, problem-solving, cooperation, and conflict resolution”. Providing students with the knowledge about the causes of violence and its preventions, skills, and attitudes, this process teaches them “nonviolence, compassion, and reverence for all life” (Harris & Morrison, 2003, p.9). The meaning of peace education differs with the difference of individuals and regions (Salomon & Nevo, 2002). It is taught to both children and adults, in Nursery School, college, and even beyond (Harris & Morrison, 2003). For some, its main objective is to encourage the understanding of the past enemies, and therefore to change attitudes. Introducing peace education programs in violent regions can be an example on that. However to others, peace education is about gaining peaceful dispositions and conflict resolution skills. The implementation of this perspective of peace education can be achieved through the integration of violence-prevention programs, peer mediation, and conflict resolution skills (Salomon & Nevo, 2002).

Ziad Mikati, adviser of the Prime-Minister Nagib Mikati (2011), recommends introducing peace education to the Lebanese educational systems, arguing that Lebanon is the only country which went through communal strife, and still lack peace education.

5.5– Final Word

After summarizing the main findings of this study, this chapter attempted to suggest some possible prospects. We conclude that within these manipulative and persuasive techniques that are practiced by political leaders over followers through their speeches, increasing national consciousness in Lebanon is not an easy or quick task. This study recommended one basic element to be focused on: increasing the level of critical thinking of citizens, especially of children and youth. For this reason, education is considered as a medium for change, due to the belief in its power in producing critical minds. We conclude that such an ambitious task demands the collaboration of more than one agent and medium and the hard work and commitment of the involved individuals.

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Appendix I:

(Source: Official Website of the Lebanese Forces)

انہی روتے سرقہ طے و م اغصہ الاحلال الاسرطی و صمدت، ولت سرق طایوم.

ثانيًا: أكد قوى 41 اذار رفض المواق اطلع ل هذا ل ف ط ق ال اقل ب و ال ن ع ي ، ال ذ ي لا ي ك ن ان ي ع ي ف ي ق و ن اعل ان ال و ط ن ية

لدامتوريه الى سياسييه. فالسلاح واستعمال القوه ضد الذين لم يمتصروا يوماً فتصراً لأي كان في لبنان، وكل ما
يملك ان يبتجج حق هب ال مصلة موبال على مص حدها ولحق سطرلبنين.

ثالثاً: هذا الانقلاب على الشرعي فداستوري ومذال عدوان الاجرامي على العظم قبيروت وللمواطنين البراء
في هافناقي اطلق جيش لبنان ي مدعو لكل الاحال الى الضطال واجبات الاساسي لؤمسس قال عسكري في حجة
ارواح للمواطنين ولم مغلطة على الاملاك لخصه والعامه حقن الدماء وفيه الشك الم لازمه ووضع حة حلالة
الانفلات والحق.

ربيعاً: إبله مبالغ لوسطل الاعلايه والاعلايين واحلال وحرق مجموع لوسطل الاعلايه قبيروت
لنكتم الالاعلايه الاقلايه التي حمرلت.

خمساً: ابتوج قوى 41 اذار الى الدول عيية لتحمل مسؤوليه واحيل لبنان لان الاقلا لمسلح ولدموي الذي
يهدفه حزب الله هف اعاقه سوري الى لبنان ويطرلا ايران الى التوسط ولان لمسة وتدعو 41 أفر قوى الإصلا في
العلام العربي وإسلامي تحرك للضغطة على الإقلايين بكلال وسطل الصلاح.

ساساً: ان لم يتعمد لدولي لاي ملك ان يقف بقبرج احيال هذا التمدادي ومن واجب مبشرك خاص م ماسة للضغطة
اللازم على الدول امجورة التي تساعده في تمير السلاح الى لبنان والامتمراف في قديم الدع لشعب لبنان
والموت.

سابعاً: ابتوج قوى 41 اذار الى لبنان ليعين لتؤكد له متمسك بلبل ادى التي قامت على ثورة الأرض مشياده
واستقلال وحيية ويمقراطية وهي تعمد شرع لبنان الامتمراف في معرفته لتحقق اهل هاكم لتوك لبنان ليعين ان
اعمال الحق لا ترهب بل لتني دعتشيب لموقفه. وتجد قوى 41 اذار وقوف هالكامل ولحق واد الخف لمكول لبنان
لشرعيه لاختوريه بئاسه للبهش فوالل سريرة وتطلبه عند هذا المبرق ال صيري ليكي ان ولاجم موري قبلات
على هذا الموقف الامتقالي المشرف الذي خطه هينس هامن تشوييل.

Appendix II

Geagea's Speech on September 21, 2008:

(Referred to as Gegea, 2008 b)

للمرة في سطي وثنتين في لقوات اللين في لوكسور سهر جمع في ناسب لاداسل بنوي لراح قفس
ش هداء ل لوم لبلات في 82 لول 8002:

سلام على مني حب السلام

وسلام أيضاً ولطناً على من لاي حب السلام

فبالسلام إرادة الله وغياقت ايخ،

في منطلقنا واهي من عود.

سلام عليك يلا فيق يي ارلس حق،

شيعي دال حربة والإلزام لهوفاء

شيعي دال ثورة، شيعي للشمل، شيعي دال قوا تلبين فيه.

سلام من لظن ان لمحك إياه للوفاقن الشهداء لفين سيقوك، لفي مدلل سرفين، لفي مدى لا حيين.

لتي هالين اي اتلي هالين لفيون

لتي هال خيقات لي هال فاق

ليس تالش هاد قحد نك هال مويوج بل شيعي د أو أله أقرباءه أوفقه أو محتامه،

لن مال ووج عي محاولات نكار هال تشيه هال تقري هال تحير هال الإزدراء هال سعي الضرب خصم أول حبص غير.

نحرف خورونيش مطلقا، لن نقال، لا في هم ولا في هال صدام حادثة جاحدة ضللة متورة متطوق لفي غدرأ وظلمين لحيين والآخر.

إنك انك كذب ولت تحير ولت شيعي والإفتراء جوطفسيك للحق ولا تحيق فلف جولة وجولة.

يكن للكتبه ان تقتل ليل أله لنت كن من قتل لا تحيق، وتحيقنا مضور في أهي اننا ولفي أرض لولق، من ذري صريين، وضاب زلولة لي عطي نصري مارني، قلعة الصموفي عي لرملة، وأشفي قاتلي، لى روابي بلوقنات وأرزالرب، دمل سقي هذه الأرض لفيق الاسل لفيق بلان.

لي هال الشهداء، قتمش هداء كل ليل لي، كل اللين لفيين. عديم لقي لوطنيقي للناس جيعاً لكن للعضي فضلكم، لا يري دكم، لاي يد لثواكم، ليري دس ما عبطولناكم ولا لفين أم لثم وأبناكم وأزواجكم وأولادكم فواكم.

يت هم نكم بشتي لك هم عي حلون بطولناكم لى جري نكم في قبلر هم لاجم لولة لوهي عيصورون فلكم، زوراً وتزيراً،

يطلقون ليلار لفي مفيين عي مزاون من أظلم للواجبيوم عزال واجب، ومن مساعده لاحتاجين عديم غاب لا جيع.

عندما غاب لا جيع، لظن طرتم الفاع عن الوطن والضاظ لفي لسيادة لاجرية وضبط الامنوت أيمن السلام قال عامه وحتي ضبطت لظن لبيضا ع ولا طحين ولا لفي لى سور يوق برص لصلحة خفين قال دولة،

فقل ليه واهض لثم وعليككم وصوروكم مجرين

ميتوق يس عونل جريمة من منول سرقة بطعة بز من فاك...

لكن ليل لكذب قصير وقصير جدأ فحل ما دقت ساعة السلام لكن ان حن المجرين فل اسرقين ال مراقبين قطاع الطرق اول من لتي اللنداء.

إنال قضي والدان يي ع فان الدور لفي ليعت هال قوا تلبين لفي ليه لالهال حرب وولوج مرحلة السلام.

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ولكن قولنا لبي بيلكم حول ماذا توحيد؟

لنتوحد، حول القرار بمبدأ حزب الله ملأح، فحي سحاب الدولة اللبنانية، الى حين تحرير كالمفلسطين، واسترجاع الحق دس، وكامل الارض الى العربي فتلح تلة، وحل مشكلنا لشارق الأوسط برنبا؟

امتوحد، حول المطلب قبلت حتى قيع قيادة لا يحشر، لم اذا أرسلت لطفلة العسكري، التي امتشده في هالتيب سامر جنلي سجد؟

امتوحد حول صليبة حربيت موز 8772 المدمرة، وحول فم مومال حربالفتوح، لفتوي سبلان، بجهتيمة
للصمود والتصدي مبنما أهل للصمود والتصديف اوضون إسرييل؟

امتوحدنا أنتوحد، حول الصليبة السورية الكأم جنون جنيبة لنا؟

او حول محاربة الإبديلية الأهرلي، فيلشارق الأوسط والشمك، حتى النصر؟

امتوحد حول ضرورت عي للدستور، ليعاد لتخاب عيسى لاجم موري عمالشرة ملأشعب؟

امتوحد حول الاعصافي قلب الوساطت جاري، وقطع الطرق بلأحجارة، لاجدي، ولنا اوسيلة للإصلاح والتغيير؟
إنقطة ارتكاز، اي وحدة مبري، هي التوبللت اي فلي لمبري ميني في بلان،

لتي كملت نأماً، محرك لوجدان لاجم اعلي لمبري، كم اكل لك حلات لمبري لة لة عيضة، من لالجف لثلاثي الى
لأجه فلبان لية.

لذي يري اري عرف م ا هي مذهالتيوت، فم اعلي ه، إلا لعودة لايها انت لالجف لثلاثي ولأجه فلبان لية، ومقررات
سري دقلير وير عوكر، وكل ما كاري اديب هالتي سكل شمعون، لتي شري لاجيل، ولعهد ي مونا،
شارل مالك، وادوار ميني، وجولبول سبوشي لاجيل.

فلي ن م مبري ميو 2 آذار من مذهالتيوت اليوم؟

نعم، ضروري أنتوحد بللزام علنا أنتوحد فملي لوق الآخرين، فحي أنتوحد حول مذهالتيوت، في نظرلوا،
وننضل معاً من الجها ومن اجل لتي هالتيوت ه؟ أم ل م لتيوت لوان هيا، شعار ”وطني نأماً فحي حق نبش عار
سوري و حزب الله نأماً فحي حق“؟

لي هالسا دقل وصول الى الوحدتي جب استبعاد عوامل الفوق ميني.

ول من عام لفرقة، لئن ع ولبشع، ولشر طلاماً، من ذاك الذي يهيب شقوراً غير موجودة، هيكاً، وشكل لتي،
جراحاً ما زالت لتيمة، هي عود الى الماضي للغيض الكري بمشكل مهور، من اجل لتي هالتيوت هالتيوت، وتحيق
لمجلس سريسي رخصة.

ول من عام لفرقة لسا، من ذال الذي يقوي أمتاليب مموعة فحي أخرى، وفنطة فحي فنطة، وطقنة فحي
طقنة.

ول من عام لفرقة، لبر من لذي يتيلى اعداء لينا، لابل فلع ع بمشكل ميني؟ ول قبل يتيقض ليا
ن هاراً، فحي لسا مءاء الأبرار، ول فلي لينا الأبرار، ولا خا ميني فلي ميني من سجون لك عنيب والاضطهاد.

هل من عام لفرة رئيسي، من الذي رقص في يديكركي وما زال، مع كل ملتقى، وصور سيدها، في له موظف
ضهر عند سفارة اجني، لقد عيسى اسى حلي؟ حتى اليعديون رغم جو رمل حيل والى هذا الحد.

لي هالمسيحيون،

سكون كلال عاصري حاً مغم،

حريه ان برتبه، كمصير اولكم وافضادكم ميني ايديكم اليوم، من خلال الات خبات الليدي قلم فإم ان
تقدموا، وتطخوا عن الاعبات الصغرة الضيقة، قترعوا في اسس تاي غي لكيرة اخلاقي وطي شاملة، واما
تسببون من حيث لا تريدون مجزي من الفوق عالمسيحي، ومفيد هزي من تراج عيلن ان لاي تي دون.

لبلن ان تي دون، هبلع في خطر، خطر لاي دا غوي قاتلة، الى شعبي ال مدمرة، وال طروح اتل سام. لكن
خالص في ليك مبالنت اخوا، كنوا طي عي، بنوي ببطا لاكل عاده، لذي ورح دالمسيحيون، لذي لخص
لبلن ان.

ول فلبه، لدمه أخيرة، أخصب هالمسيحيين، لفين هم في عداء مئتكم مع لقوات الليدي، أو في عداء معي
ل اش خري. لتي فيكم أنت جردوا، وأنفقوا القلب وال عمل فلكر ولبلي مكم وجرلح فلي ان مت جاوزوا الإعبارات
الضيقة مت جاوزوا التركمات البوايه، ت جاوزوا الأفكار المبقية مت خطو ال طسي وكموا، فوق أطللكم والخيال
التي. حدوا ليلك فمت جودا ل متام ألي ان. كنوا نخبطين، بنقطين واعين. لذي ورح دالمسيحيون، لذي لخص
لبلن ان. ولي في خالص بلن ان من دون وحديبه؟ واي حدة خارج ظلال الأرض، خارج ثورة الارز؟

لي هالمسيحيون

اذا كان من ثورة أهلية وطي، قمت في بلن ان ال جيت، فهذه ثورة الارز. واذا كان من قواوم، تحيية، جامعة،
شامة، ربلعة من صميم وروح التراث المسيحي لبلن، فهذه ثورة الارز وحركة 41 آذار.

ولذلك ثورة تعبر عن ارادة شعبية وطي صلبة، جبه متشورة الارز، في كل لحظة الاولى، بأعي وسيل الضغط
والارهاب لوائحه، فسرق طمن الشهداء الواح ملو الآخر، وموس ت علي اض غوط، مبنه، هاي قاتلة، وصلت لى
حد لتعي اصيروت، ومحاولة ايجي اح ليل. لكن الارز لا يلوي، القتا يخ ل يسقط، وثورة الارز لنت هذا لنت تقف،
لنت سنلين .

لي هالمسيحيون

لن ن خافهم بل سنبتهم، ولن نقوي حتى تقيق الحلم لى آخر مشهده.

مش هبلن ان اللين، بأرض هكالة، بال 47108 لقم 8 لقم التي و بحدودهم رسمه ووض حه مبامفيها مزارع شيعا،
وتلال فخر شوبا.

مش هبلن ان الدول قلى علي الق ادره جي مل قرار ليله والساح كله.

مش هبلن ان حري عالم حررة، حيث اللين سي فنسه، حري فوق لى ال في، من دن عقد ولت في دات.

مش هبلن ان قراحيه تمارس من دون سو اه، من دون علف، وكراه، ولس طهاد، وملاحق اتتوقيات، من دون
مدي ووعى دوس للاح ولتغي الات.

شدد العدل في الحقيقة عزتني والعدالة مبدءاً لمحكمة لدولية، وقد اعطى للاح القضاء، من كل امشير في المراحل الماضية.

مش هالنمو الاقتصادى المستمر الى حد طرد، خدم كل واحد على ان وفقره، ولاننى شرعبه واحمل هالى ادمه.

مَشْهَدَيْنِ أَنْ يَجْرَانَ خَلِيلُ جَبْرَانَ، سَيِّدُ الرُّفُفِ بَيْنَ الرِّشِّ عَرَاءَ، وَالْخَلَاقِينَ، وَأَصْحَابِ الطُّمُوحِ، وَالنَّصِيحِي الدَّائِي مِنْ حَوْلِ الْإِدَاعِ.

يٰٓهٰلِكِيْنَ رَّيُّوْنَ

ان مواجهة تلنرطيل، ليس تشعارفأرغأي طرح فخرى طالبة لاصلاح السرييلية النيرزية الداخلية للصنقة مبل سعي شامل كامل دؤوب تحقيق فخرى بففاق لدول للعربية لفقلة، خصوصألدول المراجعة لإسرطيل، فخرى استيرتيجي، واحدة، موحدة، مدروسة واقعي،تأخذ بالاعتبار كلالعوامل المطلوبة لتلكن استيرتيجية ناجة.

لكم من جهة قسطنطين عاماً ونسبى لاحتظة، لواجدة للبريول، ولكم من جهة، وحلأة، وخسارة، وخيبة أمل ومرارة في تسبقا جيءاً .

اذكملت طويق جهنم، حين وف قبلي و ايل حشرق، فطري قلن جاح حين وف قبل في طوق، لياح سريبات، واضرام الآخر ورئي هو بفاق لاجي ع. لئذ لكون مواجة اسرطي ل، لئذ لكون مصر القضيّة.

لأنهم تاجار ب فلشقة، فنجلب لى وظن الصغير، كم لى القضاة فلس طيرة، ولى العرب جيع أفشلا جى دأ، وثابة جيدة، ودماء ودموعاً ودماراً وخرباً، لى جيع أبكنا الضملا .

ان القضية فاس طيحي فليست قضية حزب أو فئة من الذين يمين، ولا قضية تخلف كثورة اسلامية بل هي قضية فاس طيحي بللدرجة الاولى، وعربي بللدرجات ثلثية والاخيرة، فلان قضية فاس طيحي من جيدي، نوى من يتحقق اسلاف وفوذ فيال في طعة، ولاس من من يتحول قضيةه، طعة، لايتعادة أمجاد لمراتويات غلبة منثرة.

أما عن الامتريجي فالفاعلية، الواجب ان اعمد في بلزننا، فنبذو رها، وخطوطه الالعوضه، موجوة في اتفاق للدوحه، فهي الي ان الوزاري الاخير.

قتل اقل الدوخ نص، لحي " حلال سلطة الانمية والعسكري على ليل يليلين، والقي بين يدى الدوله مبلي شكل ضحلة، لامتمد ارضي غة على عيش الثم ترك لول لم الألهي."

كما جافي بالي ان الوزارى:

وكذلك دال على عدم تماسكه ابداً وحده الدولة ومرجعيتها هافيا لكل القضاة الاخص قبل علاقاته بيننا وبيننا، الى سياسي الفاعلة، الى سياسي الخارجية.

وبالرغم من ذلك، لم يجادل بعض حرجي القول بـ "يجب ان نقى ملحن، نقي مانحن نقي"، لأن الدليل ليس تقايرة بـ عدد؟

وقول هذا لبعض: طالما يتبعون نهي ما يتم في حفل نتمسح بالدول يوم قدارة.

ولكى فستصحب حق اذرة، نفأت متص اذرين قراره، واسترث حقا، وسلطه ها وعت ها؟

ولم يفتصب حق اذرة، ولم تمت ديسون كلى يوم غيى رجليه، وأحملأ غيى ربله؟

وليستصحب حق ادره، فقلت اني لستعجبون بكثيرة لمثونك ده؟

لي ده ليلين ليون،

نحن اليوم امام فرصة جديده، مع ههش جدي لبلبلاد، العمداد ههش السلهي مان فلقتك جيعاً خططنا القريه، ورؤساء وزعماء ما وراء الاحود، ولقتك وكب من حوله، لتقوم الادلة وتصبخ علاق ادره.

لننتصحب الاوله قلدره لوح ده

لننتصحب حق ادره من دوننا جيعاً

لننتصحب الاوله قادره، اذا وطننا اعتراض طويقه، وتعطيل سري ره.

وبعد، لي فيم كن، نحن نتبع في قلبك سرروان، وظلال سيده ليلنا في حوصا، ان لثأوقف عهكركي عند بطريقتنا مارنصر الشعب طرس صبيير، وامام لثقيتتنا صخرة وجول في لبنان والعلم والكون.

له امة باركة، لثقيت في ال مراحل والظروف والع مودك له، لثقي طريق لثقيت في مذلشرق،

وبذل تال علي لول خي صرف في سيب لثقيتانا ونمونا وازدهارنا.

والاهم من مذلله، اعطنا قبييرين، بمراراً، اطهارة، لثقي اعطنا طالاً،

هم قيتون طال علي، وحطين ال طيحيه، ونور هونا.

وأ أن سلهي في أن سى مؤسس قوتنا، وقط ده الأول، وشي ده اللاب شير لاجيل، الذي خطط لن ال درب ون حرنج ده مستمرون شري شبيير، ش مدونا الأبرار لثقيت، مزلتم، ويتقون من خل يثقيت، حراس هذه الارض وهنالشعب. ن امواقيري ال عي، مطحن يال ال، لأن الم ش علي أياد أهنة. سنك مفل سلهي ل سلهي الى سلهي، م لثقيت حق هب لثقيت موفي ل الحرب ول قوا مة.

المجد لي اخ لولش مطننا الأبرار

العزة والفتح لش عينا الأبي

بلقاء لوطننا اللجيب

عنت الق واتل ليل لي

لي حيلنا ان

Appendix III

Nasrallah's Speech on May 8, 2008:

(Referred to as Nasrallah, 2008 a)

Source: Official Website of Hizbullah

Sayyed Nasrallah : We are in a new period ~ Unconstitutional government must back down and accept dialogue

In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Praise be to Allah Lord of the Worlds. Peace and Prayers be upon Mohammad, The Seal of Prophets, and on his family and elected followers, and upon all the messengers and prophets. May Allah's peace and mercy be upon you all.

Certainly, the subject of this press conference that we hold, which is the first since the end of July (2006) War, is the important and dangerous developments that have been occurring for the past few days in Lebanon.

In the beginning, I must say that after the decisions taken by the ruling party on that dark night, a completely new era has begun in Lebanon. Meaning that the date of that session to us is like February 14, 2005, the earthquake of the assassination of PM Rafik Hariri that sent Lebanon into an entirely new era. Lebanon after that dark gloomy session is not what it was before. The ruling party must know that it has entered Lebanon in a completely new phase due to the seriousness, backgrounds and dimensions of the decisions it took.

I will discuss several headlines:

First: The Resistance's communication networks. In this conference we shall call a spade a spade...the phase is difficult but it is also a phase for logic, thinking, and wise decisions.

Second: The airport and General Shokeir.

Third: The current severe political dilemma, dealing with it, and the way out of it

In the first point I have a definition. In Lebanon people may understand what

the Resistance communication network is, but foreigners might think that we have set up a private phone network and a ministry of communication which brings us proceeds illegally, and to answer the deductions made by the ruling party that knows the truth but denies it.

There is a code-weapon in all armies in the world even in armies in the past. Various codes were used, including birds and sounds among other things. Every time infantry and firearms and combat tactics developed, the code or communications developed simultaneously. Hence, any fighting group be it an army or party or militia or security team, all need communication between the leadership and groups and cadres and individuals. This weapon is an elementary part of the administrative organization and control if not the primary factor in any victory and battle leadership.

These communications take various forms and it is a technical issue. Hence, it is crucial that I mention it. There are various radio frequency communications such as a walkie-talkie and cellular phones in which sound is transferred by waves and they take several technological forms. There's also the wire in which sound is not broadcasted in waves. It is transferred in wires from one instrument to another and sound is usually confined. Usually non-wired communications are facilitated and easier, and every person can take his receiver from place to place. Now each of you can hold a cellular phone and talk from the street from any place you chose. It is not so with cables, not so flexible. There is a group of problems with non-wired communication, and I tell u, there is no non-wired communication in Lebanon or the world that is surveillance-proof and cannot be decoded and analyzed.

This is a fact given the technological development in the world. There is an issue of surveillance. Second, there is the issue of interference. The enemy may log onto the communication channel and jam it disconnecting the leadership from the cadres and bases and centers. In result, the entire leadership and control network disperses. The third issue is targeting. Quite simple, a cellphone tower can be bombed. The wireless network can be bombed similar to what occurred in the (2006) war and in previous wars. Yet the wired communication network, especially if it is secret, is difficult to bomb in the first few days, and may be employed in a wider margin. We in the resistance do not have the capabilities of large armies or the technology of the USA nor the 'Israeli' technology. Naturally, when we are faced with complicated advanced technology we resort to simplified technology since in the technological scale we cannot match. The best and most effective means to face complex technology is simplification. In result came the wired network. To be precise I

can say the wired resistance network is a communication center and a group of cables connected to houses of leaders and centers and resistance related posts. This is the wired communication network.

Wired communication is a part of the code weapon of the resistance in Lebanon. It is not a secondary weapon; it is the most fundamental one in the battle, and in any battle. Before the year 2000, one of the most important reasons behind the success of the resistance operations is that when 200, 300 or 400 resistance fighter attack 'Israeli' posts in the occupied zone, the 'Israeli' only knew about the attack the second the first shot was fired. This is because we didn't rely on wireless equipment, but on the wired network. In the July (2006) war the most important point, our greatest point of strength, was leadership and control because communication was upheld between the leadership and command centers and operational combat posts. The enemy admitted to this. Remember after the second Qana massacre when a ceasefire was agreed upon for 48 hours to facilitate the exit of the injured and others, how were we able to stop firing when we are not a regular army? It was due to our ability to communicate with all our points in those posts.

As to the declaration of the Minister of Information, and I regret this since he was an old friend, that it is wrong to consider that this weapon protects Hizbullah. I would like to say that many of our leaders have died due to wireless communications and cellular phones. And in the July (2006) war in many posts where we lost wired communication and were forced to communicate wirelessly and by cellular phones, cadres and leaders were killed in operation. Today, when we approach the Winograd report we find that the most important recommendation by Winograd was the necessity to destroy the organization and capacity of leadership and control of Hizbullah in which the communication constitutes a decisive factor. This is the Winograd recommendation which we must not forget, and you can go back to it.

We come to the negotiations that were going on between us and the ruling party in the recent past. You all know that this (communication) network existed before the year 2000 and continued after that, and it is not a new or a recently introduced network. Yes, it is true that it has been developed and advanced, and this is a natural and logical issue. I would like to remind them that when we agreed with them in the sinister quadric-partite alliance that the network was existent then and wasn't a aggression of sovereignty, law, or public money.

When the ministerial Declaration was made and talked about the resistance and

its arms, and this is part of its arms, this network wasn't an aggression on sovereignty and public money. Now, at this moment, the four-party accord is a dream, an illusion, the matter which angered some members of the ruling party. I pronounce that it is an illusion; they will not see it in this life or in the afterlife. In any case, we will not meet in the afterlife. Yet in this life they will never see it. After the Winnograd recommendations, and after Welch's recommendations and the 'hot Summer', and after the Lebanese crisis was magnified and after (Terje Rod) Larsen and his report that is useless unless the Lebanese government says, "The Lebanese Government says..." ...and after the insulting report of the US State Department to the (Lebanese) government...the Government came and reopened the case even though in the past few months we were negotiating and had reached a certain defined agreement and had answered all the questions.

They had come before and we had communicated, the subject was brought up and high levels of Lebanese security institution chiefs were put in charge of communicating with us and discussing the (phone) communication network with us and certain distressing issues. We met and answered their issues and they said, "Fine, you have addressed our issues and we have no problems, but there is a cable laid between the (southern) suburb and western Beirut." This cable was laid out in the July 2006 war a few days after the suburb was bombed and not on the first day; we laid a cable between the suburb and Beirut. They told us that this cable spurs fear from this person and that person, and hope u can remove it, and in case of a new war God forbid, we, the official security forces, vow to lay out a new cable. We agreed to that with our hearts, and told them if it relieves you, remove it, and we have removed it. End of story.

The region is undergoing a phase. The issue is not about the wired network. There were gambles on the Government that lost. Certain gambles were put on regional and international developments that lost, lost gambles on wars. Therefore, the war in Iraq and Palestine and Lebanon and even with Iran and Syria was required to be waged in a different manner. They came and opened the issue of the wired (network). The officers came and a meeting was held. What's the problem? They said we have a group of issues you must solve for us. We are a people of negotiation and solving issues, and we want to keep our arms. We don't want to fight for our arms. Fighting is not our objective. They said we want to lay out a network in Jubeil and Kisirwaan. We told them that it is untrue. And the one (Jumblat) who held a press conference and lied for 25 years knows that he was lying. We informed the officers who informed the ministerial committee who in turn informed the unconstitutional government

that Hizbullah says, as a matter of fact that it doesn't want to lay down a network in Jubeil and Kisirwaan, and we told them that we lay it only in places where there are leaders and centers and where there are targets. They said, "Fine, what about the North?" We responded that not even in the North. They said, "fine...And the line between the suburb and the South?" We answered, "It is natural. It is crucial since it provides communication between the suburb and the south." They said, "We fear you might lay lines to your allies in the Choof." We said, "We will not lay lines to the Choof, and we vow not to lay lines to our allies." This is the first time I discuss such information. We said, "Fine, There's no problem."

They said, "One more thing. This network is a replacement of the Government's network and in effect it will deprive the treasury of proceeds." We told them that this network is for the sole use of the leaders and cadres of the resistance and is not for public use. And if you want to make sure, be our guests. They said there's a third issue, that this network may be used for making international calls. We told them that it isn't possible, and despite that, you can pick up any international call. Be our guests and tell us where the international calls are and let us deal with it. We believe that international calls of this sort are illegal and are deemed a source of dissolute money and a theft of public money. They said this is perfect.

The officers went and said the atmosphere was positive and matters were going well. Then they came back and said we have a deal: we overlook your wired communication network in trade for stopping the strike in Beirut. They want a compromise to overlook the resistance's wired network. Here, I would like to ask: Had we accepted this proposal, would the resistance network have become legal and not against the law and a theft of public money? What kind of government is this? This isn't a government, it's a gang! It is not a government of law or institutions. It's a gang. It's not even a militia. Shame on it! It's a shame to use internal issues to overlook the issue of the resistance's arms. It is a patriotic internal issue associated with defending this country and confronting the Zionist enemy. Second, the communication network's decision is mine, but the decisions relating to the strike camp lies in the hands of all the opposition.

The issue ended at this level and we provided assurances and showed our willingness (to cooperate) by saying 'be our guests and come examine (this network) and see that there are no international calls on it and that it isn't for public use and that it takes nothing from the government given the fact that there are phone networks in various places in Lebanon for religious institutions

and political parties in Lebanon some of which are licensed and others not so. Allah willing the members of parliament will soon reveal some details in relations to this. But apart from this side, this issue is related to the resistance, with the struggle with 'Israel', and with defending this country.

Yet the topic has risen to the surface again via the Prime Minister Mr. Walid Jumblatt since it has become clear to me that it is wrongful to say 'the government of Fuad Saniora' since Fuad Saniora is a poor employee for Walid Jumblatt. And when the latter wants to fire an employee he tells the employees (like Mr. Saniora) to fire them. Of course he (Jumblatt) is an employee for Condoleezza Rice...The Government of Mr. Walid Jumblatt has returned to stir up the topic again and waged a comprehensive attack starting from the camera and concluding with the airport. And it is possible the he (Jumblatt) brought the French Member of Parliament to the suburb. And on the occasion, have you any idea where the mp was arrested? He was arrested in the very alley of my house with camera taking pictures! Who took him there? A person from the Progressive Socialist party!

They took him so that we would arrest him! I tell you, we will not be merciful with the security of any of our leaders at all. They will say kidnap or detainment, not a problem. The issue was brought up and reopened and, hence, the government held a meeting and took decisions that you are aware of. This is what happened up to now.

The second point in the issue of the wired network is describing the decision. I would like to describe the government's decision after the report of the US Department of State which 'insulted' them. They used the same phrase which came in the State Department's report. They are employees that abide to the text. Fine. A 'hot summer' and internationalization and after 10 hours of calls made to the countries and capitals that covered the July War, the sinister decision was made which you heard of and which considered the Hizbullah's resistances wired network an aggression against sovereignty, and law and public money, and they requested from the judicial authorities and security forces to pursue everyone that is charged with establishing this network.

First, this decision is a declaration of war and a commencement of war from the government of Walid Jumblatt on the resistance and its arms and a commencement of war from the government of Walid Jumblatt on the resistance and its arms on behalf of and for the benefit of the United States and 'Israel'. We have no doubts or confusion on the subject. It's as clear as the sun

at midday.

Second: this decision revealed the truth of this party and its backgrounds, the truth of its commitments, and the truth of its behavior and performance during the July 2006 war the results of which saddened it (the party).

Third: This decision aims at confiscating the prime factor that protects the resistance's leadership, cadres and infrastructure, and aims at exposing (the resistance) as an introduction to assassination and death, and the destruction of its infrastructure. Hence they become partners in killing and assassinating even if by only by providing introductions and opening the way.

Fourth: This decision is aimed at stirring discord between the national Lebanese army, security forces and the resistance after the failure of all previous conspiracies and collusions that were foiled by the patience, wisdom, attention, and responsibility of the resistance and the army leadership. Today they want to push the Lebanese army and the Lebanese security forces into direct combat with the resistance through assigning the issue of removing and disabling this network to them. This is our description of the decision, of course it is also aimed at providing subject matter for Mr. Larsen for the UNSC, supervising UNSCR 1959 so that it is not said 'Larsen said...' but 'The government said...'. In its simplest terms this is our description of the decision. I wish not to venture regionally and internationally, and into Bush's visit to the region and very long commitments...

Our response to this decision is, naturally, that he who declares war against us and begins a war with us, be he a father or brother, it is our right to face them with defending our rights and arms and resistance and existence. The wired network is the most crucial part of the resistance's arms, not just a crucial part. From Bint Jubeil I talked about it and was clear and transparent during that election period. And I wasn't searching for electoral voices. The government's Prime Minister Mr. Walid Jumblaat was present sitting and swaying his feet around while I was giving a speech and clearly said, "The hand that extends to the resistance's arms whomever it is for and wherever it comes from...we will cut it!" Today is the day of truthfulness to that decision.

The 'Israeli' hand extended to the resistance's arms in the July war and it was cut. In the interior (Lebanon), there have been attempts that have not yet reached the level of seriousness, action, and the commencement of a war. But after the gloomy decisions of the dark government we consider that a war has

been waged and it is our duty to defend our arms and resistance, and the legality of our decisions. "He who has warned is excused!" To us the issue has passed all red lines. There will be no lenience with anyone whoever it be wherever it be. We also know, and our information confirms that the issue of the wired network is but a first step to be followed by other steps. And if we are tolerant with the wired network issue, tomorrow we will face a battle on the missile and anti-armor missiles and on every capability the resistance has to defend itself and its country or to confront any future 'Israeli' aggression.

Second: The subject of judicial reference. This communication network is under the control of Hizbullah, and therefore Hizbullah owns the network. I, the Secretary General, am the owner of the network and its editor-in-chief, as the media might put it, and its main financier, and I am a user of this network in which many loyal mujahidin worked implementing my decisions. Despite the illegal reference from the unconstitutional government and I don't believe in the legality of this reference, the Lebanese judiciary can send a judge in the appropriate place on the level of security and allow me to meet him, for I too have a litigation against those who took the decision that they have taken a decision in favor of the US and 'Israel' and to ignite a civil war. Let the law (rule) between us. As to the rest, the people who facilitated, aided, and considered that they helped the resistance, they are untouchable, be that person an engineer, a company, a mayor, an employee, a contractor, a day laborer... Harming them is equivalent to harming me. Harming any cadre in the resistance in Lebanon is unacceptable, and is equivalent to harming our weapons.

Forgive me. We are in a completely new era. We will arrest those who seek to arrest us. We will shoot anyone who shoots at us. We will cut the hand that extends to (hurt) those young men. There is no need for this entire story. Come, let us talk and see who contradicts the law and who is assaulting public money. It is a shame that, today, the Lebanese Prime Minister (Walid Jumblatt) confesses that he is a thief and admits on TV that he has two notebooks. He admits to lying-the difference between lying and a liar is that lying becomes a second nature to a liar. He's a liar with 25 years of experience in his confession and a killer in his confession. Today, the person ruling the country, and it is required of leaders, religious leaders, and sects to follow his plan, is a liar, a thief, a murderer! He heads the government today, gives out orders, and lays out red lines...while the resistance and the fathers and sons of martyrs who, if not for them Lebanon would have become 'Israeli', are to be sent to court?! Nobody will take anyone to court!

This is not a government. It's a gang dominating people even if the whole world supported them, even if Bush rendered his support to it daily. This is a condemnation in their right, not ours!

The second title: The issue of the airport. Its subject is not General Wafik Shokeir though its title is General Wafik Shokeir. After the parliamentary elections we were massively pressured to dismiss General Wafik Shokeir in order to bring a new general I don't want to name. Many names were presented and we rejected them. There were problems over this issue. Why the insistence? I would like to say that General Shokeir doesn't belong to Amal movement or Hizbullah or to any other opposition party. He's a general in the national institution (the Army), and we all agree on its patriotism and its pioneering unifying role. We all agree on the army. (He is) Like all other patriotic officers that are the sons of this institution, they were raised to apply the law and not abide to (party) leaders.

The issue from the beginning is when this government was formed they wanted to put their hand on the airport not to steal because they already are stealing. Now in the airport there are several issues, entering and exiting, that concern them (the government), and even General Shokeir doesn't know about them. Many are the boxes and baggage that have entered and left the airport and God knows what is in them: weapons, money, white (drugs), green (money), black (weapons)...God knows. This is existent. Yet this is not the story. The issue is that it is required of the Beirut airport to become a base for the FBI, CIA, and 'Israeli' Mossad. Quite honestly this is the issue. If not, where is the security disorder in the airport? Trips arrive and depart and so are people, and there is no problem at the airport or in its vicinity at all. Yes, the presence of a patriotic general that abides to the law whom they know very well through his patriotism is an obstacle in transforming Beirut's Martyr Rafiik Hariri airport into a spying base for the United States and the Mossad, Shabak, Shin Bet, etc.

This is the issue. That's why it is required that General Wafik Shokeir should be fired meanwhile they weren't able to in the past. Even after we resigned from the government they attempted that, but they faced the obstacle of His Excellency President Emile Lahoud who would refuse to sign such decree. Now this unconstitutional government which believes that it has the jurisdiction of the president has taken this step. What is intended is bringing a general loyal to one of those leaders who are employed by the CIA and FBI. This is the airport's story in a nutshell.

Quite frankly we cannot tolerate the presence of a CIA, FBI, or Mossad base in

our neighborhood. People's blood, dignity, and safety are more precious and over any other consideration. Yet the logic of the government and gang exists. His Eminence Sheikh Abdul Amir Qabalan called the Deputy Prime Minister Fouad Saniora and told him that this issue can't be dealt with in this manner, and if General Shokeir was negligent in the issue of the cameras which is a ridiculously absurd obvious issue, let there be an investigation and send it to court...We will not defend negligent generals that have broken the law. And if he is not negligent, why do you want to fire him?

His Eminence Sheikh Qabalan and everyone that has stood by General Shokeir in this matter is not defending a Shiite general; he's defending a patriotic general. Since when General Shokeir is desecrated all patriotic generals in Lebanon will be desecrated. And every general will observe that his security institution and government are not protecting him, and that the ones that protect him are the political leaders. The last thing left in this country is the army, and if it crumples nothing will be left. These couple of days what has stopped a civil war from breaking out is a national willpower in the country and the presence of a military institution... and if the patriotic generals are desecrated the country is gone. We look at the issue at a deeper level than the airport and farther than the issue of General Shokeir. The issue is preserving what has been left of this country, the army with the hope that matters in this country will straighten up again. He (Saniora) promised him (Qabalan) and told the latter "Allah willing..." But he (Saniora) is but an employee. The true Premier (Jumblat) told them no, he had taken the decision to fire General Wafik Shokeir. Why didn't he (Jumblat) hold a press conference in Clemenseau, but went to AL Mukhtara and make the decision to fire (Shokeir) from there? Employees must follow their orders

Appendix IV.

Nasrallah's Speech on May 26, 2008:

(Referred to as Nasrallah, 2008 b)

Source: Official Website of Hizbullah, translated by english.hizbollah

Sayyed Nasrallah: Resistance has Presented a Strategy in Two Domains: Liberation and Defense

In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Praise be to Allah the Sustainer and Cherisher of the Worlds. Peace and Prayers be upon Mohammad, The Seal of Prophets, and on his family and elected followers, and upon all the messengers and prophets. May Allah's peace and mercy be upon you all.

To begin, we salute the pure souls of the martyrs, the martyrs of the resistance and the martyrs of the nation, all the nation, the leader of the martyrs of the Islamic Resistance our leader Sayyed Abbas Moussawi, the sheikh of our martyrs of the Islamic Resistance Sheikh Ragheb Harb, and the soul of our beloved brother whom we miss among us today our martyr leader Hajj Imad Moghnieh...and to all martyrs.

I welcome you all in the eighth anniversary of the Resistance and Liberation ceremony. Here you are filling the fields to prove once more your identity and truth, the fact that you are the most honorable people, the most generous people, the purest people.

The Lord Almighty said in His glorious book (the Quraan): ((Truly Pharaoh elated himself if the land and broke up is people into sections, depressing small group among them: their sons he slew but he kept alive their females for he was indeed a maker of mischief)). Among today's pharaohs is America and its tool 'Israel', and in corresponding to that is Allah's promise for ever and ever to the end of time, ((And We wished to be Gracious to those who were being depressed in the land, to make them leaders (in Faith) and make them heirs, To establish a firm place for them in the land, and to show Pharaoh, Haman, and their hosts, at their hands, the very things against which they were taking precautions)).

Dear brothers and sisters, our eighth anniversary, the anniversary of the liberation and the victory of the resistance, the people, and the nation...

coincides with the 60th anniversary of usurping Palestine and the establishment of the oppressive entity. It also coincides with the 30th anniversary of the 1978 'Israeli' invasion to south Lebanon and the setup of the occupied zone which was later expanded. Hence this is a time to contemplate and draw lessons whether in Lebanon or in the Arab and Islamic worlds.

I will skip all introductions, despite the fact that the occasion bears (significant) thought, emotions, and moral and literary rights. I will skip all introductions for we have much to talk about today.

I will start with Lebanon. Regarding the resistance, the resistance has set an example and offered a strategy in two fields, not one: the strategy of liberation and resistance, and the strategy of defending the people and the nation against invasions and threats. So there is an example of two strategies and views for liberation and defense. This is our message today to Lebanon and the Arab and Islamic worlds; it's a joint message by the resistance in Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq to the whole nation. When 'Israel' invaded south Lebanon in 1978, UNSC resolution 425 was issued, we waited for its implementation and we bargained on the international community. In Lebanon, there were suggestions that a united Arab strategy be formed to confront the aggression with the pretext that Lebanon couldn't confront 'Israel' on its own. None of this happened... the international community didn't move a finger to implement the resolution nor did Arab governments budge to place a defense strategy since the official community had abandoned the choice of confrontation.

The bargain wasn't placed here alone since Imam Mussa Sadr here in Lebanon had established the choice of resistance with the help of southerners and Lebanese and, of course, trust in Almighty Allah and with the employment of available self-resources.

What was the result of wrong bargains? 'Israel' thought Lebanon was weak and incapable of confrontation... and the result was the invasion in 1982, [which was undertaken] in an attempt to annex Lebanon to 'Israel' for good and to revive a new Arab Nakbah (Catastrophe).

Facing this 'Israeli' invasion the Lebanese were divided as is the case with all nations in the world in history. We Lebanese are no exception in this matter. Throughout history in every country which was invaded by an occupier, the people of that nation would be divided into several groups. This was the case in Lebanon in 1982 and so was the case in Palestine and still is relatively. This is

the case in Iraq. This is the case in past and future history.

Facing the occupation requirement and on how to deal with it people split into numerous groups: a neutral group that stand on the sidelines in the beginning and waits, a second unconcerned group that is not concerned by what happens as long as it eats, drinks, and goes on outings on the weekend and isn't concerned in whose hands authority and sovereignty is nor what state the country is in, a third group of cheap collaborators and tools such as Anthony Lahd army who are cheap mercenaries and Lebanese at the same time, a fourth group that had intersecting interests with the 'Israelis' and collaborates with them, a fifth previously defeated group that was looking forward to cooperate with the occupation on any level in the framework of cutting national losses and is usually composed of elites, a sixth group that, politically and through the media, rejects occupation but is not ready to pay the price or give blood, and a seventh group that believes that its humanitarian, national, religious and moral obligation is to take up arms and liberate the country regardless of the price; this is the group of the resistance that believes in resistance and resists in practice.

This division is a natural historic social division and is not limited to Lebanon and is the result of losing national consensus on any issue. Some say that there was no consensus on the resistance in 1982 or that there is no national consensus on the resistance in Palestine or in Iraq, but there is also no national consensus on collaboration or carelessness. Therefore no decision bears national consensus, and each group makes up its mind and moves on forward. This is what happened in Lebanon. And I call upon any occupied nation as I have in the past that the resistance doesn't wait for consensus. It rather takes up arms and moves on to the duty of liberation, the liberation of land, people and captives...to regain dignity and glory with arms, blood, and heavy sacrifices.

The resistance was a part of the Lebanese people and was not all the people of which are various parties and religious sects ... and there were martyrs among all Lebanese sects and parties both Islamic and patriotic. The resistance depended upon its willpower, jihad, operational actions, and the efforts of its youth. It was the obligation of the Arab and Islamic world to support it. Many sat back while thanked Syria and the Islamic republic in Iran came forward along with acting powers form the Arab and Islamic world. The first victory began in 1984-1985.

The resistance pushed forward till the historic victory of 25 May 2000, an

evident victory for Lebanon, the resistance, Arabs, and the nation... an evident complete defeat of 'Israel' and the "greater 'Israel'" project that would extend from the Nile to the Euphrates and was broken down in southern Lebanon and the west Bekaa...and a humiliating exit for the Zionists without any prizes, gains or guarantees. The resistance's liberation strategy was successful. But the negotiation strategies, from Madrid to elsewhere, brought nothing to Lebanon, not a single inch of soil. The wait-and-see strategy only led the enemy to increased strength and the country to more desperation. Hence in the year 2000 on days like this the liberation strategy depended by the resistance saw success.

In Palestine after the catastrophe of 1948, the Palestinians were waiting in vain for their Arab brothers to form a unified Arab strategy or for the international community to act. They would have become lost and forgotten were it not for the armed Palestinian resistance from the first bullet and the first operation, and because of which the world and the occupiers of Palestine woke up to the fact that there is a Palestinian people, land, and cause... that there was someone pleading for his rights taking up arms and granting blood regardless of the price.

Once more the Palestinian motto was launched noting that we will head to Al Quds (Jerusalem) by the millions. Even today, dear brothers and sisters, whatever Palestinian achievements made since the beginning of the resistance till this day is , in the first degree, because of the resistance, struggle and armed strife of the Palestinian people and all resistance factions....ending with a huge accomplishment and significant victory. In view of the changing world balance, blockaded Gaza which was cut from the world was capable of defeating the Zionist army and forcing it, for the second time after Lebanon, into a humiliating unconditional withdrawal from the Gaza sector with no strings attached, and without any gains.

Yet again, the resistance's liberation strategy won meanwhile negotiations were attempting to regain the land inch by inch whilst it was required to surrender for every inch what could not be surrendered. What this signifies is that up till now, in Lebanon and in Palestine, experience has it that as Arabs, as a nation, and as Muslims, our sole way out of the catastrophe and all its ideological, psychological, military, security, political, and social implications....is through resistance in its method, cultures, willpower, and execution.

Moving to Iraq, and in brief: In Iraq there exists an evident American occupation and American control of land and resources. The Americans in the

past few years have played the game of occupation and democracy. And today the objectives behind that democracy are surfacing. How? Promptly after the American invasion the Iraqi people, like all the nations I mentioned earlier, were divided into two strong groups, into believers in the political process, and into believers in resistance, namely armed resistance. It is absolutely natural for us in the resistance to side with the resistance movement in Iraq from an ideological, political, practical, experimental standing point. And despite that the pro-political operation group took their time and reached a difficult, intricate, separating exam which is the position on the agreements and accords that America wants to impose on Iraq and its peoples, and impose upon the government and parliament to consent to them.

Here the true American objective behind the democracy game is uncovered. They came and opened the doors in front of all Islamic, patriotic, and national groups (to participate) knowing with whom they are friends and allies. So they opened the doors in front of everyone for a parliament to be elected and for it to elect a government, and therefore the whole world will refer to them as an elected government and parliament till the day comes when it (America) asks of this legalized government and legalized parliament to legalize the occupation, to sign an agreement granting the American sovereign control over Iraq making the security, political decision, oil, and Iraqi resources all in the hands of the Americans. Here the Americans are uncovered, and here the believers in the political process in Iraq, be they Shiite or Sunni Muslims, patriots or national, are faced with a difficult test. You (believers in the political process) say that you took part in the political process to decrease losses and as a means to deter the occupation. Today you are faced with a test. Will you hand over Iraq to the Americans for ever and ever? Or will you take the stance that is dictated by your religion, your Islam, your Arabism, your nationalism, your ethics, and your humanity?

Today in the name of all those that have convened here and in the names of all free people in the Arab and Islamic worlds, I call upon the Iraqi people to with all its political and religious leaders to take the glorious historic position that prevents Iraq from falling forever in the hands of the occupier. As is the case in Lebanon and in Palestine, the various resistance factions in Iraq was capable of inflicting defeat after defeat on the American army. Here Iraq is also called upon to resort to the liberation strategy of resistance that was adopted in Lebanon and Palestine. This strategy is the only way to return the strong rich injured Iraq to its people and nation.

Dear brothers and sisters, before I conclude my research on the resistance and move on to the internal Lebanese situation, I would like to tell you that we also have presented a example of a strategy of defense as was the case in the liberation strategy. The July-august 2006 war is the example. How was it possible for a public resistance.....? How was it possible, as judge Winnograd put it, for several thousands to withhold for weeks in the face of the strongest army in the Middle East? Hence we are not discussing a defensive strategy studied in books and universities, rather, of a defense strategy that was implemented and inflicted defeat on the aggressor and usurper in the confessions of its entire society.

This war in July changed many equations and weakened the possibilities of war in the region. Yes, dear brothers and sisters, your steadfastness in Lebanon, the blood of your martyrs, your nobleness and courage, your resistance which thwarted 'Israel's' war and aggression on Lebanon...all weakened the possibilities of war in the region. The possibilities of an American war on Iran after the Lebanese sample was studied. The possibility of an American war on Syria is a very very far after the Lebanese war in Lebanon. As to an 'Israeli' or American war on Lebanon or on a war by those who bet on the Americans and 'Israeli' tools...In Lebanon we are the most dignified people when we fought in July war and will fight and will fight in any future confrontation.

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Following the July war, we can see that the same defense strategy of the resistance is being employed in Gaza Strip. 'Israel' is battling in Gaza Strip a guerilla war, the way Gaza wishes it to be. 'Israel' will not invade Gaza because of its good behavior or because of its fear of an Arab public opinion or a certain Arab or international stance, knowing that it has carte blanche from the present

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This besieged, hungered, and victimized strip is rendering 'Israel' incapable and confused regarding options and methods. The defense strategy is succeeding in both Lebanon and Gaza despite the asymmetry of forces and the armament, economic and financial capacities as well as the lack of the international support.

When the present pharaoh or George Bush, who will leave office God willing, arrived to Palestine, and while ignoring the disaster of its nation and offering his total support to 'Israel', he wreaked his wrath upon the resistance movements in Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq as well as the countries that side by and support the resistance. He also promised the 'Israelis' that 'Israel' will celebrate this sixtieth anniversary again after one hundred and twenty years. Bush is mistaken and will be disappointed. This very 'Israel' will cease to exist in the future. Bush also promised the world that the defeat will strike Hizbullah and the resistance movements. I promise Bush and Condoleezza Rice, who spoke about the loss of Hizbullah, that as long as Hizbullah stands by righteousness and depends on Allah and the noblest people like your selves, I tell them you are the defeated ones.

On the eighth anniversary of the resistance and liberation, I ask the Arab nations and governments coupled with the Lebanese government to seriously mull the strategy of liberation and the strategy of defense in shade of the present symmetries in the region. In Lebanon, as always, there is continual utterance about designing a national defense strategy.

However, I must also say that we need a strategy for the liberation of Shibaa Farms and Kafarshoub Hills, a defense strategy against aggression. We also require a plan to liberate the Shibaa Farms and Kafarshoub Hills as well as free the prisoners even though we say, "free your selves from the plan of freeing the prisoners" because freeing the prisoners is our promise and vow, freeing the prisoners is an achievement of the almighty through our hands-and shortly

Samir and his brothers will be amongst you in Lebanon.

On May 25, 2000, the crowds gathered in Bint Jubeil, where I served and addressed them on their behalf. I had the honor to announce their victory, sacrifices, and feeling proud of the blood of their martyrs. I also gifted their victory to all Lebanon, all Palestine and the nation in its entirety.

When I took the rostrum in Bint Jubeil, I said that we did our duty and it would be satisfactory for us to see God pleased with us because we fulfilled our duty. We sought no thanks, prizes or gifts from anyone. I also said that we sought no power and that the land that was liberated by the blood of the resisting martyrs in their entirety belonged to the Lebanese state and Lebanese authority. Therefore, it had to be fully responsible on the fields of security, justice, community and economy. We did not want to be responsible for security or administration. When we said it, didn't our words turn into deeds?

They did. We did not try any traitor and we handed over all collaborators to the Lebanese justice. No military appearance of ours has ever surfaced along the borderline that was liberated through blood. Instead, we said to the state, proceed and be responsible.

We asked the state to give attention to two issues: give developmental attention to the areas that lived the battles in the south and to the areas which struggled and offered martyrs in the deprived south, when I also mentioned Baalbeck by its name as well as Hirmil and Akkar. What did those, who sought the state's authority to be stretched, achieve after eight years? Who prevented you from going to the borderline and the deprived areas in order to fulfill your duty as a state? The Lebanese know it. Let our Arab brothers also know that there are many areas in Lebanon which know nothing of the Lebanese authority but the police and tax collectors, and they are deprived of development, services and care.

I also said, when I was asked and answered, that my brothers and I did not seek any change to the political structure of the system and we did not demand any change to the Taif accord. We did not seek share of power or share of offices. We did not want anything at all. This is what happened. One must know that when they teach us about the French, Vietnamese, and Indian resistance, they tell us that the resistance disarmed after the liberation was achieved. I say to them that throughout history all the resistances that emerged victorious seized power or demanded power after their victory was achieved. On the contrary, we

never sought power in the first place. We said to them that this power belongs to you but do not monopolize it and be fair, give attention to the people, solve their social and economic problems, and maintain the dignities of the people. We never sought partnership of power after the victory of 2000. Who can say otherwise?

Today, I repeat, speaking on Hizbullah in precise. We do not seek any power in Lebanon. We do not want to seize power or control Lebanon. We do not want to impose our ideology or agenda on the Lebanese nation because we believe that Lebanon is one of its kind, multiple and diversified. This country cannot rise but through the participation, cooperation, concord and unity of all. We always demanded these issues. Many tried, through their media, to twist this truth. They think that when they say that Hizbullah follows the supreme authority-the just authority, the jurisprudent authority, the wise authority, the brave authority, the honest authority, and the loyal authority- I reply and say to them that the supreme authority recognizes us as its party. Lebanon is a diversified country and you must preserve it.

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Much was said in recent events, that the this or that side wanted to control Lebanon... they spoke of a coup and a change of power to bring Lebanon under Syrian guardianship, just like what happened in the July 2006 war the U.S. adopted, and described as 'Lebanon witnessing the birth pangs of a new Middle East'. Back then they claimed, as they do today, that the resistance was fighting for the Iranian nuclear program and the International Tribunal.

When the "government" revoked its two black decisions the opposition proved in Doha that it does not want to monopolize power and did not raise the ceiling of demands. We did not employ what happened recently in politics and we did not ask for political gains. The opposition kept to the political demands it had upheld prior to the recent events without changes.

Yes... after the events that took place in Lebanon, the cadres of the opposition have the right to ask for lifting the political demands ceiling, because changes had taken place. Yet, we did not alter an iota of our demands nor raise the ceiling, because we want to rescue Lebanon from what is more dangerous; from army-resistance inter-fighting, from sectarian sedition, from the hot summer promised by the tyrant 'Pharaoh, Haman' David Welch and his bosses. We did not at all employ what happened politically, nor did we demand for any political gains, despite what we incurred of unjust accusations, distortion and vicious abuse by many people. Yet, I will not delve into this topic today ..

Is this experience not enough as an argument to settle the ongoing debate in Lebanon that accuses us of dreams of domination and hegemony?

In the past in Bint Jbeil and again here today in the proud southern suburb, I renew my call for true partnership, where none is discounted or omitted, where no one is imposed over anyone else, to provide the Lebanese with the opportunity to build a true and fair state, governed by representatives who are elected faithfully in integrity, through sincere and solid alliances, to allow the Lebanese people the opportunity to work together away from outside interference..

A few days ago, the Saudi Council of Ministers asked for constitutional amendments that ensured Lebanon's Arab identity. I personally agree, yes, I, who believes in 'Welayit-el-faqih' (the rule of religious jurisprudent), agree to perform constitutional amendments to ensure the Arab identity of Lebanon, to prevent anyone from intervening in Lebanon. It was better to them to talk about the western and American intervention in Lebanon. As for our friends, the world knows that they do not impose their decisions on us. We, in the opposition, whether here on the ground, in Doha or anywhere, are the decision-makers.

Regarding the recent events, I have already explained some aspects, and repercussions of the events during last Thursday's press conference, but today I am faced with two choices: either I explain, clarify and give detailed account of what happened in the period leading up to the two decisions being taken, through to taking them, their meaning, and the risks involved, and I know that this will lead to a resurgence of tensions on the Lebanese arena at the time I do not want to sour the joy of the Lebanese reconciliation and their joy of electing a new president to Lebanon, or postpone all this debate, thus leaving certain matters outstanding in the minds of some, vague for others and unfair to us.

I, for now, prefer to postpone this debate and suffer the unjust accusations against the resistance for the sake of reunification.

Faced with the recent events some points need to be addressed.

Both, them and us, are deeply wounded, therefore they and we are also faced with two options: either deepen the wounds by dwelling on them, or work on the bandaging and treatment of these wounds for the sake of Lebanon and the people of Lebanon; we support the latter.

Such course needs words and deeds, for which we are ready.

What is important is to draw lessons from what happened, and with such lessons I am not to be misinterpreted as speaking from the logic of a 'victor'.

Hence, let us deal with opening the wounds at a later time when everyone concerned is calm and at more ease, when logic and reason can help mend the wounds, when we launch a new phase in Lebanon, the post-May 25, 2008 phase, that is after the national, Arab and international merriment that was witnessed yesterday in our Lebanese Parliament.

Dear brothers and sisters, faced with these developments I must put forward the following points:

First: On your behalf, I wish to thank our fellow Arabs, the Arab Ministerial Committee, the Arab League Secretary-General, special thanks to the leadership and the people of the State of Qatar, and all the sister nations and friendly countries, particularly Syria and the Islamic Republic in Iran, as well as all Lebanon's friends, all who helped achieve this agreement.

Second: On the question of disarmament, again today I stress the item contained in the Doha agreement not to use arms to achieve any political gains by any of the parties. We strongly support this sentence and we will discuss that at the dialogue table, but now hear me out: the resistance weapon is for confronting the enemy, to liberate the land and the prisoners and to defend Lebanon, and not to be used for any political gains, but as for the other weapons, what were they for? Who was accumulating them? For whom were they being prepared and trained on?

And here is a question: the state's weapon means that of the national army and the security forces. It is to defend the homeland, protect the citizens and the

protection of their various rights, to protect the State and establish security.

The resistance weapon should not be used to achieve gains internally, but also the state's weapon should not be used to settle accounts with any opposition political group.

The weapon of the state should not be used either for the implementation of external projects that weaken Lebanon's ability in the face of "Israel", nor against the resistance and its weapon.

Every weapon has to continue to serve the objectives for which it was employed, whether the weapon of the resistance or that of the state.

Third: regarding the election law. There is no doubt that the law we reached thus far is better than previous laws, particularly the 'year 2000 law'. This law came at the cost of the opposition's partisan and confessional share of the allocated seats in Parliament, especially at the expense of Hizbullah and Amal movement, but we agreed to it because it ensures true representation that is approved by the other side.

This law is derived from a settlement between parties who want to pluck Lebanon out of its

crisis... I hope the time comes when the Lebanese are able to sit calmly to discuss a civilized and modern law that acts as a foundation for the establishment of the state.

The true intentions of all those who say they want to build a state, are revealed when talking about the election law. The election law is the key to building the state, installing power, government, authority and the institutions. Anyone trying to fit an election law to their size, or to that of their leadership, their party or confession, proves they do not want to build a state. It is not enough to accuse others of not wanting to build a state, he who refuses to give the Lebanese a law that truly represents them, does not want a state but rather wants a farm. In any case, this is the possible settlement now.

Fourth: Electing Gen. Michel Suleiman as President of the Republic renews hope among the Lebanese for a new era and a new beginning. The inauguration speech we heard yesterday reflects the harmonious spirit that His Excellency promised to act through in the coming stage, which is what Lebanon needs of harmony, partnership and cooperation, and away from monopolization.

Fifth: A Government of National Unity through a genuine partnership between

the opposition and the loyalists, is not a victory for the opposition against the loyalists, but a victory for all of Lebanon and every Lebanese, a victory for co-existence and the state, because this country can not be established, built, sustained and remain firm but through cooperation, agreement and collaboration.

When I addressed your sit-in protest in both martyrs and Riyadh al-Solh squares and said: 'As I promise you victory always, I promise you victory again', I did not mean the victory of one group against another, nor a side against another, nor opposition against loyalists. As I believe, that victory in Lebanon cannot be achieved but through the government of National Unity. When agreement on forming a national unity government was reached in Doha, the victory was for Lebanon, just as May 25th, 2000 was not a victory for one category or political group, and again just as Lebanon was the victor in July 2006, Lebanon is the victor in Doha today.

We will contribute with all sincerity and seriousness in the formation of this government to start its work. I have previously promised the presence of spectrums of the opposition, not limited only to the opposition's representation through Hizbullah, Amal movement and the Reform and Change bloc, but to allow the opportunity for other forces of the opposition, even if from Hizbullah's share, because, unfortunately, the structure and composition of Lebanon is one of quotas and shares.

We will work in earnest for the best possible representation of the opposition in the government of national unity. Also, I hope that the government is serious and works on addressing the many problems facing the Lebanese, rather than wasting a lot of the Lebanese people's time, or just kill time; a government that is serious about assuming responsibility.

Sixth: Since we are talking about the future government and the next stage, I, in all sincerity, particularly invite the movement and those who love the martyr PM Rafik Hariri, to take advantage of this great man's considerable experience, to benefit from the horizons of his strategic thinking on Lebanon, whom with a great mind and a great heart was able to harmonise between the development and reconstruction project of the State and that of the Resistance.

Some wanted to force the government and the resistance to take one of two choices: either a 'Hong Kong' type Lebanon or one like 'Hanoi', i.e. either a devastated country or a prosperous one, one that is subject to 'Israel's' whims.

The resistance with martyr PM Rafik Hariri's mind, was able to say 'we do not imitate anyone, neither Hong Kong nor Hanoi, nor follow any model'.

We the Lebanese make the model. We can offer the world a country where development, economy, the state, companies, investments and productive sectors, can coexist alongside the resistance that does not exercise the task of the state, nor competes against its authority, but shares the burden of the responsibility in liberating the land and defending the homeland.

This is the formula we and Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri coexisted under and shared, and he who is faithful to the legacy of this great martyr has to carry on with this work. This is not an invitation to bilateral, trilateral or quad alliance, which has become a thing of the past. We now call for the participation of the broadest possible spectrum of people, to stay away from any monopolization of authority, in the state or in its institutions.

I strongly hope and pray to God that the Lebanese may have a calm gentle summer. I invite all to cooperate as there are two dreams, one Lebanese and one American; the Lebanese dream speaks of a tranquil and calm summer, on the other hand the American dream speaks of a "hot summer". Hence, let us realize our dreams and not those of our enemies. I promise you along with all the Lebanese and all our loved ones in both the Arab and Islamic worlds, to make every effort to overcome all hatred, to put aside all the sensitivities and join hands in cooperation and build Lebanon.

Thanks to the leaderships of the Islamic Sunnis in Lebanon, the Arab and Islamic worlds, to the religious, political and intellectual leaderships, because the courageous stands they took disrupted the American project which always tries to portray any political conflict anywhere as a sectarian conflict..

Thanks to the nationalist Druze leaders of the sons of Ma'arouf (Bani-Ma'arouf), from the resistance Mountain, for their courageous and nationalistic stands, whether clergy, elders, political leaders, media figures or forces and political parties because through their voices and courage, they prevented anyone in the world from portraying that what is happening here is a Shiite - Druze sedition.

Thanks to all to the Nationalistic Christian leaders in Lebanon, who confirmed through their position that the conflict is political and far removed from sectarianism... and compassion and mercy for all the martyrs.

To mention the martyrs, 14 of us passed away as martyrs, whom we are proud of, and are honored by, through whom our heads are held high, and two martyrs from the Lebanese 'Saraya' (the Lebanese Brigades for Resisting Occupation), in addition to martyrs from Amal movement, the Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party and the Lebanese Democratic Party.

These martyrs were from all confessions, Muslims and Christians, Sunnis, Shiites and Druze... therefore suspicions cannot remain over the non-sectarian nature of this conflict.

We are proud of these martyrs, just as we regret and feel pain for all the victims from the other side who passed away during these events. The families of those martyred can find consolation in that their sons' blood brought Lebanon out of a long dark tunnel... If it was not for their blood and sacrifices, some foreign forces wanted to take Lebanon to a place where no opportunity exists for it to stand and rise.

We owe it to those martyrs who placed Lebanon before a new summer and a new life.

On your Resistance and Liberation Day, we give our beloved Beirut, the dear Mountain, the steadfast Bekaa, North and South Lebanon, to each village, party and sect in Lebanon, to every group and confession of Lebanon, and to you all our affection, gratitude, respect and open hand, always ready for cooperation in building a strong, dignified, just and a resilient Lebanon, capable of steadfastness, proud as its mountains, eternal as its cedars...

Peace, mercy and God's blessings be upon you.