

A War of Words

The July 2006 War in Lebanon and the Conflict of Meanings

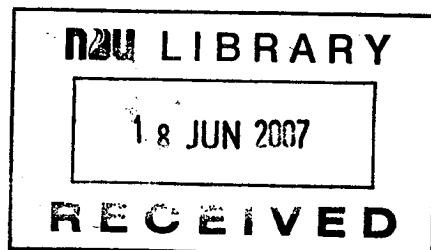
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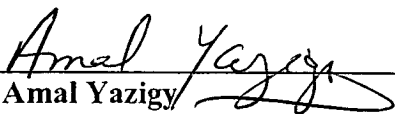


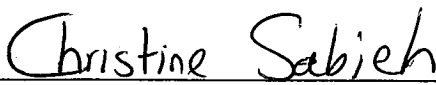
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“A journey of a thousand miles starts with a single step”

Claire Chapman

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ABSTRACT

Language is the tool used for communication in different fields specifically politics and has provided humans with a wide variety of words to use in their daily lives. Although dictionaries, agreements, declarations, conventions, and organizations give objective definitions, that is, meaning of every word. Every word has more than a meaning for it has different connotations resulting from various accumulated experiences, intentions, linguistic factors and non-linguistic factors. Thus, meanings of words reflect different points of view. The focus of this thesis is to deal with how the Lebanese politicians used different meanings for the same word reflecting political differences in Lebanon four months before the July 2006 War, during the July 2006 War and four months after the July 2006 War, calling them to cease their abuse of language for the latter is a peaceful means of communication. The first stage in dealing with the case of the different meanings of words reflecting political differences in Lebanon before, during and after the July 2006 War is to illustrate how linguistic factors contributed in reflecting political differences in Lebanon. The second stage is to delve into the analysis of various political statements given by different prominent Lebanese leaders before, during and after the July 2006 War. The methodology adopted in the selection of samples taken from the Lebanese political discourse is based upon the political reactions of the Lebanese political parties in support of or against the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1559 and 1680 before the July 2006 War in relevance to disarmament and delineation of borders. The words used in describing the result of the July 2006 War, such as ‘accountability’ and ‘victory’ were given different meanings reflecting differences in political points of view in Lebanon during and after the July 2006 War. The analysis is based on linguistic factors such as theories of meaning, meaningful relations among words and sociolinguistics; no political standpoints or judgments are made in support of or against any of the Lebanese political parties. Objectivity and neutrality are

the main elements in conducting such an analysis because this thesis is a case study in the field of linguistics and not politics. Analysis showed that linguistics, specifically semantics, that is meaning, played a role in reflecting political differences through the different meanings given to the same word but used by different Lebanese parties before, during and after the July 2006 War. Various concepts, views and theories were tackled and were essential in discussing how different meanings of words could have led to manipulation, consequently reflecting political differences in Lebanon before, during and after the July 2006 War. Semantics and pragmatics allowed the manipulation of meaning of words in the Lebanese political discourse before, during and after the July 2006 War reflecting political differences in Lebanon as illustrated in chapter three.

Chapter One

Language Meaning Aspects and Its Implications

Before the July 2006 War broke out in Lebanon, the Lebanese politicians were already fighting in the battle of the war of words because of their abuse of language, the peaceful means for communication. The news covered the statements of the political parties in response to what was said in a certain political speech or statement. Politicians declared that their intended meaning of a specific word they used was different than the meaning understood by receivers of that specific word. Other times, politicians disagreed on the use of a certain word in a certain resolution or statement. The media covered the arguments of politicians and their defense, where politicians stated that what they said was misinterpreted, consequently leading to political tension. This phenomenon was related to political reasons and propaganda; however it can be said that this debate was related to linguistics and precisely semantics and the manipulation of the meaning of words to reach political power. In other words, politicians misuse the language in order to achieve political interests. During the July 2006 War, the conflict of the meanings of words witnessed earlier persisted and meanings of words remained debatable even after the war ended. Such circumstances constituted the source idea for this thesis where before, during, and after the July 2006 War in Lebanon, the conflict of the meanings of words reflected political differences along with the armed conflict Lebanon witnessed. This topic had not been worked on in Lebanon since the July 2006 War ended in August 2006 and no in-depth linguistic research was done on the meaning of words used and abused sometimes by Lebanese politicians before, during, and after the July 2006 War. Thus, this research constituted the first step for further deliberations and research studies.

The claim for this thesis is that the manipulation of the meaning of words by Lebanese politicians before, during, and after the July 2006 War in Lebanon reflected political differences in Lebanon.

This research is divided into three parts. The first part, literature review, is related to semantics and discourse analysis: the second part analyzes examples taken from the political discourse before, during, and after the July 2006 War in Lebanon and the third part, includes conclusions reached after the in-depth analysis was completed.

Though the title and claim of this thesis might imply that the topic dealt with is purely political, the political discourses are dealt with from a linguistic perspective, precisely semantics, without making any political inferences. As a consequence, it is substantial to note that politics is not discussed. This thesis is not to assess nor criticize any of the Lebanese political parties and the political circumstances in Lebanon before, during, and after the July 2006 War.

Language and politics are the field in which this research is conducted. Researchers such as, Paul Chilton, Noam Chomsky and others have already proved the relation between language and politics; thus, this research is partially based on those findings. Language is defined in different ways; however, the definitions dealt with are those related to language as a tool. Language is considered to be complex; hence, researchers have to choose the specific definition related to a particular research area regarding what they want to know about language, whether it is the nature of language, the use of language or others (Corder, 1973). Pit Corder (1973) in his book *Introducing applied linguistics* defines language as a "... tool, which we can pick up, use for some purpose and put down again" (p. 20). Language is referred to as being a 'living organism'. Therefore, it might happen that politics would take advantage of the different meanings found in language for the same word. Language is considered as 'an event', where during conversations, words are used and sometimes new

words and new meanings are given. Furthermore, language is considered by Raja Nasr (1978) “a part of culture [and] part of human behavior” (p.1). Nasr (1978) considers that language is used in order to communicate meanings, having a social function where no society exists without language. Different theories are given in this regard and which can be summarized by the following: language is used as a means of communication between people knowing that it is not the only means of communication for people. Language enables members of the same community to work, interact, cooperate, live together and communicate thought (Corder, 1973). In other words, language constitutes a system for conveying messages (Akmajian, Demers, Farmer and Harnish, 1993). Nasr (1978) considers that the human thought differs from one situation to the other; that is, it varies between a business meeting, a friendly gathering or a political debate. This system of communication uses words in order to convey the messages and these words used have different meanings (Akmajian et al., 1993).

In general, politics expresses a thought and the means used to express this thought is language; however, before talking about the relation between language and politics it is substantial to define politics. Paul Chilton (2004) in his book *Analyzing political discourse: Theory and practice* views two different definitions for politics. Based on Chilton’s definition, politics is “a struggle for power” (Chilton, 2004, 3). This struggle is between two parties: one seeking to keep the power in its hands and the second seeking to take the power from those who have it. However, politics was also defined as “cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like” (Chilton, 2004, 3).

Thus it could be deduced that whenever politicians want to address their supporters, they try to convince them with their ideas and meanings; they are using language as a tool in order to convey a message. However, politicians have to make sure that they are only using

the language and not abusing it. The definitions of language as a tool can help in establishing a relation between language and politics. As a result, the means that enables communities, institutions, political parties, governments and politicians achieve their goals through communication is language. Language is used in political deliberations as a tool to achieve political goals. Chilton (2004) acknowledged the afore-mentioned by stating that “language and politics are intimately linked at a fundamental level” (p. 4).

Politicians ask of the media and the public not to concentrate on their and others’ words because the meanings of the words used are related to certain political values and these political values depend in one way or another on priorities. Consequently, a clear relation is made between wording and phrasing, which refers to language, and concepts and values, which refers to politics (Chilton, 2004). Politicians use language in order to communicate with people during electoral campaigns and sometimes their choice of words based on the meaning of the words help them win or lose the elections; thus as Chilton (2004) says, “political activity does not exist without the use of language” (p. 6). Politics is considered as an activity in a social system where concern is to be given to the public, and where a consensus is to be reached regarding the meaning of certain political words as ‘capitalism’ and ‘elite’ in order to avoid conflict (Hudson, 1978). Consequently, politics is based on communication; thus politics depends in one way or another on language. It can further be said that for individuals to perform their role in society, which politics is a part of, they have to use language and the use of this language enables individuals to express their political thought (Laitin, 1988). Politics is a powerful tool that can affect the life of citizens for it defines values for the citizens to follow and leads to different political circumstances that either allows the citizens to be employed or not and shapes their belonging (Frohock, 1978); hence, politicians choose the words they use in their political discourse to create a certain impact on the citizens to increase the number of their partisans, although they are not

to abuse language. Words can change the political life; Donald Clark Hodges (1964) says that wise politicians are those who choose the traditional terms used in order to keep the old political system. However, politicians who choose to use new terms intend to change the traditional political thinking. In this regard, Joseph Conrad says: "Give me the right word and the right accent, and I will move the world" (Conrad in Bushman, 1970, 1091).

Language enables different speakers to discuss past, current and future issues through sharing visions. Politics tackles past, current and future issues of the public and the essential tool used to do so is language (Gardenfors in Chilton, 2004). Thus, language has to be used to serve these objectives and not personal political interests.

Therefore, the relation between language and politics can be easily detected, where politics uses language as a tool for communication. However, language in itself is multidimensional; thus, it is necessary to specify that the aspect dealt with in this thesis is meaning and precisely manipulation of the meaning of words. This helps in saying that the manipulation of the meaning of words, that is the different meanings given to the same word reflected the political differences in Lebanon. George Orwell noted the relation between language and politics saying that "...language is the prime indicator of national identity" (Orwell in Tachau, 1964, 191).

Consequently, it is beneficial to delve into the details of semantics, showing how the manipulation of the meaning of words can take place in different circumstances.

Language has a communicative function, where "a meaning or message" (O'Grady et al., 1989, 169) is conveyed. Hence, semantics is defined as "the study of meaning in human language" (O'Grady et al., 1989, 169). Semantics is also described as "the study of linguistic reference or denotation and truth conditions in languages" (Akmajian et al., 1993, 193). Nevertheless, O'Grady et al. (1989) give the following definition of semantics entailing many details:

“The study of semantics is concerned with a broad range of phenomena including the nature of meaning, the role of syntactic structure in the interpretation of sentences, and the effect of pragmatics and speaker beliefs on the understanding of utterances” (p. 189).

Whenever the meaning of a word is not known, a dictionary is resorted to, where a list of meanings for the same word is found. The dictionary provides basic meanings of words but does not give the meaning of the words that are used in daily life and under different conditions: whether formal or casual. As a consequence, meaning is to be defined, but the word meaning in itself has different uses in language (Akmajian et al., 1993). Meaning is considered as the lexicon within grammar where the meaning of words is deduced based upon the interpretation of the sentences they were used in (O’Grady et al., 1989).

One approach considers the meaning to be the object the word refers to. For example, the word ‘dog’ refers to the set of objects that is seen in the real concrete world people live in. But this approach is problematic, since there are certain words which do not refer to a set of objects in the real world. For example, ‘unicorn’ and ‘dragon’ are meaningful although they do not have a referent, that is the object to which the word meaning refers to (O’Grady et al., 1989).

In another approach, two important types of meaning are given: linguistic meaning and speaker meaning. On one hand, linguistic meaning is defined as “the meaning or meanings of that expression in the language” (Akmajian et al., 1993, 195), in other words, the literal meaning of the word and not the nonliteral meaning of the word. For example, if one says to another person sitting with ‘the door behind you’, the linguistic meaning is that there is the door object behind him or her and not as the speaker meaning is, that is the nonliteral meaning which is in this case leave the room (Akmajian et al., 1993). When dealing with linguistic meaning of expression, one has to note, “... meanings can vary across dialects and across individual speakers” (Akmajian et al., 1993, 196). For example the word

'bonnet' has different meanings, where in American English it means a kind of hat. However, in British English it means the lid of a car. Moreover, the same word has different meanings for different speakers of the same dialect (Akmajian et al., 1993). It is important to highlight that dialect refers to the difference of geographical and class origin, which leads to variation of the grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary used by the individual speaker (Wilkins, 1972). For instance, the word 'infer' has different meanings for different speakers. It can mean 'conclude' in the following example: "I infer from what you say that you are sick" (Akmajian et al., 1993, 196); whereas in this sentence: "He inferred that he was fed up with us" it means 'imply' (Akmajian et al., 1993, 196). If meaning is dealt with in idiolects, that is, the language of a person, there will be a difference in the idiolectal meaning of one word between one person and the other. On the other hand, speaker meaning differs from linguistic meaning based upon the fact whether the speaker intends to mean literally or nonliterally what he or she is saying. In other words, "[w]hen we speak literally, we mean what our words mean ...[and] when we speak nonliterally, we mean something different from what our words mean" (Akmajian et al., 1993, 195). Speakers can mean something different from what the words they use mean. Moreover, the nonliteral meaning includes irony and sarcasm, which is the metaphorical use of language, and it is the hearer or receiver who plays a major role in indicating whether the speaker is intending the literal or nonliteral meaning of what is said (Akmajian et al., 1993). Figure 1 explains meaning varieties.

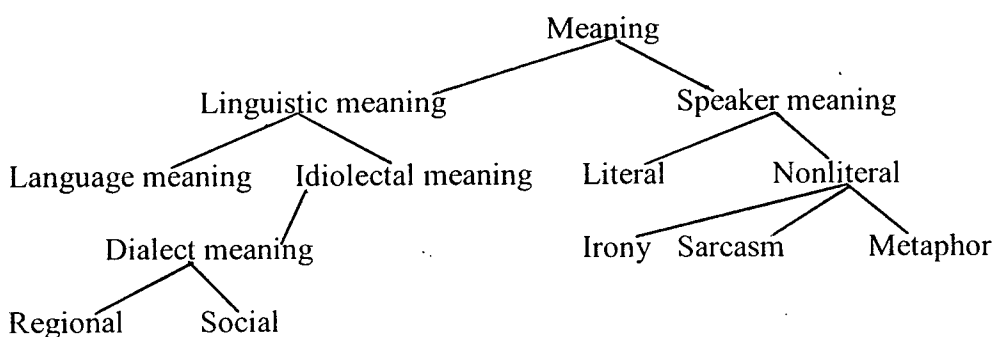


Figure 1. Varieties of meaning (Akmajian et al., 1993, 197)

Meaning is dealt with as the object referred to, linguistic meaning of a word in the language and speaker meaning of the word that is based on the nonliteral meaning of the word. However, another theory of meaning is elaborated, the denotational theory or what is known as extensionalism. On one hand, in the denotational meaning, the meaning of the word is the object it denoted. On the other hand, it is considered that the extension of any word refers to "... a set of entities that it picks out in the world" (O'Grady et al., 1989, 170). Thus, meaning is related to reference and this is seen with proper nouns where there has been "... one-to-one correspondence between name and object" (Kempson, 1977, 13). For instance, when saying "de Gaulle, Chris Evert, ..." the meaning of these proper nouns refers to persons who can be denoted in real life (Akmajian et al., 1993, 198). Other examples include descriptive noun phrases such as "... the president of the United States, the first person to walk on our moon ...", which indicate or refer to a certain object; in this case it is a person (Akmajian et al., 1993, 198). This relationship between word and object is called by extensionalism "the relationship of reference" (Kempson, 1977, 13). As a result, extensionalism concludes that meaning is dealt with as an object, which is called extension. To understand the meaning of a word, one has to understand the relation between the word and object to which the word refers to or denotes (Kempson, 1977). Proper nouns and descriptive noun phrases refer to individuals and common nouns also refer to individuals. It is considered that "... verbs refer to actions, adjectives refer to properties of individuals, and adverbs refer to properties of actions" (Kempson, 1977, 13). For instance, the name 'Ruth Kempson' is directly related to an individual who is in this case the author of the book from which these examples are taken; the word 'mice' refers to the relation between this word and its object in the real world, that is; the word 'red' has the meaning of the relation between the word 'red' and all what has the property of having the color red; and finally, the word 'quickly' has the meaning of the relation between it and the actions having the property of

speed (Kempson, 1977). However, this leads to certain problems because meaning cannot only be understood from this perspective. Meaning cannot be only identified as denotation. For instance, what is the denotation of any of the prepositions: such as, the, in, and of (Kempson, 1977)? In addition, there are other words or expressions that do not have any denotation in the sense of an existing object in our real world; such as. “Pegasus (the flying horse)... empty, hello, very, and leave the room” (Akmajian et al., 1993, 1999). Ruth M. Kempson (1977) said in this regard:

“The relationship of reference which holds between expressions and non-existent object will be the same; it is therefore hard for a theory which explains meaning in terms of reference [or denotation] to avoid predicting synonymy between all of the following: *the pterodactyl*, *the unicorn*, *the first woman to land on the moon*” (p. 13-14).

According to the denotational theory of meaning or extensionalism, when two expressions denote or refer to the same object, these two expressions share the same meaning or would be synonymous. But, in many cases, two or more expressions denote the same object but do not have the same meaning. For example, “...the morning star, the evening star, and Venus” denote the same object, which is the planet, although these three expressions cannot be considered synonymous where the morning star is the first star that can be seen in the morning and the evening star is the first star that can be seen in the evening (Akmajian et al., 1993, 1999). Another example has the two following expressions which are not synonymous although both denote the same object: “the first person to walk on our moon and Neil Armstrong” (Akmajian et al., 1993, 1999).

Kempson (1977) points out to another problem resulting from this theory saying that it is true there is a direct relation between proper nouns and their object, known as “one-to-one correspondence between word and object” (p. 14), but it is not clearly indicated that proper nouns have meaning giving the example of what the meaning of ‘Noam Chomsky’ is, although it is known who this expression refers to.

In another attempt to tackle meaning, there is the mentalist theory of meaning as a solution to the problem faced with the denotational theory or extensionalism. The mentalists consider that if meaning is not concrete objects, then meaning is mental objects. For instance, Pegasus is a flying horse but in real life there is not a flying horse that one can denote but undoubtedly one has the idea of Pegasus, which is considered the meaning of the word Pegasus (Akmajian et al., 1993). Mentalists say: “the meaning of expression is an idea (or ideas) associated with that expression in the minds of speakers” (Akmajian et al., 1993, 199). Mentalists dealt with meaning as image but this also constituted a problem and mentalists moved on to talk about meaning as concept or image in an attempt to solve the problem faced (O’Grady et al., 1989).

Mentalists tend to “... explain the meaning of a word in terms of the image in the speaker’s (or hearer’s) brain” (Kempson, 1977, 15). But there is not a drawing of the form of the images that meaning has and these images are not visual. Here is the problem where there is not one image for one meaning. For example, if one has the equilateral triangle as an image for the meaning of a triangle this image cannot be true because not all triangles are equilateral; there are isosceles or scalene and these are different from the equilateral and cannot be the same image (Kempson, 1977). Another example is the Alsatian who has a different image for dog than the owner of a miniature poodle. In addition, what increases the problem of considering meaning as image is the fact that for the meaning of an expression, one can have different images and, in other cases, for the meaning of two expressions one can have the same image leading to ambiguity. For instance, the image of a tired child can either be the image of a child who is half asleep in a curling position or an image of a child who is screaming and nagging (Kempson, 1977). The image theory of meaning is subject to what is known as speaker variation, where the images one has for the meaning of a word or expression vary from one occasion to the other and from the experience of one person to the

other. For example the image of the word 'lecture' for a lecturer is an audience staring and listening to the speaker in front of them. But the image of the same word, that is, 'lecture' for non-lecturers may be an image of a bored audience fighting drowsiness. Based on the experience of these two groups, lecturers and non-lecturers, the image of the word referring to the meaning differs (Kempson, 1977). Nevertheless, the problem in the image theory of meaning is what image one would have for the words such as 'hello', 'and', 'or', 'because', 'therefore', 'only', and 'not' (Akmajian et al., 1993). According to Kempson (1977), these words do not have images so they were meaningless.

As a result, the mentalists think that one way to solve this problem is to view the mental images the individual has for the meaning of a word as concepts. Concepts are referred to "... as mentally represented categories of things" (Akmajian et al., 1993, 200). Kempson (1977) quotes what E. Sapir says in the book he wrote in 1921 under the title *Language* about concept, which is considered to be "... a convenient capsule of thought that embraces thousands of distinct experiences and that is ready to take in thousands more" (Sapir, 1921 in Kempson, 1977, 16). However, the problem is not solved since the ambiguity of the meaning is substituted by the ambiguity of the word concept, which must have a clear definition in order to be used to define meaning (Kempson, 1977). A speaker can include additional information to the meaning of a word specifically to how the concept he or she has for a certain word is developed and which is not related to the concept of the word; thus, concepts can be specific to different speakers (Akmajian et al., 1993). For instance, when the word 'bird' is said, it is more typical that a speaker has the concept of a robin more than a penguin. Also, when the word 'furniture' is said, the speaker has the concept of a chair more than ashtray, knowing that penguin and ashtray are features of bird and furniture. Sometimes meaning as concept is applicable with common nouns, adjectives and verbs, but not with

other words that do not have a concept such as 'hello', 'only' and 'not' (Akmajian et al., 1993)

Therefore, the two theories of meaning, whether meaning denoting objects, images, or concepts in mind faced various problems and the use theory of meaning came in an attempt to solve these problems (Akmajian et al., 1993). Ludwig Wittgenstein developed this theory in the 1930s which prevailed among the Anglo-American theories. This theory stipulated that: "the meaning of an expression is determined by its use in the language community" (Akmajian et al., 1993, 201). Therefore, the meaning of 'hello' is its use in a sentence. However, it was substantial that the conception of use is defined and the connection between meaning and use is precisely stated.

As it is noted, the relation between language and politics exists through having politics using language as a tool to convey messages and achieve political goals. After pointing out to the different theories of meaning in this chapter, it can be noticed that Lebanese politicians cannot abuse language if meaning is referred to based upon denotational theory of meaning. However, if meaning is referred to based upon the mentalist theory and use theory of meaning, Lebanese politicians have to abstain from abusing the meaning of words in language to reflect their political differences. Moreover, meaning can be referred to differently but words have meaningful relations among each other that help in knowing the meaning of the word and this is discussed in chapter two of this thesis.

Chapter Two

Words in Language and Their Implications

Meaningful relations among words constitute the semantic components for the analysis of meaning of words taken from political statements before, during, and after the July 2006 War later referred to in chapter three of this thesis. Despite the difficulties faced in defining meaning, different semantic relations related to analyzing the meaning of words are noted: synonymy, antonymy, polysemy and homophony (O'Grady et al., 1989). The various relations among words are substantial since it can be deduced from the different meaning theories discussed in chapter two that words do not exist separately from each other.

First, a meaningful relation among words is synonymy. Synonymy refers to "... a set of words sharing a meaning" (Akmajian et al., 1993, 203). Words that have the same meaning are called synonyms, such as 'automobile' is synonymous to 'car', 'plane', and 'aircraft' in one of its senses. In one of its senses, it means that 'automobile', 'car', 'plane' and 'aircraft' share the same meaning, which is 'movement'. This sameness in meaning in relevance to being a 'moving vehicle' creates the meaningful synonymous relation among them as words. Also, F.R. Palmer (1981) refers to the 'sameness of meaning', but moves to indicate that the reason of having synonymy is the vocabulary coming from two different sources. Thus, 'brotherly' is the same as 'fraternal', 'buy' is synonym to 'purchase', and many others. However, Palmer (1981) says that there are no real synonyms and no two words have the exact meaning. He considers that two words having the same meaning cannot both survive in the same language and refers to five ways showing how synonyms can differ. He is doubtful whether any true synonyms exist. This sameness in meaning will later be referred to in chapter three where it is noticed that 'losing hope' is a synonym for 'despair'

implying different meanings for the same verb 'despair' reflecting political difference in Lebanon before the July 2006 War.

Second, a meaningful relation among words is antonymy. Antonymy is referred to as 'oppositeness of meaning', that is, words that are opposite are known as antonyms (Palmer 1981, O'Grady et al., 1989 and Akmajian et al., 1993). When words are considered antonyms, this means that they share one aspect of meaning and are opposite in another aspect of meaning. For example, 'small' and 'large' share the same aspect of meaning, which is 'size' but differ in 'degree' and it applies to 'cold' and 'hot' where both have the notion of 'temperature' but differ in 'degree'. This is referred to as gradable antonyms, for example 'hot' and 'cold' are extreme opposites but between 'hot' and 'cold' there are other scales such as 'cool', 'lukewarm', and 'warm'. In other cases, words are considered to be incompatible, although they are not opposites or antonyms, such as 'cat' and 'dog'. These two words are semantically incompatible because they are not true descriptions of the same thing at the same time (Akmajian et al., 1993).

Third, a meaningful relation among words is the relation of complementarity which refers to the relationship where the prediction of one word is to contradict another and the falsification of one word is by inserting 'not' before it asserting automatically that the other is true. The following words are complementary: 'perfect' and 'imperfect', 'single' and 'married', or 'dead' and 'alive' (Wilkins, 1975).

Fourth, a meaningful relation among words is polysemy. Polysemy is defined as one word having a set of different related meanings (Palmer, 1981). For example, the word 'table' can mean a furniture item or "... the act of putting an item in a meeting on hold" (Akmajian et al., 1993). Further, the word 'iron' has two meanings: "... type of metal or an instrument made of iron used for pressing clothes" (O'Grady et al., 1989, 172). F.R. Palmer (1981) pointed out that it is very hard to determine how many meanings a word has, "[f]or

meaning is not easily delimited and so distinguished from other meanings” (p.100). For example the dictionary gives the three following different meanings for the verb ‘eat’: “... sense of taking food and the derived meanings of ‘use up’ and ‘corrode’” (p. 100).

Fifth, a meaningful relation among words is homophony. Homophony indicates different words that have identical pronunciation but different meaning, such as the two different words ‘Mary’ and ‘merry’ (Akmajian et al., 1993 and O’Grady et al., 1989).

Nevertheless, Palmer (1981) distinguishes between homographs, that is, words having a same spelling form, same pronunciation, and different meaning and homophones, that is, words having different spelling form and meaning but same pronunciation; such as ‘site’ and ‘sight’ and ‘rite’ and ‘right’. Other examples of homophones are bank, bat, pen, and club (O’Grady et al., 1989).

Sixth, a meaningful relation among words is hyponymy. Hyponymy is related to the notion of meaning inclusion, where ‘tulip’ and ‘rose’ are included in ‘flower’ and ‘lion’ and ‘elephant’ are included in ‘mammal’ (Palmer, 1981). Consequently, one can talk about class membership, where there is an ‘upper’ class referred to as superordinate and the ‘lower’ class referred to as hyponym. Palmer (1981) gives the following figure illustrating meaning inclusion:

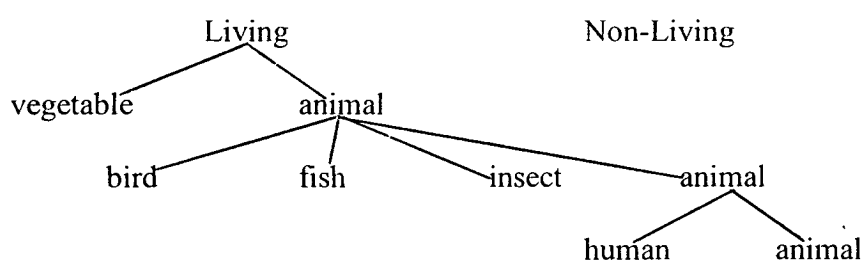


Figure 2. Meaning Inclusion (Palmer, 1981)

The seventh, meaningful relation among words is the relation of incompatibility that is “... in a sense the reverse of hyponymy, in that it is one of exclusion” (Wilkins, 1975, 125). Incompatibility occurs only among words that are similar in meaning. For instance, the

word 'morning' entails the exclusion of 'afternoon', 'evening', and 'night' and the word 'red', entails the exclusion of 'black', 'yellow' and so on (Wilkins, 1975).

The seven above-mentioned meaningful relations among words constitute valid subject matter for analysis made in chapter three of this thesis in order to have a better understanding of words used by Lebanese politicians before, during, and after the July 2006 War reflecting political differences in Lebanon. However, it is important to highlight that the polysemy, homophony and hyponymy meaningful relations among words are not to be used in the analysis made in chapter three because these three relations deal directly with the phonetic forms of the words in Arabic having different implications that is not dealt with in this research thesis but has to be mentioned in order to have complete reference of meaningful relations among words.

After referring to the different semantic relations among words, it is also important to point to the sense or connotation of words. Words have a close relation in meaning which can be abused by some politicians to achieve political goals, knowing that this is not accepted and has to stop. D.A. Wilkins (1975) highlights the 'denotational' or 'referential' meaning of a word, where a word is related to the physical entity in the real world. However, this is not the only meaning, for each word has a connotative meaning and is indirectly related to the word. Connotative meaning as described by D.A. Wilkins (1975) is the "... product of the associations, linguistic and non-linguistic, that have been built up through [people's] previous experience of the word" (p.122). The connotative meaning or word connotation is more interested in and related to the attitudes and emotional reactions of the language user regarding a specific word. It often occurs in the language of politics that words of similar denotation have different connotations (Wilkins, 1975). A quite significant definition is given to connotation by the free online encyclopedia Wikipedia and which serves the analysis of the meanings of words in chapter three. The free online encyclopedia

Wikipedia (2007) refers to connotation as emotional association made with the word; consequently, it is in a way or another the intention of both the producer and receiver. For example, 'strong-willed' and 'pig-headed' both mean literally 'stubborn' but the first connotes admiration and the second connotes unacceptable attitude. Salah Salim Ali (2005), a literary translator and contrastive linguist at Mosul University, Iraq, considers in the paper he wrote "*Connotation and cross-cultural semantics*" that connotation of texts or words in any language is closely related to literature and culture. As a result of these different connotations for the same word or expression, in some cases ambiguity might be a problem faced; connotation leaves the interpretation open-ended and this depends to a large extent on whether the producer and receiver share the same culture, concepts and experience. Salah Salim Ali compares connotation to a metaphor considering that it has indirect or hidden meanings and is capable of leading to analogical shift (Ali, 2005). For example the color black shares associations as Afro-Americans, Africa, or even blackberry depending on the subjective cultural coloration. Ali adds that in addition to the relation between the receiver or producer and meaning, there are other factors that also affect meaning of words and have a considerable impact on meaning of words and which are speech acts that are discussed hereinafter.

After referring to the purely linguistic or semantic components affecting the meaning of words one can elaborate to talk about sociolinguistic factors or components affecting meaning of words.

Pragmatics is part of linguistics. Pragmatics deals with finding an explanation for the difference between the sentence meaning and the meaning intended by the speaker.

Pragmatics gives great importance to context because utterances are given in a context (Wikipedia, 2007). Speech acts are referred to as acts of communication where communication in its turn expresses a certain attitude (Austin, 1962). Linguists consider

speech acts as a solution for the problem faced at the level of meaning. They look at "... conditions for appropriate use for both sentences and words" (Kempson, 1977, 52), instead of looking at word meanings just as such. In consequence, pragmatics is defined as "... a body of knowledge" (O'Grady et al., 1989, 181) including the attitudes, concepts, beliefs, understanding of context in which a sentence is mentioned, and knowledge of how language is used to convey messages of both speaker or producer and receiver or hearer.

Therefore, the speaker and receiver play a very important role in what is known as presupposition, which is defined as "[t]he assumption or belief implied by the use of a particular word or structure" (O'Grady et al., 1989, 182). For example, a speaker asks: "have you stopped exercising regularly?" (O'Grady et al., 1989, 182). The use of the verb 'stop' makes the receiver have a belief that the receiver has been exercising on regular basis. On the other hand, if the speaker uses the verb 'try' instead of 'stop' the receiver can have the assumption that he is not exercising on regular basis. Palmer (1981) claims that "... presuppositions were logically implied by both a positive sentence and negative counterpart" (p.167), such as in the example "...[t]he King of France was bald and The King of France isn't bald", both propose that there is a king of France. Chilton (2004) says that presuppositions are explicit only when they are "challenged or refused" (p. 64). This means that one party refuses what the other party has presupposed from a certain word given and even challenge to show the opposite of what is presupposed since presupposition is based on previous knowledge extracted from the memory of the receiver (Chilton, 2004).

J.L. Austin (1962) says that the main aspect in speech act semantics is that language is used to do things, and description is one of the things done. Nonetheless, language is also used to promise, insult, agree and criticize. Thus, Austin suggests the three acts the speaker is involved in when uttering a sentence with a certain meaning are: locutionary act, illocutionary act, and perlocutionary act (Austin, ed. Urmson and Sbisà, 1962). First,

locutionary act is the act of uttering a sentence with a particular meaning. Second, illocutionary is the act that reflects the intension of the speaker in uttering that sentence for praise, criticize, agree, or warn (Kempson, 1977). Third, perlocutionary act refers to the act of uttering a sentence in order to achieve a certain effect on the hearers or receivers such as frightening, amusing the receivers or pushing them to do something (Kempson, 1977).

Austin (1962) differentiates between illocutionary act and perlocutionary as the latter being the consequent effect on the hearer which the speaker intends. For example, a teacher trying to manage her class and keep order utters the following: "... I'll keep you in after class" (O'Grady et al., 1989, 182). The teacher performs the three speech acts, where her locutionary act is giving her utterance, the meaning of keeping them in school for later than usual, the illocutionary is the warning she gives to her students, and the perlocutionary act is pushing students to remain silent (O'Grady et al., 1989).

Kempson, (1977) points out that the illocutionary force and the intended implicated message that would be conveyed depend on the assumptions of the speaker and hearer; thus, the "... illocutionary force of an utterance is seen as one part of the total message implicated" (p. 72).

Undoubtedly, the sociolinguistic factors or components including pragmatics and speech acts are referred to in the analysis made in chapter three showing how the different meanings of words manipulated by different politicians reflected political differences in Lebanon before, during, and after the July 2006 War.

Furthermore, another component that is useful in analyzing word meanings in chapter three is the deep structure. In the 1950s, Noam Chomsky introduced the syntactic structure of language, which he called deep structure (Colombia Encyclopedia, 2005). According to Chomsky, all languages have the same deep structure, but have different surface structures since each language has its rules of forming a sentence and pronunciations (Steinberg, 1982).

Chomsky points to two levels of syntactic structures for a sentence: surface structure, which is explicit or obvious, and deep structure is the underlying meaning of the sentence (Steinberg, 1982). The following example is quoted by Danny D. Steinberg (1982) from Chomsky: “The tenor drank then sang” and “The tenor drank then he sang” (p.28-29). These two sentences have different surface structures but the same deep structure because the assumption in the deep structure of the first is that the person doing the singing is the same one doing the drinking even without using ‘he’ (Steinberg, 1982). Chomsky shows through using this example that sentences can have the same meaning although the forms of the sentences differ. Deep structure and surface structure can further be elaborated but the main concern in this thesis is the conclusion that in speeches, the speaker can generate an infinite number of deep structures for the same surface structure. The syntactic structures are considered to be specific to each language (Steinberg, 1982). Therefore, the deep structure can be semantically interpreted, where there is a difference between the meaning of sentences and that of words even if the same set of words having different order forms two sentences.

Furthermore, before analyzing political statements in chapter three, political discourse is to be described. “Discourse means the full text, oral or written, delivered at a specific time and place or delivered at several instances” (Kinneavy, 1969, 297). The discourse has an aim which would be the effect created on the listener or reader based upon the intent of the discourse. The intent of a discourse could be to delight, persuade, inform, express, or demonstrate a logical proof or position (Kinneavy, 1969). Therefore, every discourse has an aim where that aim determines the style, logic and language used in the discourse (Fulkerson, 1984). Political speeches are classified under persuasive discourse (Kinneavy, 1969). The tool used in any discourse including political discourse is language. Language can manifest “dominance, discrimination, power and control” (Blommaert and

Bulcaen, 2000, 449). In addition, the institutions, values and ideologies of a society determine ways of speaking, that is, discourse (Weissenrieder, 1997). N. Fairclough (1992 in, Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000) views discourse as being an expression of the ideologies in a society and part of the hegemony process in the society. Fairclough assumes that people aim at achieving goals at different levels in society among which is the political arena and people use language to do so (Bloome and Talwalkar, 1997). Thus, when dealing with political discourse, social practices and ideological context affect the meaning given in a political discourse (Bloome and Talwalkar, 1997). The two sociologists T. Purvis and A. Hunt (1993) consider that discourse is "...primarily a linguistic concept" (Chalaby, 1996, 685) since the social communication takes place through using language as a medium or tool, which is discourse. Moreover, political discourse is viewed as the "formal exchange of reasoned views [intending] to involve all citizens in the making of the decision, [and] persuade others through valid information and logic" (Johnson and Johnson, 2000, 3). The aim of political discourse is to reach a consensus among different parties to find the best action that best solves a problem whether related to the needs of citizens or others (Johnson and Johnson, 2000).

The description of political discourse leads to explain the importance of context when dealing with the analysis of any statement given at a certain time and place. The word context refers to the text, the information in the text and the possible uses of the text and its information (Sowa, 2001). More precisely, a context helps in understanding the utterance said in a specific conversation; how, why, where, and when that utterance was said and the relation existing between the how, where, why and when (Glanzberg, nd). The utterance is given in a discourse where the latter cannot be separated from the context. Context has two natures based upon the two context theories given: index theory of context and presupposition theory of context (Glanzberg, nd).

First, the index theory of context stipulates that "...for each sentence there is a suitable structure which is a preliminary semantic representation of the sentence, appropriate for semantic interpretation" (Glanzberg, nd, 4). The context is an index that has a group of features giving it value: speaker, hearer, location, and demonstrated object. The index of the context has characteristics regarding the occurrence of an utterance in a specific space and time (Glanzberg, nd).

Second, the presupposition theory of context "... identifies a prepositional attitude of presupposing or taking to be common ground in a conversation" (Glanzberg, nd, 6). The propositions presupposed by the participants of a conversation or listeners or readers of a speech regarding a specific word in a specific discourse constitute the context. Thus, the presupposition theory of context is an intentional theory of context, where context is considered to be same as content (Glanzberg, nd). Jean K. Chalaby (1996) says, "... the text is the context, because it is entirely made up of contexts" (p.687).

The two theories of context provide the receiver with information. The Lebanese context, specifically the Lebanese political context, helps in having a better understanding of the words used by different Lebanese politicians and which is studied in details in chapter three.

Chapter two gives a brief overview of meaningful relations among words that helps the reader of this thesis understand the analysis made in chapter three when reference is made to any theory or concept related to meaningful relations among words reflecting how meanings of words differed reflecting political differences in Lebanon before, during, and after the July 2006 War. In summary of this chapter, synonymy, antonymy, complementarity, polysemy and homonymy, hyponymy and incompatibility are discussed. Reference is also made to connotation of word meanings and the accumulated experience of producers and receivers of the word connotation. Pragmatics plays an important role in word

meanings through speech acts, which included locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. In addition, the role of political discourse and context in analyzing the meaning of any word used by any political party based upon the features of context given. All of the above allows the reader of this thesis to be aware that politicians might abuse the linguistic and sociolinguistic elements of language that reflected political differences in Lebanon before, during, and after the July 2006 War for their personal political interests. Consequently, Lebanese politicians are urged to avoid such abuse of language.

Chapter Three

Word Meaning in Lebanese Political Discourse

After giving an overview of related elements to meaning, it can be said that politicians can explain words used by their peers or opposition groups in a way that suits their interests and meet their own goals. Each political party gives a certain connotation for the same word used based upon the accumulated experience as seen in chapter two when dealing with connotation. Accordingly, the conflict of meanings resulting from the manipulation of the meaning of words done by Lebanese politicians before, during, and after the July 2006 War reflected the political differences in Lebanon as it is elaborated in this chapter. Words contribute in growing a certain belief (Diamond, 1969). Words are chosen in a certain way in political discourse to reach a political end (Gegeo, 1986). When politicians choose words, they may choose words with ambiguous meaning or even change the meaning of a certain word in order to reach a political end (Hodges, 1964). Moreover, the role of the receiver and hearer has been highlighted and is summarized by the fact that meaning is discussed between the producer and receiver of what is said (Hatim and Mason, 1990). The receiver may not get the intention of the producer by the word said (Hatim and Mason, 1990). Thus, one can talk about the manipulation of the meaning of words taking place where politicians try to reflect their personal internal intentions on what they receive.

Chapter three aims at illustrating how the same word has been given different meanings by different Lebanese politicians in their political speeches before, during, and after the July 2006 War although dictionaries, agreements, and organizations give the objective academic meaning of the same words used by politicians as is the case with the word 'disarmament' analyzed in the before the July 2006 War stage. The political statements are analyzed in their written form and not their oral form where they are taken from are print media and online print media. The analysis in this chapter will eventually deepen the

understanding of how different and sometimes new meanings are given to words. However, before delving into the analysis it is substantial to highlight certain points that contribute to having a clear description of examples chosen from the Lebanese political discourse for analysis.

At the outset, it is beneficial to give a quick political overview of the Lebanese political situation for the period extending four months before, during and four months after the July 2006 War. Undoubtedly, there are various examples where the different meanings of the same word reflect political differences in Lebanon; however, this thesis does not cover except eleven of them. Only eleven examples taken from Lebanese political discourse are discussed from a linguistic perspective without making any political analysis or judgment. The basis of this selection is when, the time and by whom, the persons the political statements were declared. From the period before the July 2006 War, the examples of 'disarmament' and 'delineation' are chosen. From the period during the July 2006 War, the example of 'accountability' is taken. From the period after the July 2006 War, the example of 'victory' and 'nation' is tackled. Thereby, it is noticeable that this time interval is a critical one in the Lebanese recent history. It is also remarkable that the eleven examples revolve around one connotation that is the 'possession of weapons'. These political statements were declared by senior popular politicians who were the main players in the Lebanese political arena. These three stages before, during, and after the July 2006 War have one common ground which is the political differences reflected in the use of the same word but with different opposing meanings among the Lebanese parties. Lebanese politicians are abusing language to reflect their differences and this is to be stopped for the sake of language, that is, the human tool of communication.

The United Nations Security Council Resolutions are taken in English from the United Nations website and online database of the Security Council. The political speeches

or statements are taken from the two Lebanese newspapers ‘Annahar’ and ‘Al-Mustaqbal’, the international television station ‘CNN online’, and Wa3ad Organization website.

‘Annahar’ newspaper was founded in 1933 and covered all Lebanese and non-Lebanese political developments at all levels. ‘Al-Mustaqbal’ covered different standpoints taken by different political parties in Lebanon. Wa3ad Organization website publishes full copy of all speeches delivered by Secretary General of Hizbulla Party Sayed Hassan Nassrallah. ‘CNN online’ is chosen as a source in order to go beyond the limits of purely Lebanese media.

In this regard, it is beneficial to point to the two main political forces in Lebanon that were in control of the Lebanese political discourse before, during, and after the July 2006 War. March 14 is the coalition of different Lebanese political parties that united to form an opposition against the Syrian tutelage and presence in Lebanon. March 14 led the ‘Cedars Revolution’ embodied in a demonstration on March 14, 2005 holding the slogan: ‘Freedom, Sovereignty, Independence’ in Martyrs’ Square, Downtown, Beirut. On the other hand, March 8 is the coalition of different political parties that led the demonstration on March 8, 2005 entitled ‘Loyalty to Syria’ in Riad Solih Square, Downtown, Beirut. March 14 are distinguished for their support of United Nations resolutions as they declare, while March 8 are distinguished for their opposition to the same resolutions as they declare. This political background is important to the understanding of the linguistic analysis made in this chapter.

Another essential point to be clarified before starting the analysis of the different meanings of words is that the political statements are translated from Arabic into English; however, the analysis of the meaning of the words in this chapter is based upon the original text that is Arabic. It is very crucial to take into consideration the translation credibility. The terminology used in the translation of the speeches taken from ‘Annahar’, Al-Mustaqbal’ and Wa3ad Organization is the terminology agreed upon and used in Lebanese and non-Lebanese media means. A conference interpreter, Rana Bou Raad, was selected to translate

the speeches from Arabic into English, for the full texts of speeches selected were not found in the target language, English. Conference interpreters are acquainted with political terminology (equivalent terms of Arabic in English) used by politicians and media means. Therefore, the words referred to are the agreed upon translation that best reflects the meaning in the target language. For instance, the use of the word 'accountability' during the 'Parliamentary Development Initiative in the Arab Region: Regional Workshop on Security Sector-Governance and Parliamentary Oversight in the Arab Region' organized by Geneva Center for Democratic Control of Armed Forces and United Nations Development Program on 12th-14th May 2006 at Coral Beach Hotel, Beirut, Lebanon there has been great focus on the importance of holding the governments accountable and the effect of accountability on governance, where the equivalent term of 'mouhasaba' in Arabic was 'accountability' in English. In addition, the interpreter uses literal translation and not free translation for the sake of accuracy and objectivity. Literal translation means word for word translation, where the interpreter does not change even in the sentence structure. Words are given their equivalents in English since the examples cannot be written in Arabic in this thesis. The meaning inferences made in analyzing the examples dealt with in this chapter are based on the connotation of words in the source language that is Arabic and not English. This is because the political differences reflected by the different meanings of the same word resulted from the use of those words in Arabic by the Arabic-speaking producers and receivers.

After pointing out the political background that accompanied the following linguistic analysis of speeches selected according to the above-mentioned explanation, the first example explains the different meanings given to the word 'disarmament' reflecting political differences in Lebanon. Resolution 1559, which was adopted by the United Nations Security Council at its 5028th meeting on 2 September 2004, was a turning point in the political

discourse in Lebanon. Different Lebanese politicians had different standpoints regarding this international resolution adopted by UN Security Council. In brief, the resolution addressed internal Lebanese political issues such as the election of a new president in Lebanon and which would not be tackled in this analysis. In addition, Resolution 1559 raised the issue of disarmament, which this chapter deals with linguistically and the issue of the Lebanese borders which is also dealt with based upon resolution 1680 for the latter reassured the importance of borders. The words used in this resolution reflected the political differences and there have been demands from different Lebanese leaders not to use the word 'disarmament'. Resolution 1559 stipulates in the second point the following: "...disbanding and disarmament of Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias" (UN Resolution 1559, 2004). Reference can be made to Appendix A (p. 63) for the full text of the resolution. It is beneficial to know different definitions given to the word 'disarmament' before referring to the different connotations reflecting different political parties in Lebanon. The Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, in Ban The Bomb Organization, defines 'disarmament' in its glossary as: "the reduction, limitation or complete abandonment of a nation's armed forces and military equipment..." (Ban The Bomb Organization, 2007). The Word Reference English dictionary (2007) defines 'disarmament' as: "[the] act of reducing or depriving of arms; the disarmament of the aggressor nations must be complete". James T. Shotwell (1926) in his article entitled *What is meant by security and disarmament* said that 'disarmament' is ambiguous to define and it can mean limitation, reduction, or abolition of armament, where each of the three different conceptions has different considerations. These are the different definitions given by organizations specialized in the field of disarmament and the common used source for any word definition, the dictionary that paves the way to mention the manipulated meanings given to the word 'disarmament' by different Lebanese parties, thus exploiting language for political interest and which is unacceptable.

Each of the Lebanese parties defines the word 'disarmament' based upon their experience and has different conceptions of it, in other words different connotations of it. Some of the Lebanese parties refuse the use of the word 'disarmament'. Others consider that the act of disarmament has the connotation of taking the weapons against the will of those possessing them and by force. Consequently, some political parties, due to the connotation of the word 'disarmament', refused resolution 1559, since the connotation was far from their ideologies, concepts, beliefs and emotional experience. This thesis does not refer to any of these beliefs since linguistics is its main concern rather than the discussion of political views; thus, reference is only made to these beliefs and political views without making any judgment. Therefore, in response to 'disarmament' mentioned in resolution 1559, Lebanese politicians used their own language having their hidden connotations for the words they have used in their political statements in response. The political statements given in response to Resolution 1559 were covered by local media, whether newspapers, television stations, or radio channels. Sayed Hassan Nassrallah is Secretary General of the Hizbulla party which possessed weapons for resistance used against Israeli occupation in South Lebanon and led the resistance against the Israeli aggression in July 2006. Also being a pro-Syrian and pro-Iranian, Hizbulla party was an ally in March 8 Forces that were with Syrian presence in Lebanon. Sayed Hassan Nassrallah declared in the speech he delivered during the opening ceremony of the 'Fourth Arab General Conference for Supporting the Resistance' held in Bristol Hotel in Beirut on 31 March, 2006: "Anyone in Lebanon or from outside cannot punish the Resistance and the one who wants to disarm us by force we will cut his hand and head and disarm him from his soul" (Annahar, 2006). Reference could be made to the source text in Arabic in Appendix B (p. 64). The denotation of the words used is clear and does not differ; however, the connotation of each word used in this sentence taken from a precise context in response to resolution 1559 differs based upon the intention of each party because,

as referred to previously, Wilkins (1975) says that the connotative meaning or word connotation is more interesting and related to the attitudes and emotional reactions of the language user regarding a specific word. Thus, it may occur in the language of politics that words of similar denotation have different connotations. Yet this connotative meaning is not to be exploited for the benefits of personal political goals. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that for the sake of accuracy, the connotation referred to in the analysis is based upon that of the Arabic word and not the English. The English term just refers to the equivalent term of the original one in Arabic.

The statement given by Sayed Hassan Nassrallah is evidence of his refusal of the connotation of 'disarmament' which is for some parties a symbol signifying the end of their active role as combatants. In this regard, the Secretary General on administrative and budgetary aspects of the financing of UN peacekeeping operations gave the following definition of 'disarmament' which the United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Organization (UNDDR), adopted as the accredited definition agreed upon:

“Disarmament is the collection, documentation, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives and light and heavy weapons of combatants and often also civilian population. Disarmament also includes the development of responsible arms management programs” (UNDDR, 2005).

In an attempt to analyze the statement of Sayed Hassan Nassrallah after highlighting the connotative aspect of the meaning of words, the following is noted. First, one has to know the connotation or intention behind 'in Lebanon'. Reference is made to the Lebanese without exceptions through the word 'anyone', which is in Arabic 'ahad' and through the word 'in', which is in Arabic 'fi' having the connotation of including everyone disregarding status, post, and belonging. In addition, the connotation of the word 'outside' can refer precisely to Israel and United States if read by the opponents of Hizbulla party that is March 14 Forces who were against possession of weapons by any party in Lebanon. However, if

read by a neutral party, the connotation of the word 'outside' does not only refer to Israel and United States but rather to any non-Lebanese third party.

Reference has to be made to the relation between the producer and receiver. As Salah Salim Ali (2005) points out, connotation leaves the interpretation open-ended and this depends to a large extent on whether the producer and receiver share the same culture, concepts and experience. By the negative form used in the statement of Sayed Hassan Nassrallah referred to on page 30 of this chapter, represented by 'not', the supporters of Hizbulla have the connotation that Hizbulla did nothing wrong and is right in all what it has done; thus no one has reason to punish it. The verb 'punish' has the connotation, that there is a wrong act committed and a certain authority is charged with punishing those committing the wrong act. In this case, the punishment is disarmament, which has the connotation of the inability to wage armed conflicts to some Lebanese parties. Once again, the use of these words with their ambiguous meanings due to the different connotations of the producer and receiver reflected the political differences in Lebanon.

In continuing the analysis of the statement given by Sayed Hassan Nassrallah, it is perceived that he continued his statement using strong violent words, which are considered having connotation of threat and intimidation for some parties and strength and power for others. Sayed Hassan Nassrallah had his own intention behind using violent words such as cutting as it is mentioned in chapter two of this thesis when referring to the relation between producer and hearer. Thus, the 'hand' can have the connotation of tools and means used and even of movement. The 'head' can have the connotation of the thought and mental processing resulting in beliefs. 'Disarm him from his soul' has the connotation of weapons being the soul of Hizbulla party. Sayed Hassan Nassrallah could have used the verb 'confront' or 'face' those who try to disarm Hizbulla party instead of 'cut' and 'disarm', but he had specific intentions behind the use of these words. Therefore, the open connotation

interpretation is reflecting how each Lebanese party understands the meaning of words based on its experience. However, one has to note if the meaning of the words used in Sayed Hassan Nassrallah's statement is understood by the receiver according to literal or nonliteral meaning of the words said because it might be that Sayed Hassan Nassrallah meant something different from what the words he used meant (Akmajian et al., 1993). One must not forget that Sayed Hassan Nassrallah is a religious figure, he is a sheikh who addresses his people using a style similar to that used in the holy Qoranic verses. Thus, the religious connotation of the words used has to be taken into consideration whenever one is to understand the hidden or implicit meaning of these words, since religion shapes ideologies and ideologies shape the meaning given to words even if there were recognized, agreed up meanings for words as is the case with the word 'disarmament'. Though, religion plays a role in giving meaning to words, however it is not the focus of this thesis.

Although the experience of receiver and producer differs leading to the difference in meaning of words, yet the pragmatic relations in linguistics can be referred to in this regard. The three components of linguistic speech acts, which Austin (1962) mentions and which Greg Henderson (1977) and Christopher Brown (1977) also highlights can help in understanding the meanings of the words. The locutionary act is what Sayed Hassan Nassrallah said and the illocutionary act is the different meanings based upon connotation already discussed. The perlocutionary act is the effect of warning, threat, or intimidation upon whom Sayed Hassan Nassrallah was addressing. This reflects that not everyone was of Sayed Hassan Nassrallah's political standpoint; as a result, the three linguistic acts reflect political differences in Lebanon.

The above statement reflects one Lebanese political view through the explanation given to the words used by one Lebanese party, which is Hizbulla party. Nonetheless, politicians in Lebanon have different views of one point, which is in this case Resolution

1559. In this regard, the translated text from what ‘Annahar’ newspaper published is the following:

“...The head of Executive Committee for the Lebanese Forces Samir Geagea blamed during the National Dialogue on April 4, 2006 Sayed Hassan Nassrallah on what he said few days before the National Dialogue, for saying that he would cut the hand and head of those who wanted to disarm the resistance and would disarm them from their soul and asked Sayed Hassan Nassrallah whether he was addressing his speech to the internal parties at the time that he had declared that the resistance’s weapons will not target the Lebanese internal arena. Sayed Hassan Nassrallah replied decisively that these weapons were not targeting the internal arena and would never do so and if some considered that those words were addressed to them, then this meant they were either feeling guilty or confused for making a mistake” (Annhar, 2006).

Reference can be made to Appendix C (p.65) of this thesis in order to read a full copy of the example taken from the National Dialogue, which included all Lebanese parties including the pro and against United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1559 who met in Beirut Downtown in closed sessions in order to solve all Lebanese internal affairs such as disarmament of militias, presidency, and electoral law in March 2006 before the ignition of July 2006 War. What Samir Geagea, Head of the Lebanese Forces that was against the Syrian presence in Lebanon and against Hizbulla party possessing any weapons, said in support of Resolution 1559, is a clear example of the fact that the connotation given to the words of the producer by the receiver reflected political differences among the Lebanese before the July 2006 War. It can be noticed that the connotation made by one party, who is in this case the receiver, is considering that the tool used for cutting the hand and head is the weapons of the Resistance, that is Hizbulla Party; the peer party, who is in this case the producer, even has their own connotation of the question addressed reflecting the intention of the producer.

On the issue of disarmament, another example is given, what Hassan Fadlallah, Lebanese deputy from the Block of Loyalty to the Resistance, that is supporters of Hizbulla Party, said on September 11, 2006 and which was published in newspapers: “...I call to the

despair of the possibility to defeat the Resistance or disarm it” (Al-Moustaqabl Newspaper, 2006). A full copy of the article is in Appendix D (p. 67).

In reference to The Free Dictionary by Farlex, (2007) ‘despair’ means: “to lose hope, to be overcome by a sense of futility or defeat”. In reference to a thesaurus, many words have been given as synonyms to the word despair: abandon, abandon hope, be hopeless, despond, drop, surrender, renounce, lose hope, and others (Roget’s New Millennium Thesaurus, 2007). Palmer (1981) refers to words that have the same meaning and which are known as synonyms. Hence, if one is to explain or understand the meaning of the verb despair, this can be done through referring to its synonyms, which give wider variety of meanings and connotations. As a result, the meaning of the verb despair is ‘drop’ or ‘surrender’. Thus, in this example, ‘to despair’ is understood based on the intention of the producer who is in this case deputy Hassan Fadlallah against Resolution 1559 and even the intention of the receiver who is either with or against resolution 1559. It might be that no reference is made to the synonyms of the verb ‘despair’ and the opposite might be true. That is, when using the verb ‘despair’, the synonyms of ‘despair’ are taken into consideration in order to pass a certain explicit meaning, which is in this case that Hizbulla Party will not give up its weapons. Thus, the choice of word used by one politician who is deputy Hassan Fadlallah reflects political differences on the issue of disarmament because some political parties against Hizbulla Party wanted the disarmament of Hizbulla and other parties were against disarmament for they were supporters and allies of Hizbulla Party. Consequently, it might happen that different parties take the synonym of ‘despair’ into account when trying to comprehend the meaning of the verb ‘to despair’ and reach their own political judgments based on the word and its synonyms (drop, lose hope, be hopeless and others) in order to achieve a certain political end. Thus, it can be said that the Lebanese are exploiting language, consciously or unconsciously, for their interest when they explain the meaning of a word in

link to being a synonym of another word. This constitutes a danger that has to be faced through having politicians stop their abuse of language.

Nevertheless, it can be noted that the synonyms which are one of the meaningful relations among words discussed in chapter two of this thesis, are an important factor in understanding the meaning of a word in a certain context, yet some respond to this as invalid. Palmer (1981) says, there are no real synonyms and no two words have the exact meaning. He considers that two words having the same meaning would not both survive in the same language. He is doubtful whether any true synonyms exist. Accordingly, reference is made to antonyms, so that the meaning of the verb used, 'despair', is understood. In reference to antonyms of verb 'despair', the following is found in the thesaurus: have faith, hope, look up, think positive, wish for, and others (Roget's New Millennium Thesaurus, 2007). Once again, the meanings of these different antonyms is considered by some to give the related meaning of the verb 'despair' reflecting the political differences in Lebanon. In the example handled in the above discussion, many inferences are made on the gradable antonyms where 'despair' is gradable antonym to 'surrender' because the degree of desperation differs and loss of hope too, thus leading to surrender.

Synonymy and antonymy are not the only two factors in the above analysis; speech acts (locutionary and illocutionary acts) also play a significant role in the meaning of 'despair'. The locutionary act is what deputy Hassan Fadlallah uttered, that is: "...I call to the despair of the possibility to defeat the Resistance or disarm it" (Al-Moustaqabl Newspaper, 2006). The illocutionary act is the intention of deputy Hassan Fadlallah in uttering those words, which can be either warning or showing refusal of disarmament based upon his intention. The perlocutionary act is the effect of what deputy Hassan Fadlallah said, meaning to stop any attempts taken to disarm Hizbulla Party.

As it is shown in the above discussion, linguistic approaches of meaningful relations among words reflect political differences among the Lebanese parties who tried to find solutions for their conflicts in the National Dialogue they held in March 2006 among which was an alternative word for 'disarmament' that is less problematic and does not have the connotation of using force to disarm any Lebanese party, precisely Hizbulla Party. An alternative word was adopted as a response to the objection on the use of the word 'disarmament' that had a negative unacceptable connotation to some political parties in Lebanon as is shown in the above discussion during the National Dialogue sessions, that is before the July 2006 War, and which included Lebanese parties with all their political differences that were reflected in the words used in the political discourse of the parties.

The alternative word or expression 'Defense Strategy' agreed upon by the Lebanese National Dialogue reflected connotations of different political parties. It is appropriate to highlight in this regard that the National Dialogue included all Lebanese party leaders including the pro and against United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1559, who met in Beirut Downtown in closed sessions in order to solve all Lebanese internal affairs such as disarmament of militias, presidency and electoral law in March 2006 before the ignition of July 2006 War. The Lebanese political party leaders, with no exception were present in the National Dialogue and agreed upon the meaning or meanings of 'Defense Strategy' (Annahar, 2006). The Lebanese political discourse was able to achieve consensus regarding 'disarmament' as the aim of political discourse is to reach a consensus among different parties to find the best action that best solves a problem (W. Johnson and T. Johnson, 2000). The word or expression 'National Strategy' chosen was agreed upon since it united different political parties in Lebanon. 'Defense Strategy' was the production of certain political concepts and thoughts, such as the interest of Lebanon, the sovereignty of Lebanese, the social safety and others agreed upon by the Lebanese parties as the approach given by S.

Glucksberg and J. Danks (1975) regarding possible meanings based on concepts, feelings, images and thoughts in addition to aim of political discourse (Weissenrieder, 1997)

The utterance 'Defense Strategy' reflects the Lebanese differences where each party expresses its thoughts, ideas, feelings, and concepts on meaning related to disarmament. Reference can be made to the National Dialogue discussions that were published in 'Annahar' newspaper and in Appendix E (p.70). Lebanese parties reflected the concept of disarmament in the expression 'Defense Strategy' as having weapons only in the hands of the army and disarmament is dealt with on a national level only and not with force. The Lebanese political discourse played its role in reaching an agreed upon solution which was the use of 'National Strategy' as W. Johnson and T. Johnson (2000) viewed political discourse. Therefore, it can be deduced that 'Defense Strategy', the alternative utterance used for 'disarmament', reflects how through the use of meaning, one aspect of language, politicians can reflect unity and not only differences. Thus, Lebanese politicians are called to use meaning, one aspect of language, appropriately to unite and cease the abuse of different meanings of words in language that reflects political differences.

The word 'disarmament' cannot be taken out of the Lebanese political context prevailing before the July 2006 War; Table 1 clarifies the context features showing how the same word is given different meanings thus reflecting political differences in Lebanon.

Table 1. 'Disarmament' Before July 2006 War

Word	Producer	Receiver	Time	Context	Political Discourse	Connotation
Disarmament	Resolution 1559	Lebanese people and politicians	Before July 2006 War	Index	No discrimination	Weapons taken by force
Disarmament	Hassan Nassralla	Lebanese people and politicians	Before July 2006 War	Presupposition	Power and control	Weapons not taken by force
National Strategy (alternative word used)	Lebanese National Dialogue	Lebanese people and politicians	Before July 2006 War	Index and Presuppositions	Consensus	Weapons not taken by force

Table 1 illustrates how the nature of the context helps in indicating the meaning of the word 'disarmament' whether index or presupposition. It also gives the implications made in the political discourse through the use of language, whether to unite, show power, reach consensus, or discriminate. Finally, it points out how each producer and receiver gave different connotations for the word 'disarmament'. Table 1 helps in illustrating how linguistic elements reflected political differences before the July 2006 War.

Resolution 1559, that led to having various political statements using words with different effects as linguistically described above reflecting at the same time political differences in Lebanon, constitutes the first part of the first stage before the July 2006 War. The second part of the first stage before the July 2006 War is directly related to United Nations Security Council Resolution 1680 and the use of the word 'delineation' or 'demarcation' of borders as is elaborated in the second part of chapter three.

The stage before the July 2006 War witnessed the holding of the Lebanese National Dialogue in March 2006 in Beirut aiming at solving Lebanese political problems and which led to adopting Resolution 1680 by United Nations Security Council at its 5540th meeting on 17 May 2006. This resolution dealt with a very essential issue which is the Lebanese borders. This issue is considered of a linguistic importance, in addition to its important political implications that is not dealt with in this context. Resolution 1680, as it came in the original text of the resolution published on the United Nations Security Council website, stipulates regarding the borders that it:

“... [s]trongly encourages the Government of Syria to respond positively to the request made by the Government of Lebanon, in line with the agreements of the Lebanese national dialogue, to delineate their common border, especially in those areas where the border is uncertain or disputed...” (United Nations, 2006, 2). Refer to Appendix F (p. 72) for English and Arabic versions of the resolution.

On the dispute that took place regarding the delineation or demarcation of the borders, ‘Annahar’ Lebanese newspaper covered the discussion that took place on April 29, 2006 during the Lebanese National Dialogue. According to the same source, Sayed Hassan Nassrallah, Secretary General of Hizbulla Party, which is a pro-Syrian party, considered that if the word ‘delineate’ is used, it reflects a negative connotation and offends Syria for Syria is a dear neighboring country to Lebanon and a strong relation has been established with Syria for years. Before making any linguistic analysis, it is to be noted that the connotation of the word ‘delineate’ is referred to the source text, that is Arabic ‘tarsim’. Thus, the word ‘delineate’ has the meaning of a distinct relation between the two countries and as if the Lebanese-Syrian borders are not acknowledged and fixed. Consequently, the request was to change ‘delineate’ and replace it by ‘demarc’ that is ‘tahdid’ in Arabic. During the National Dialogue Session held on April 29, 2006, Sayed Hassan Nassarallah informed the participants of the following: “... We have agreed on demarcating the borders in Shebaa

Farms and not on delineating the borders between the two countries” (Annahar, 2006). Refer to Appendix G (p. 76) for a full copy of the text.

On the other hand, deputy Walid Junblatt, head of Progressive Socialist Party and an anti-Syrian, used the words ‘delineate’ and ‘demarc’ interchangeably. Deputy Walid Junblatt on April 30, 2006, responded clarifying: “What has been agreed upon is delineating borders between the two countries and demarcing the Farms and not delineating them, based upon what president Bashar El-Assad had said in one of his conferences that those who delineate the borders in those Farms would be as if they were adopting the Israeli stand point ...”

(Annahar, 2006). Reference can be made to Appendix H (p. 78) for the full text. The meaning given by the Arabic monolingual dictionary is: “...delineate: setting boundaries for a land... demarc: to delimit, to draw” (El-Mounjid Language and Media Dictionary, 1996).

Meaning is taken from an Arabic dictionary since the analysis of connotations of words is made based upon the source language and words in English are just referred to as equivalent terms for those in Arabic disregarding their connotation in the English language.

After stating what was declared by Lebanese parties regarding delineation of borders and describing the political conditions when the word ‘delineation’ was used, one proceeds to the linguistic explanation for how words reflected political differences before the July 2006 War. Different parties used the linguistic differences, precisely the semantic one, in order to achieve political ends in Lebanon, although there is a clear definition of ‘delineate’ and ‘demarc’ in the dictionary which constitutes a credible reference resorted to by anyone who wants to know the meaning of either ‘delineate’ or ‘demarc’ to see the difference between the two. Yet it can be noted that politicians resorted to other means exploiting meaningful relations among words, such as synonymy. Why is that done as long as there is a clear definition of ‘delineate’ and ‘demarc’ given by language itself? Why are politicians giving different connotations that are related to historical relations between the two countries

and referring to statements given by other politicians? If one tries to find answers to these questions, one can see that these connotations and synonyms were given in an attempt to manipulate meaning of words, thus abusing language in an attempt to achieve political interests. Therefore, it is time that politicians curb their abuse of language.

The insistence of one party on the use of *delineate* and not *'demarc'* and the insistence of another party on the use of *'demarc'* and not *delineate* reflects a difference in the political end. As a consequence, the choice of words and the manipulation of their meaning reflect political difference in Lebanon; as Chilton (2004) says: "Small linguistic differences are to be exploited in politically different ways" (p. 10).

Deputy Walid Junblatt said on April 30, 2006 during the National Dialogue: "... that he insisted on fixing Shebaa Farms considering that delineation or demarcation were for the same objective" (Annahar, 2006). Reference could also be made to Appendix H (p. 78). This statement has an important linguistic significance for the speaker used *'or'*. The use of the word *'or'* introduces synonymy as one kind of meaningful relations among words. As a result, the use of *'or'* gives the same meaning for delineation and demarcation reflecting political difference in Lebanon. By this, it can also be said that the meaning of words and manipulating the meaningful relation among words reflected consensus on one issue among different Lebanese political parties. Nonetheless, deputy Walid Junblatt declared in one of his statements made on April 30, 2006: "... we said in the National Dialogue that fixing, demarcating or delineating has one meaning for the borders of Shebaa Farms" (Annahar, 2006). In this utterance, deputy Walid Junblatt considered fixing, demarcating, and delineating to be synonyms for he used *'or'*. The same linguistic significance is made where *'delineate'*, *'demarc'* and *'fix'* are synonyms and have sameness in meaning. Through this example, one notices how politicians manipulated the meaning of words and how when they did not want any difference in the political standpoint, found a different choice of words and many ways

out through language. Political thoughts are expressed through using words and in certain cases the manipulation of the meaning of words used in the political discourse reflects political tension since as Frank Tachau (1964), Nasr (1980) and Corder (1973) say, language is a tool for communication. Politics is based on communication; hence the tool used is language that has a delicate aspect discussed throughout this research, meaning.

The meaningful synonymy relation among words clarifies the reason of calling for using one word and not the other regarding ‘delineating’ or ‘demarcing’ the Lebanese-Syrian borders reflecting the political differences in Lebanon. The political differences are reflected through the manipulation made by Sayed Hassan Nassrallah ally in March 8 and deputy Walid Junblatt ally in March 14 for the meanings of the word ‘delineate’ reflecting political differences in Lebanon before the July 2006 War stage. Table 2 refers to the analysis of ‘delineate’ made in this chapter.

Table 2. ‘Delineate’ Before July 2006 War

Word	Producer	Receiver	Time	Context	Political Discourse	Connotation
Delineate	Hassan Nassrallah	Lebanese people and politicians	Before July 2006 War	Presupposition	Discrimination	Limitation of relations
Delineate or Demarc	Walid Junblatt	Lebanese people and politicians	Before July 2006 War	Presupposition	Exchange of views	Interchangeable meaning

Table 2 gives the nature of the context in which the words ‘delineate’ and ‘demarc’ were given, showing that they are subject to assumptions because the context is presupposition. In addition to mentioning the political discourse used by both produces, it helps in knowing the connotations given to ‘delineate’ and ‘demarc’.

Consequently, the July 2006 War stage also witnessed politicians using words reflecting their political standpoints and differences. July 2006 was a very critical period in Lebanese history for it had suffered from severe Israeli aggression that was resisted by Lebanese Hizbulla party. A political conflict among Lebanese parties reflected by the words used in the Lebanese political discourse accompanied the military armed conflict in Lebanon during the July 2006 War. In the Cairo Meeting, representing the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Prince Saoud El Faysal expressed the standpoint of the Kingdom regarding the Israeli aggression against Lebanon in a statement published by Annahar Lebanese newspaper stating that "...it was time to hold accountable the adventurers and to stop the biddings" (Annahar, 2006). In support of the Saudi statement, Deputy Saed El-Hariri, head of Future Bloc which was anti-Syrian, expressed his support of what the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia stated during his visit to Turkey on July 18, 2006:

"... the standpoint of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was rational, characterized by political wisdom and far from emotions because it was not time for compliments and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia said the truth in its statement for those adventurers put us in a critical situation due to their irresponsible adventure... We call for holding accountable those adventurers who pushed Lebanon into a crisis that it was needless of and it is required to say the truth even if it were painful..." (Annahar, 2006). For full text reference could be made to Appendix I (p. 80).

Deputy Saed El-Hariri used very important words 'holding accountable'. When one holds another accountable this means a punishment is given for the negative act taken and that resulted in having losses (Farlex, 2007).

Secretary General of Hizbulla party Sayed Hassan Nassrallah referred in his speech on December 7, 2006, to the issue of 'accountability' after July 2006 War. Since the use of the word of 'accountability' was raised during the July 2006 War by deputy Saed El-Hariri, its analysis is made in the context of the July 2006 War analysis. Sayed Hassan Nassrallah said: "... Let us hold each other accountable based upon our national and nation standpoints

which are for the interest of our country and nation...” (Wa3ad Organization, 2006, 5).

Reference could be made to Appendix J (p. 82).

It is noticed that the same words are used in a different way reflecting differences between two different political parties, which are the Future Party and its allies, who implicitly share the same meaning and understanding for ‘holding accountable’, and the Hizbulla Party and its allies, who also implicitly share another meaning and understanding for ‘holding accountable’. The same words are used by two different political forces but connote two different meanings in the same political status quo due to the sociolinguistic factor, the use of a word in a language community. The meaning of the word ‘accountable’ is understood based upon its use by the two language communities, that of March 8 and March 14 (Akmajian et al., 1993). For example, when one says ‘hello’ its meaning is its use in a sentence (Akmajian et al., 1993). Similarly, the conception of use for ‘holding accountable’ is defined differently in these two statements, reflecting two different definitions leading the receiver to presume that two political schools or parties have adopted the same words connoting different meanings. Each community has its own use of words where political discourse is used as a form of formal communication of ideas regarding a certain serious topic through the use of words whether spoken or written (D.W. Johnson and R.T. Johnson, 2000). In other words, the use of ‘holding accountable’ and its conception in the two mentioned statements reflects different political ideas or thoughts through the use of language. The meaning of ‘holding accountable’ has a refined clear meaning yet different for each of the two political parties as Hodges say (1964).

In further analysis of the above example, it is also noticed that if one is to understand the meaning of the word ‘accountability’ in the content of what was said by deputy Saed El-Hariri, the use of ‘those adventurers’ gives ‘accountability’ the connotation of retaliation. It can be deduced that the retaliation is not a military one of course but is a war that is waged

by words because the kind of ‘accountability’ referred to in this case is not holding accountable for not supporting Hizbulla party and communicating with the West during the July 2006 War as was the prevailing definition or concept of ‘accountability’ among March 8 Forces during the July 2006 War. Thus, the concept of ‘accountability’ referred to by Saed El-Hariri is different from that which Sayed Hassan Nassrallah responded with. It can also be deduced that Sayed Hassan Nassrallah is referring to the meaning that accumulated from the Hizbulla party experience during the July 2006 War. Thus, the acts of not supporting Hizbulla party and communicating with the West are the acts to be held ‘accountable’ before the Lebanese people and courts. In this regard the meaning referred to by each of the two speakers has reflected political differences in Lebanon since the meaning of the word ‘accountability’ differs.

The two speakers, deputy Saed El-Hariri and Sayed Hassan Nassrallah, used language as a tool to express through speaking or writing what they thought. They both expressed their different ideas, thoughts, concepts, and views through the different meanings given to the same word of the same language. Language uses words and words have meaning. In its turn, the meaning of the word ‘accountability’ cannot be separated from its use, which depends to a large extent on the experience of deputy Saed El-Hariri and Sayed Hassan Nassrallah using the word ‘accountability’ as Lesley Jeffries (1998) says in her book *Meaning in English: An introduction to language study the following*. Consequently, the linguistic community difference in the connotation that deputy Saed El-Hariri gave to the word ‘accountability’ accompanied by ‘adventurers’ in the content previously specified and that of the connotation given by Sayed Hassan Nassrallah to the word ‘accountability’ reflected political differences in Lebanon.

Furthermore, in reference to the relation between politics and language pointed out in chapter one, language enabled deputy Saed El-Hariri and Sayed Hassan Nassrallah to use the

word ‘accountability’ based upon the political discussions which are not the concern of this thesis but were held regarding past and current (that is during the July 2006 War) issues related to ‘accountability’ using language as the essential tool for sharing or contrasting visions (Gardenfors, Chilton, 2004). Thus, through the existing relation between language and politics, the conflict in the meanings of the same word ‘accountability’ used by the two representatives of the two Lebanese opposing parties had reflected the tension and division among the Lebanese political parties than the armed aggression launched by Israel on Lebanon as discussed in this chapter.

Another linguistic factor that can be taken into account is that words intensify a certain belief as Sigmund Diamond (1969) said. As a matter of fact, Sayed Hassan Nassrallah did not reply that Hizbulla Party in turn was ready to be held accountable; on the contrary he replied that it was them who were to hold accountable.

Moreover, in analyzing the sentence made by deputy Saed El-Hariri “...We call for holding accountable those adventurers who pushed Lebanon into a crisis...” (Annahar, 2006), one notices that the surface sentence structure generates an infinite number of deep structures that in turn reflects different understandings of the same sentence by different Lebanese politicians. Thus, the surface structure is to punish but the deep structure is that Hizbulla party conducted an illegal act which was the July 2006 War reflecting once again political differences in Lebanon during the July 2006 War.

By this saying and referring to the other connotation of ‘accountability’, the belief of Hizubulla did not consider that igniting the July 2006 War was an act to be held accountable for and at the same time intensified their belief in their right to igniting the War. Knowing that, the political party represented by Saed El-Hariri had a different political belief where igniting the July 2006 War was considered an act that one was to be held accountable for announcing this through his statement stipulated on page 43 of this chapter. These two

political beliefs of the July 2006 War are reflected through the different connotations given to the same word 'accountability' used by both political parties. In addition to the linguistic factor related to the intensification of the two different beliefs through giving different meanings to the same word 'accountability', reference can be made to presuppositions regarding the word 'accountability' reflecting political differences in Lebanon. The use of the word 'accountability' leads to different presuppositions. When the producer, that is the speaker deputy Saed El-Hariri, said 'holding accountable', this presupposed that there is an illegal act taken by Hizbulla Party. Thus, Hizbulla Party had to be punished and to bear full responsibility for their abducting two Israeli soldiers leading to the ignition of the July 2006 War. This punishment includes different measures, which are not the concern in this linguistic analysis. Both Deputy Saed El-Hariri and Sayed Hassan Nassrallah push the receiver to presuppose that there is an illegal act taken and here lies the difference in the illegal act referred to by the two producers. The following example taken from Jeffries (1998) constitutes a clear explanatory analogy that best explains presupposition and its relation to reflecting political differences in Lebanon: "Will you get some milk while [you are] at the shops" (p.15). This utterance presupposes that the receiver was going to the shops and that there were shops that sold milk. But if there were no shops and no receiver then this sentence is unusable (Jeffries, 1998). By the same token, when dealing with 'holding accountable' said by deputy Saed El-Hariri during July 2006 War, if there is not an act to which the addressee is to be held accountable for, this sentence is unusable. Moreover, if there were no addressees who included the Lebanese parties, 'holding accountable' is considered unusable (Jeffries, 1998). The presupposition of having an addressee and an illegal act, made 'hold accountable', reflect political differences in Lebanon during July 2006 War because the addressees or receivers and the act referred to differed.

After looking into the details of the different connotations of 'holding accountable', it is also substantial to mention that the meaning of 'accountability' or 'hold accountable' made by any of the two producers or speakers Deputy Saed El-Hariri and Sayed Hassan Nassrallah can change the concept of 'accountability' in reference to meaning as concept theory. The word 'accountability' was selected and used by both deputy Saed El-Hariri and Sayed Hassan Nassrallah for each to reach his political end as K.A. Watson Gegeo (1986) says in his published article *The study of language use in Oceania*. Language provides speakers with a choice of words and in light of what Saed El-Hariri said, one notes an important word he used. It was the word 'adventurers' for it made the receivers directly get the negative connotation of 'accountability' and that the 'adventurers' were to be held accountable meant that they were to be punished. The meaning of one word 'accountability' cannot be separated from other words deputy Saed El-Hariri used in his sentence (Evans, 1961). Deputy Saed El-Hariri used 'holding accountable' in order to express his idea, which could have been that they, that is his party and allies were in power and had the authority to hold Hizbulla Party accountable. In return, also Hizbulla Party, represented by its Secretary General Sayed Hassan Nassrallah, used the same word 'accountability' to express the same idea that they, that is Hizbulla Party and its allies, also had the power to hold others 'accountable' and punish them for acts taken. Therefore, it is noticed that language is being used even abused in order to reflect the difference that Lebanese political parties have regarding 'holding accountable'. However, it is remarkable that the same political parties have abused the linguistic and sociolinguistic elements pointed to above, not to stress on the difference in the meaning of 'accountability' but in 'who' will hold the other accountable and 'who' has the power to do so. The 'holding accountable' in their political discourse was to show power and control.

As a result, the conflict of the meaning of words during the July 2006 War reflected a conflict of ideas leading to the reflection of the political differences in Lebanon. Thus, it is easy for politicians to change or manipulate the meaning of the word they use based upon the concept or idea they want to signify as it is clear in Saed El-Hariri referring to a new definition of 'accountability' and 'who' is 'holding accountable'. The 'accountability' referred to the act of taking a unilateral decision and not supporting Hizbulla party during the July 2006 War. This concept of 'accountability' appeared to be different for Hizbulla and its allies. Consequently, the manipulation of meaning of words reflected strong political differences among the Lebanese during the July 2006 War regarding who has the power over others.

Further, through the incompatibility of meaningful relation existing among words as referred to in chapter two, the use of the word 'accountable' by deputy Saed El-Hariri excludes the meaning of the word 'impunity'. The word 'accountable' includes the meaning of punishment and 'impunity' is the reverse as Wilkins (1975) referred to incompatibility highlighted in chapter two of this thesis. However, Sayed Hassan Nassrallah as discussed in the analysis of his statement on the issue of accountability would not exclude 'impunity' because he had a different meaning of 'accountability' and he tried to reflect that they had the power to exclude impunity. Thus, through the different meanings given to the same word even the incompatibility of words reflected political differences in Lebanon during July 2006 War regarding 'who' was in control. Therefore, politicians were fighting in Lebanon a battle of words that reflected the Lebanese political differences and conflict over power.

Table 3 helps in understanding the political discourse used and the context.

Table 3. 'Accountability' During July 2006 War

Word	Producer	Receiver	Time	Context	Political Discourse	Connotation
Hold accountable	Saed El-Hariri	Lebanese people and politicians	During July 2006 War	Index and presupposition	Control and power	Concept and punishment
Hold accountable	Hassan Nassralla	Lebanese people and politicians	During July 2006 War	Index and presupposition	Control and power	Ideology and punishment

Table 3 refers to the context, political discourse, and connotation which turned out to be the same for both Saed El-Hariri and Sayed Hassan Nassrallah. Consequently, pointing out that though politicians abused language attempting to reflect different meanings for 'holding accountability', yet the meaning is the same and the difference lies in 'who' holds the other accountable, in other words 'who' has the power and can use it, knowing that language has a clear definition of 'holding accountable' as given by the Farlex dictionary.

It is noticed through the analysis made about the stage during the July 2006 War that connotation, word choice, linguistic community experience with a word, and presuppositions were used by Lebanese politicians to reflect their political differences. Therefore, it is significant to highlight that even if politicians are doing so, this does not mean they have the right to abuse language which is a peaceful tool of communication. The third stage of linguistic study conducted is that of studying and analyzing the Lebanese political discourse after the July 2006 War. War has a result, which is defeat, victory or signing a ceasefire agreement agreed up on by all parties. The July 2006 War ended in August 2006; thus the political discourse of concern is that after August 2006. Various political statements were given on the result of July 2006 War, whether it was a defeat or a victory. It is necessary to

highlight that judgment is not made regarding victory or defeat from any political perspective or taking side with any party. Stress is only made on two political discourses dealing with the result of the July 2006 War, that given by deputy Walid Junblatt, head of the Progressive Socialist Party in Lebanon on September 19, 2006 and the speech of Sayed Hassan Nassrallah, Secretary General of Hizbulla Party, delivered during the Victory Day celebrated on September 22, 2006.

The July 2006 War ended but what started was a war of words for the choice of language, specifically the choice of words which had different meanings, constituted a very strong and possible weapon used in the struggle for power as Donald Gruise O'Brien (1998) says in his published article under the title *The shadow: Politics of Wolofisation*. On September 19, 2006 deputy Walid Junblatt declared the following:

“... The victory is practical victory far from any divine and jurisprudential interpretation; it is a victory that all of Lebanon participated in achieving each in their way” (El-Mustaqbal, 2006).

Refer to Appendix K (p. 84) for full text given by deputy Walid Junblatt.

The word ‘victory’ is given a certain concept based upon the mentalists’ concept theory of meaning. On the other hand, three days after the statement of deputy Walid Junblatt on victory, Sayed Hassan Nassrallah Secretary General of Hizbullah Party during the celebration of the Victory Day September 22, 2006 talked about victory in the speech he addressed to thousands of supporters. Sayed Hassan Nassrallah said:

“... You should celebrate this divine and strategic victory ... This victory that has been achieved is not a categorical one, it is a victory for all Christian and Muslim honorable ...” (CNN, 2006 and Annahar 2006).

Reference can be made to Appendix L (p. 85) for full text.

It was not the first time that Sayed Hassan Nassrallah talked about victory after war, for during the July 2006 in his televised speech broadcasted by television channels on July 29, 2006 spoke about victory, which he referred to then as pending victory because the war was

still going on. He said then that victory was for all those who stood beside Lebanon and defended it either by voice or actions (SITE Institute, 2006). The meaning of the word 'victory' is discussed between the producer and receiver reflecting political difference in Lebanon. The receiver of the words said by deputy Walid Junblatt may not get his intention as a producer using the word 'victory'. The producer who was Sayed Hassan Nassrallah and the receivers who were either his supporters or against him have different intentions for the same word 'victory' used as Hatim and Mason (1990) say. The intention behind using the word 'victory' differs from one receiver to the other. Furthermore, it is noticed that the Lebanese have different concepts given to the meaning of the word 'victory' for each political party would include additional information to the concept of 'victory'. Thus, when Sayed Hassan Nassrallah used the noun 'victory' it can be that he had the concept of killing Israeli soldiers even if there were destruction and occupation in one part of the country. Whereas, when deputy Walid Junblatt used the noun 'victory', it can be that he had the concept of having no occupation and losses even if Israeli soldiers were killed. This in turn would reflect political differences in Lebanon after the July 2006 War.

After pointing out the important role of the relation between the receiver and the producer and the meaning of the word as concept, a comparison made to an example taken from the United Kingdom in 1999 context can be valid. In 1999, the United Kingdom was witnessing reform in the House of Lords, thus new legislations were introduced. A spokesperson of the United Kingdom Labor government was interviewed by BBC Radio 4's Today programme. The interviewer asked her about the "future composition of the chamber" and she replied that it would be "properly representative" (Chilton, 2004, 6). The interviewer noticed that she said "properly representative" and not "properly democratic". This led the spokesperson to say, "we are not talking about semantics now" when the interviewer asked her to clarify the word 'representative' (Chilton, 2004, 6). It is important to point out that

British politicians often use the latter phrase in order to avoid touching upon certain sensitive political matters. However, in this example it is important to know what 'representative' meant since it can be that the government appointed the members according to a democratic election process (Chilton, 2006). In parallel, it is important for the receivers, that is all Lebanese parties, to understand what is meant by 'divine victory', specifically that divine differs from one receiver to the other based upon his or her religion, for what is divine for a Christian is not divine for a Muslim and vice versa. This leads to saying that 'divine' is a word associated with or used by a religious group in Lebanon, as Jeffries (1998) said regarding the use of a word by the community. Thus, the word 'divine victory' reflects religious difference and this reflected political differences in Lebanon for it could be said that religious belonging in Lebanon reflected in a way or another political belonging. Although it is unacceptable that Lebanese politicians hide behind linguistic differences, it is noticed that once again, the different meanings of the word 'divine' led the politicians to achieve certain political ends through using it. The difference in the meaning of the word 'divine' can lead to manipulation by the opposition receivers and manipulation of meanings of words was the implicit goal for politicians in Lebanon as Eric Raymond (1988) says regarding politicians manipulating the meaning of words for certain purposes.

The mentalists' theory of meaning as image (Kempson, 1977) where the understanding of the word 'divine victory' is based upon the image the producers or receivers had in their minds for 'divine victory', deepens the reflection of political differences in Lebanon after the July 2006 War. Sayed Hassan Nassrallah had the image of 'divine' for 'victory' but not every 'victory' is divine as not every triangle is equilateral (Kempson, 1977). The same is applied to 'practical victory', where deputy Walid Junblatt cannot have the image of 'practical' for every 'victory' as the Alsatian and the owner of a miniature poodle had different images for 'dog' (Kempson, 1977). Thus, Lebanese

politicians were abusing the meaning of 'victory' as an image in order to reflect their political differences in Lebanon after the July 2006 War, although this is unacceptable.

In order to understand the meaning of the word 'victory', one has to look at the actions of those who claim that victory is achieved in relevance to what Eric Raymond (1988) says: "... a democrat is as a 'Democrat' does; a socialist is as a 'Socialist' does" (p. 1). The fact that there are different actions looked at to give the meaning of the word 'victory' for some consider the act taken as divine and others as an adventure, then this reflects once again political differences in Lebanon. Lisa Schneilingher and Mouhamad El Khatib (2006) in their book *War of words: How can Arab and American journalists agree on having better media coverage*, consider that the words used by journalists play a very important role in delivering their story and in viewing things, for the words chosen often reflect different kinds of judgments made through the use of certain words. The journalist knows the meaning of the word used but he or she cannot guarantee that the receiver has the same meaning for the same word. By comparison, Sayed Hassan Nassrallah knew the meaning of the word 'divine victory' but the receivers might have shared with him the same meaning or might have had a different meaning for it. This difference in meaning of course has many reasons: social, personal, political, religious, historical, geographic, and others. Hence, the absence of one meaning for 'divine victory' reflected political differences in Lebanon after the July 2006 War. The choice of the word 'divine victory' has its implications and reflected a political belonging, even a wider belonging which can extend to be national and regional such as in the following example. After September 11, 2001 attacks against the United States, the word 'terrorism' was used. Yet, till the present there has not been an agreed upon definition for the word 'terrorism'. In other words, no one meaning is given to 'terrorism'. The word 'terrorism' is of different kinds: political terrorism, national terrorism, and even 'terrorism' according to Qaeda leader Osama Bin Ladin's way. For

example, some consider that violating laws as terrorism, others consider what was happening in Iraq as terrorism and so on and so forth (Schneilingher and El-Khatib, 2006). By the same analogy the word 'victory' in Lebanon is given different meanings and used differently by politicians. The Lebanese did not reach a unified agreed upon meaning for 'victory' after the July 2006 War through their abuse of the absence of a single meaning for the word 'victory' disregarding whether divine or not, reflect political differences in Lebanon. As previously mentioned, connotations of words are given based on accumulated experience, that is, the images, feelings, ideas, and concepts that the receiver produces when a word is heard or a producer has when a word is processed (Akmajian et al., 1975). The different meanings of victory reflected different political experiences in Lebanon and, consequently, reflected political differences among the Lebanese after the July 2006 War.

Another analogy can be made with the following example. On February 23, 2006 El-Arabia and El-Jazzira television stations covered the same incident: the killing of El-Arabia correspondent Attwar Bahjat in Iraq. Both television channels broadcasted this incident under breaking news. El-Arabia said: "Killing of El-Arabia correspondent and two of her assistants" (Schneilingher and El-Khatib, 2006, 40), whereas, El-Jazzera said: "Attwar Bahjat and two of her colleagues fell martyrs in Iraq" (Schneilingher and El-Khatib, 2006, 40). The use of words or the choice of words can be distinguished in both television channels covering the same story. The receiver has implicit meanings and connotations based upon the points of view reflected through the choice of words "killed" or "martyrs" and this shows the political belonging of the media (Schneilingher and El-Khatib, 2006). The same applies to 'victory'; the choice of the word 'divine victory' or 'practical victory' implicitly includes a certain meaning and reflects a certain political belonging to the reader or receiver. Thus, 'divine victory' and 'practical victory' reflected political differences in Lebanon. Brian Whitaker (2006) says in his article entitled *Resolutions and irresolution*: "When I use a

word. ... it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less” (p. 1). Table 4 refers to the political discourse and context for the use of word ‘victory’.

Table 4. ‘Victory’ After July 2006 War

Word	Producer	Receiver	Time	Context	Political Discourse	Connotation
Practical victory	Walid Junbaltt	Lebanese people and politicians	After July 2006 War	Index and Presupposition	Exchange of views	Accumulated experience of measuring loss
Divine victory	Hassan Nassralla	Lebanese people and politicians	After July 2006 War	Index and Presupposition	Values, ideologies, and power	Accumulated experience of religious action

Table 4 shows the difference in the accumulated experience through the different connotations given to ‘victory’. In addition, it shows the intention of the political discourse which has differed between the two parties.

Moreover, in light of understanding the meaning of the word ‘victory’ reference can be made to the link Sayed Hassan Nassrallah made between ‘victory’ and the ‘Nation’ for then it is easier to understand why he has described it as ‘divine victory’. On August 15, 2006 the day all internally displaced persons of South Lebanon returned to their villages, in a televised speech broadcasted by El-Manar tv Sayed Hassan Nassrallah said:

“...What we are living today and I do not want to get into assessing it and getting into its details, but I can summarize it in one word and there is no exaggeration in that, we are in front of a strategic and historical victory for Lebanon all Lebanon, for the Resistance, and for the Nation all the Nation...” (Wa3ad Organization, 2006). Refer to Appendix M (p.89) for the full copy of the text.

If one gets into the meaning of ‘Nation’ for Hizbulla Party, the ideology and religious Islamic doctrine behind it, one understands why Sayed Hassan Nassrallah describes ‘victory’ as ‘divine’ although language in the dictionary defines ‘victory’ as the act of

winning or success in a struggle (Farlex, 2007). The 'Nation' refers to all the Muslim population in all the Arab countries which are to live in unity and defend each other.

As a consequence, politicians choose words, according to what they want them to mean. The different meanings reflected political differences in Lebanon.

The three stages referred to include many more examples and a broader analysis can be made, but few sample examples are taken and analyzed linguistically based upon meaningful relations among words, speech acts, presuppositions, and deep structure. Other non-linguistic factors might have played a role in reflecting political differences in Lebanon but are not at issue in this thesis.

Chapter Four

Conclusions, Limitations, and Suggestions

This thesis is conducted in two correlated fields: language and politics. Politics uses language as a tool (Corder, 1973) reflecting political differences and Chilton (2004) said that without language political activities do not exist. This thesis contributes to language and politics in Lebanon where it has analyzed examples of political statements given by Lebanese politicians before, during, and after the July 2006 War. These examples are taken from the Lebanese political discourse based upon the United Nations Security Council Resolutions in order to avoid arbitrary examples without any common point or link. In addition, the political statements analyzed are subject to linguistic analysis far from other political, religious, ethnical, historical, or geopolitical analysis.

It can be said that the meaning of words is what is written in dictionaries, resolutions, or agreements; however, this thesis contributes in widening the search for the meaning of words from a linguistic perspective. Meaning, as Lesley Jeffries (1998) says, can be an agreed upon definition of a word at a certain timing and in certain circumstances. Circumstances and timing have changed in Lebanon permitting politicians to manipulate the meaning of words according to what best suits their policies. The different meanings used for words reflected different policies. The meaning of words depends on the accumulated experience of both receiver and speaker which is referred to as connotation. Consequently, connotations of one word differ from one party to the other, reflecting different political experiences, standpoints, and opinions. Thus, connotation of a word is the most important feature of meaning, yet not the only one.

Nevertheless, through the concept theory of meaning (Kempson, 1977) which is a linguistic explanation for the use of the same word but with different meanings used by different politicians in Lebanon reflected political difference before, during, and after the

July 2006 War. The analysis in chapter three demonstrates how politicians in Lebanon had different concepts and how language, specifically words, was used reflecting differences. The words chosen by Lebanese politicians left an impact on the receivers helping in achieving certain political ends through language. Thus, language is a peaceful means used to disseminate different Lebanese political concepts of different Lebanese political parties, noting that linguistic factors played a role through connotations given to the words chosen in the political statements made. Lebanese politicians chose the words used in their speeches before, during, and after the July 2006 War because language, specifically meanings, is at the service of humans to communicate and express different opinions and points of view. Reference can be made in this regard to what Chilton (2004) said: "...choice of language, or features of it, can implicitly signal political distinctions... [through] choosing words associated with particular political ideologies" (201).

Chapters one and two of this thesis provide a brief linguistic overview that is illustrative for the reader to understand the analysis made although there are other linguistic factors that also contribute to how the manipulation of different meanings of the same word reflected political differences in Lebanon before, during, and after the July 2006 War.

Moreover, in light of the analysis made, one concludes that linguistic factors tackled in chapters one and two, such as different theories of meaning, meaningful relations among words: synonymy, antonymy, connotation, and sociolinguistic factors including pragmatics, speech acts and syntactic structures play an essential role in how different meanings of words used in the Lebanese political discourse reflected political differences in Lebanon before, during, and after the July 2006 War.

Undoubtedly, as is the case with any topic researchers conduct studies on and analyze, there is no one case where one factor is the reason behind any result in any field of research. In addition, theories, methodologies, approaches, strategies, or policies developed

are proven to be incomplete due to opposing opinions and views that try to prove the opposite in any field including linguistics, specifically semantics and politics. Thus, one can say that society, culture, religion, education, knowledge, political history of Lebanon, and plurality in Lebanon played a significant role in reflecting political differences before, during, and after the July 2006 War besides linguistics. Chilton (2004) illustrates that also non-linguistic factors reflect political differences through his deepened analysis of political speeches made by different officials showing that space, geography, territory, time, religion, and modality contribute in reflecting political differences through political discourse. An example of a non-linguistic factor reflecting political differences is how the historical knowledge can be more of a reason for having Sayed Hassan Nassrallah addressing his people as being 'honorable' in his speech on September 22, 2006 in chapter three. This goes back to the Israeli-Arab conflict where the Arabs' fight against the Jews was an honorable act. The Arabs who fought against Israel are considered as loyal to the Arab cause deserving respect and those who did not are considered as traitors who do not deserve respect and honor.

In this limited research paper, it is impossible to tackle meaning from its multidimensional perspectives, where the meaning of any word is understood or approached from different perspectives. For example, what adds more different meanings of the same word is the meaning carried by the voice of the speaker, the pitch, whether high, medium or low, level tones, whether falling tones or rising tones, intonation, gestures, style, and rhythm (Lesley Jeffries, 1998). Moreover, the concept of competence and performance introduced by Noam Chomsky constitutes another element or factor in studying the meaning of words which further studies may take into consideration.

The analysis made in this thesis constitutes the departure point for further linguistic studies dealing with the contribution of linguistics in reflecting political differences in

Lebanon through the use of different meanings for the same word before, during, and after the July 2006 War, despite the fact that this thesis focuses mainly on semantics and part of the sociolinguistic factors.

The political statements referred to in chapter three are dealt with only as print, that is, written text and not spoken text. Thus, in order to have a complete integrated analysis of word meanings, another research can be done to follow up with this thesis analyzing the same political statements mentioned in chapter three as spoken or oral statements where the voice of the producer plays a role also in expressing connotation or meaning of the word used.

Among the difficulties faced in writing this thesis is the selection of the literature review. The literature review had to give a brief yet detailed knowledge of different linguistic theories of meaning, as it was discovered at later stages that there has been the need to talk more about content and deep structure. The difficulty also lies in selecting the examples taken from the Lebanese political discourse before, during, and after the July 2006 War because, even till the day when this thesis was published, different credible examples in the year 2007 constituted good material for the analysis made in the thesis. Thus, a complementary in-depth study can be conducted on the same topic but with additional examples.

Could it be said that the Lebanese are fighting a battle of words? Is it true that the Lebanese reflected their political differences through their exploitation of language and manipulation of the meaning of words before, during, and after the July 2006 War? Language gives human beings the ability to express their thoughts, feelings, and concepts. Language simply uses words. Words have meanings. Undoubtedly, these different meanings reflected different political perspectives, that is, political differences.

In conclusion, human beings are living in a world of multi-battles where every person is fighting in his or her own way. Some resorted to violent battles of destructive weapons while others are struggling in the battle of words. One turning point between these two battles is a single decision expressed in words by politicians. A word might launch a war, and Lebanon is tired of its persistent wars. Thus, it is time that Lebanese politicians take a courageous decision, which is to keep language the peaceful tool used in the political life. Politicians are called to use linguistic differences, specifically semantics pointed out in this thesis, to unify their opinions and eliminate disparities using language and not abuse the same linguistic differences, specifically semantics, to reflect their political differences.

Appendix A. Resolution 1559

United Nations S/RES/1559 (2004)

Security Council Distr.: General

2 September 2004

04-49892 (E)

0449892**Resolution 1559 (2004)****Adopted by the Security Council at its 5028th meeting, on
2 September 2004***The Security Council.*

Recalling all its previous resolutions on Lebanon, in particular resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) of 19 March 1978, resolution 520 (1982) of 17 September 1982, and resolution 1553 (2004) of 29 July 2004 as well as the statements of its President on the situation in Lebanon, in particular the statement of 18 June 2000 (S/PRST/2000/21).

Reiterating its strong support for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized borders, *Noting* the determination of Lebanon to ensure the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces from Lebanon,

Gravely concerned at the continued presence of armed militias in Lebanon, which prevent the Lebanese Government from exercising its full sovereignty over all Lebanese territory,

Reaffirming the importance of the extension of the control of the Government of Lebanon over all Lebanese territory,

Mindful of the upcoming Lebanese presidential elections and *underlining* the importance of free and fair elections according to Lebanese constitutional rules devised without foreign interference or influence,

1. *Reaffirms* its call for the strict respect of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity, and political independence of Lebanon under the sole and exclusive authority of the Government of Lebanon throughout Lebanon;
2. *Calls upon* all remaining foreign forces to withdraw from Lebanon;
3. *Calls for* the disbanding and disarmament of all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias;
4. *Supports* the extension of the control of the Government of Lebanon over all Lebanese territory;

2

S/RES/1559 (2004)

5. *Declares* its support for a free and fair electoral process in Lebanon's upcoming presidential election conducted according to Lebanese constitutional rules devised without foreign interference or influence;

6. *Calls upon* all parties concerned to cooperate fully and urgently with the Security Council for the full implementation of this and all relevant resolutions concerning the restoration of the territorial integrity, full sovereignty, and political independence of Lebanon;

7. *Requests* that the Secretary-General report to the Security Council within thirty days on the implementation by the parties of this resolution and *decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

31-03-2006 النهار

مؤتمر دعم المقاومة" تحدث فيه الحص ومشعل وصدقي

نصرالله: من يريد نزع سلاح المقاومة سنقطع يده ورأسه وننزع روحه

كد الأمين العام لـ"حزب الله" السيد حسن نصرالله "ان احدا في لبنان او خارجه لا يستطيع معاقبة المقاومة ومن يريد ان ينزع سلاحها بالقوة سنقطع يده ورأسه وننزع روحه".

وقد تحدث نصرالله في افتتاح "المؤتمر العربي العام الرابع لدعم المقاومة" في فندق بريستول في الحمراء امس في حضور حشد من الشخصيات اللبنانية والعربية.

وخاطب نصرالله الحضور "اعلن امامكم ان الدولة في لبنان لم تتحمل مسؤولياتها يوما في مواجهة الصراع العربي الاسرائيلي وفي الدفاع عن لبنان وجنوبه"، ولاحظ "ان المشروع الاميركي الدولي في لبنان وصل الى طريق مسدود".

ودعا المؤتمر الى المساعدة في معرفة مصير الامام السيد موسى الصدر. وعندما حمل لبيبا مسؤولية اختفاء الاخير، قاطعه احد المشاركين اللبنيين قائلا: "هذا الكلام غير صحيح ولا تحمل لبيبا المسؤولية".

لكن نصرالله استدرك: "انا لم اجرح احدا واقدر حساسية هذا الموضوع".

بداية تحدث الدكتور خير الدين حسيب وقال: "ان استهداف المقاومة اللبنانية لا ينفصل عن استهداف سلاح الاخوة الفلسطينيين الذين دفعوا، وما زالوا، غالبا ثمنا للاطمئنان الى الضمانات الدولية وخصوصا منذ مجازر صبرا وشاتيلا عام 1982. ان المقاومة اللبنانية هي قوة للبنان كله بل هي التعبير الاسمي عن روح اللبنانيين(...)".

التاريخ 04-04-2006

بري: احترامي لرئيس الحكومة معروف و"ليخيط المزايدون بغير هالمسلة"
الحوار - 5 عتاب بين السنيورة ونصراالله وسؤال لجمعع عن السلاح
28 نيسان الموعد الأخير لبتّ موضوع الرئاسة سلباً أو إيجاباً

كتبت ريتا شرارة

في مرور شهر على بدنه، بات سيناريو الحوار واضحاً: طرح المشكلة على الرأي العام قبل ان تشبع تداولاً وتشنجاً وتحدياً، ثم تحرك السفراء، او بعض السفراء المحظيين للتأكيد ان لا مخرج لهذه المشكلة الا بالحوار، ولابداء كل ثقة بجدوى الطاولة المنصوبة في الطبقة الثالثة في مجلس النواب منذ ما يقارب 30 يوماً، فإقبال الشخصيات "باب اول" دائماً ومعهم معاونوهم الى الوسط التجاري الذي يعاني الامرين من الاستمرار في هذه الدوامة التي أرجى بت مصير بندها الاساسي، اي رئاسة الجمهورية، الى عصر الجمعة 28 نيسان الجاري، ثم الخروج بكلام ينضح نفاولاً.

على وقع مذكرات الجلب السورية بموجب القانون السوري، او كما سماها وزير الاتصالات مروان حماده "مذكرات تهديد" في حقه هو والنائب وليد جنبلاط والزميل فارس خشان، انطلقت امس الجولة الخامسة من قطار الحوار، وقد اكتمل نصابه بعودة النائب غسان تويني الى مقعده بعدما تغيب للنقاهة.

الافتراق كان واضحاً، وقد انقسم الحاضرون الى قسمين:

- فريق 8 آذار المتمثل بالتكتل الشيعي "امل" "حزب الله"، ومعه النائب العماد ميشال عون الذي يرفض اقالة رئيس الجمهورية اميل لحود، اقله قبل طرح اسم البديل.

- فريق 14 آذار وحلفاؤه الذين اصروا على المضي في بند اقالة لحود حتى النهاية، والا الانتقال الى مناقشة بند سلاح "حزب الله"، ريثما يتأمن الاتفاق على بند رئاسة الجمهورية. الا ان المجتمعين لم يتوصلوا الى صيغة مناسبة لادارة الحوار بالمسار الجديد الذي رسمته "قوى 14 آذار" بعد اجتماعها الليلي الاحد في دارة النائب سعد الحريري في قريطم لتغيير التكتيك المعتمد في الحوار.

ولأن الفريقين تشبّتا كل بموقفه، ولان بري لم ينف سؤالا وجهه اليه صحافيون عن ان فريق 8 آذار كان طلب من الافرقاء ولا سيما من فريق 14 آذار وضع اسم البديل غير المتفق عليه اصلاً - على طاولة الحوار، فإنه امكن الاستنتاج، من خلال رد بري "اننا، عندما لا نتوصل الى نتيجة، نكون لا نزال في حاجة الى بحث. وبين ساعة واخرى، ربما يأتي الفرج، لا احد يدري".

وهكذا، أرجى بت مصير لحود الى نهاية نيسان، سلباً او ايجاباً، وأرجى معه ايضاً حل بند سلاح "حزب الله" الذي سينتطلب بدوره اشهرأ اضافية على ما بدا من تصريح بري ومن الاجواء، وذلك في انتظار ما امكن من المبادرات.

وما وصفه بري بأنه "مناقشة سريعة" لما حصل في قمة الخرطوم وما تلاه في مجلسي النواب والوزراء على خلفية شطب عبارة "المقاومة" من البيان الختامي، بدا انه اخذ المساحة الاساسية في النصف الاول من الحوار الذي توقف بعض الوقت في الساعة 1:15، وهي الفترة الكافية التي اظهر فيها حماده مذكرات التوقيف السورية بحقه وهو جنبلاط وخشان.

في اي حال، لم يتوصل المتحاورون في موضوع السلاح الذي حسم منذ اليوم الاول من الحوار عندما قال نصرالله انه مستعد ان يطرح هذا السلاح من ضمن خطة استراتيجية الدفاع الوطني للبلاد، فيكون جزءا لا يتجزأ منها".

السنيرة ونصرالله

وفي المعلومات، ان الامين العام لـ"حزب الله" السيد حسن نصرالله حمل معه الى السنيرة مواقف للاخير تشير بوضوح الى مدى الخلاف بينه وبين المقاومة. فقال للسنيرة ان ما تحصل في قمة الخرطوم لم يكن الثغرة الوحيدة التي اثارته حفيظة الحزب، انما اراد رئيس الحكومة ان يشطب ايضا عبارة "قوات الاحتلال" التي وردت في الكلام على الالغام، اذ دقق السنيرة في العبارة المذكورة بالاشارة الى "الالغام التي خلفتها القوات الاسرائيلية" لا "قوات الاحتلال الاسرائيلي". وكذلك، اخذ نصرالله على رئيس الحكومة المطالبة الدائمة بالمفقودين والمعتقلين في السجون السورية، معتبرا انه لا يمكنه التوجه الى دمشق وهو يرمي الكرة في ملعب السوريين في هذا الملف ويتغاضى في الوقت نفسه عما يطالبون به لمعرفة مصير السوريين المفقودين في لبنان. وحمل نصرالله في ما حمله، تصريحاً للسنيرة امام احد الوفود الطلابية يجاهر فيه، انه جاء لينفذ القرار الدولي 1559. فرد رئيس الحكومة بجملة لاءات قائلا: "لا احد يزايد علي في المقاومة، لا في محبتي ولا في حرصي عليها، ولا في اهتمامي بها"، فهي عزة لبنان وعتفانه وكرامته".

وفي المقابل، وجه رئيس الهيئة التنفيذية في حزب "القوات اللبنانية" سمير جعجع لوماً الى نصرالله على قوله، ايما قبل الحوار، انه يريد ان يقطع يد من ينزع سلاح المقاومة ورأسه وان ينزع روحه.

وسأله هل وجه كلامه الى الداخل في وقت كان صرح غير مرة بأن سلاح المقاومة لن يوجه الى الداخل اللبناني! فأجابه نصرالله جازماً بأن هذا السلاح لم يكن موجهاً ولن يكون موجهاً الى الداخل اللبناني، وأنه اذا اعتبر البعض ان هذا الكلام وجه اليه، فهذا يعني انه اما يشعر بالذنب واما يشعر بارتكاب خطأ ما.

"حزب الله" يصعد تهديداته لقوى 14 آذار ويطالب بـ"قيادة أعلى مقاماً" من الحكومة الحالية.. واعتصام

يواجه زيارة بلير اليوم

السنيرة يتبّغ من خادم الحرمين

دعماً سياسياً واقتصادياً كاملاً

جنبلط يؤكد على دور الدولة وبيار الجميل يعلن ان "السفارات لم نرودنا لا بالصواريخ ولا بالمال"

المستقبل - الانس 11 أيلول 2006 - العدد 2383 - الصفحة الأولى - صفحة 1

في زيارة هي الأولى له بعد انتهاء العدوان الإسرائيلي، أجرى رئيس مجلس الوزراء فؤاد السنيرة محادثات في جدة أمس مع خادم الحرمين الشريفين الملك عبدالله بن عبدالعزيز في حضور وليّ العهد الأمير سلطان بن عبدالعزيز وعدد من كبار المسؤولين.

وجرى خلال هذه المحادثات تقويم للوضع اللبناني في ضوء انتهاء العدوان الإسرائيلي ورفع الحصار عن لبنان، وقدم السنيرة الشكر للمملكة للدعم السياسي والمالي اللذين قدمتهما للبنان.

وأشاد السنيرة في ختام زيارته التي استغرقت بضع ساعات بالمملكة "التي وقفت ولا تزال إلى جانب لبنان تشدّ أزره وتقدم له كلّ العون في جميع المحافل الدولية". ولفت إلى انه جرى بحث "الخطوات التي يجب أن يتخذها لبنان على جميع الصعد لتحقيق الانسحاب الإسرائيلي الكامل وتحقيق الوقف الدائم لإطلاق النار ومعالجة المسائل الأساسية ولا سيما مزارع شبعا(..)".

معلومات لـ"المستقبل"

وعلمت "المستقبل" ان الرئيس السنيرة استهل الاجتماع بتوجيه الشكر الى الملك عبدالله والمملكة العربية السعودية على مواقفها الى جانب لبنان والمساندة السياسية والديبلوماسية والمعنوية التي ابدتها المملكة، اضافة الى المساعدات العينية والمادية التي قدمتها المملكة للبنان لمواجهة اثار العدوان على المستويين الاقتصادي والمادي وهو ما مكن لبنان من الصمود في وجه العدوان وبلسمة جراحه.

الملك عبدالله بدوره نوه بتضامن الشعب اللبناني وبالذور الذي قامت به الحكومة في لبنان خلال فترة العدوان، سواء على مستوى مواجهة السياسية او في اطار مواجهة الديبلوماسية. وقد اشاد الملك عبدالله بالمقاربة التي اتبعها الرئيس السنيرة معتبراً ان الحكومة اللبنانية تصرفت على انها حكومة كل اللبنانيين مما ساهم في رد العدوان الاسرائيلي وافشال اهدافه وتدعيم وحدة اللبنانيين.

وشجع الملك عبدالله الرئيس السنيرة على الاستمرار في هذا الاسلوب لجمع الكلمة منبهاً الى نوايا اسرائيل العمل على تفريق الصفوف.

وركز خادم الحرمين الشريفين في حديثه على اهمية استخلاص العبر والنتائج والعودة الى اتباع طريق السلام العادل والشامل الذي تبنته القمة العربية التي انعقدت في بيروت معتبراً ان كل الجهود يجب ان تبذل لدفع هذا المسار الذي يجنب المنطقة الويلات والحروب.

من جهته، عرض الرئيس السنيرة للملك عبدالله تصورات الحكومة لمواجهة المرحلة المقبلة على مختلف الصعد والاولويات التي تتبعها في مواجهة اثار وتداعيات العدوان الاسرائيلي، سواء على مستوى اغاثة النازحين ومساعدتهم

للعودة الى قراهم ومنازلهم او لجهة خطط الاعمار السريعة والمساعدات التي تنوي الحكومة تقديمها لهم، اضافة الى المراحل التي تم التوصل اليها في تطبيق القرار الدولي 1701 وضرورة المضي في تطبيقه للوصول الى وقف دائم لاطلاق النار عبر انسحاب اسرائيل من الاراضي اللبنانية التي احتلتها بما في ذلك قضية مزارع شبعا استناداً الى ما ورد في القرار الدولي والى النقاط السبع التي اقرتها الحكومة.

وكان اتفاق في وجهات النظر على ان الوحدة الوطنية اللبنانية هي السد المنيع في مواجهة كل المحاولات وعلى وجه الخصوص المحاولات الاسرائيلية لضرب الاستقرار.

كما شرح الرئيس السنيورة للملك عبدالله نية لبنان العمل على عقد مؤتمر لدعم الاقتصاد اللبناني وتشيطه. وطالب السنيورة خادم الحرمين الشريفين بدعم مساعي لبنان لانجاح انعقاد هذا المؤتمر بسبب الحاجة الماسة اليه للنهوض بالاقتصاد بعد الصدمات التي تعرض لها والخسائر التي مني بها جراء الاجتياحات الاسرائيلية.

وأكد العاهل السعودي دعمه للبنان ولكل ما يعزز وحدة اللبنانيين، كما اكد استعداده للعمل بكل قوة لانجاح مؤتمر دعم لبنان من اجل انهاض اقتصاده. في غضون ذلك، وفيما واصل "حزب الله" غداة رده على بيان "لقاء البريستول"، حملته ضد قوى 14 آذار موزعاً اتهاماته لها بالانتماء إلى المعسكر الأميركي — الإسرائيلي ومهدداً بـ "عدم التراجع عن إقامة حكومة جديدة تكون لائقة بلبنان المقاومة" ملاقياً تهديدات رئيس "كتل التغيير والإصلاح" النائب ميشال عون بالوصول إلى "النزاع والمواجهة"، برز تأكيد من رئيس "اللقاء الديمقراطي" النائب وليد جنبلاط على "اهمية التضامن لاجتياز المرحلة الدقيقة المقبلة واهمية التشديد على دور الدولة لضمان المستقبل للأجيال".

وكان جنبلاط لفت في مقابلة مع محطة "اوربت" اول من امس، إلى أن تمويل "حزب الله" وسلاحه سوربان وإيرانيين"، سأل جنبلاط "كيف لهذا الحزب أن ينسجم مع الدولة؟"، مشيراً إلى أنه "يأتمر بمن يعطيه المال والسلاح". ولاحظ جنبلاط أنه "يوجد الآن في الجنوب دولة في جوار دولة"، مضيفاً ان "الجيش في الجنوب فوق الأرض، وهم تحت الأرض جنوب الليطاني وشماله"، وأن "لبنان بالنسبة إلى (السيد حسن) نصرالله وبشار الأسد خارطة عسكرية وليس دولة وكياناً".

وقال "ما دامت ثمة إلى جانب الدولة دولة حزب وسلاح ومتفجرات، تبقى في حالة هدنة وليس استقراراً"، وسأل "هل إن ما جرى جولة في انتظار جولة أخرى؟".

وأوضح أن "حزب الله" موجود في الحكومة، لكنه رفض تسليم الزناد إلى الدولة"، لافتاً إلى أن "ما انتهت إليه الحرب قرار يأخذون منه ما يريدون ويتركون ما يريدون"، معلناً أنه "من غير المقبول أن تبقى في مسار سوري — فلسطيني — إيراني". ورأى أنه "إذا كان العماد عون يظن أنه بتوقيع ورقة التفاهم أقوى من تحالفات نصرالله فهو مخطئ(..)", مؤكداً "التمسك بحكومة الأكثرية برئاسة الرئيس السنيورة(..)".

الجميل

من ناحيته، ردّ وزير الصناعة بيار الجميل على "حزب الله" وعون معاً. وأكد في هذا المجال ان "السفارات لم تزودنا بالصواريخ والمال لإشعال حرب دفع لبنان واللبنانيون أثمانها باهظة"، مشدداً على أن "شرعية السلاح هي من خلال الدولة".

واعتبر الجميل ان "الحكومة الحالية هي حكومة اتحاد وطني بكل معنى الكلمة لأن جميع الأطراف مشاركون فيها ما عدا الذين اختاروا بارادتهم أن يكونوا خارجها". ولفت إلى انه "لا يمكن للدولة أن تنهض من دون رئيس قوي وفاعل ولا يمكن لأي طائفة أن تكون مطمئنة إلى الشراكة الحقيقية في الوطن من دون وجود رئيس قوي".

وأكد ان "من يتحدث باسم المسيحيين هو الكنيسة"، مضيفاً أن "لا أحد يملك حصريّة قيادة المسيحيين باتجاه مشروع

غير مشروع بناء الدولة"، معتبراً ان "الخلل هو في رئاسة الجمهورية(..)".

"حزب الله" - عون

وعشية الاعتصام الذي دعت اليه القوى الموالية لدمشق تحت عنوان "المنظمات الشبابية" استنكاراً لزيارة رئيس الوزراء البريطاني طوني بلير، كان "حزب الله" واصل حملة مركزة ضد حركة 14 آذار.

وفي هذا المجال رأى عضو "كتلة الوفاء للمقاومة" النائب حسن فضل الله ان "البعض يبقي نفسه رهينة للمشروع الأميركي". وأعلن "عدم السماح للمراهنين على المشروع الأميركي بالانتفاف على انتصار المقاومة". ودعا قوى الحركة الاستقلالية إلى "اليأس من إمكانية ان تهزم المقاومة أو أن ينزع سلاحها"، معلناً أن هذه القوى "لن تنجح في فرض الوصاية الدولية على لبنان"، محذراً من أن "اليونيفيل لا يمكن أن تتحول إلى جزء من الموازين اللبنانية الداخلية".

وإذ شدد على أن "ردّ الأمس كان اول سطر في ردنا"، هدد بـ"انهم لن يستطيعوا بعد اليوم ان يتقدّموا خطوة واحدة"، مضيفاً "ليبقوا على رهاناتهم وسنبقى على سلاحنا ومقاومتنا(..)".

أما مسؤول العلاقات الدولية في الحزب نواف الموسوي فكان أكثر تصعيداً، فقد خاطب قوى 14 آذار بالقول "كما سقط أسياذكم الأميركيون وهزم حلفاؤكم الاسرائيليون، فلن تتجحوا في سلب لبنان هويته العربية ومقاومته".

وقال "لا تراجع عن إقامة حكومة جديدة تكون بالفعل لائقة بلبنان المقاومة"، مضيفاً ان "شعباً قدّم هذه التضحيات يستحق قيادة أرفع شأنًا وأعلى مقاماً وأكثر تعبيراً عن إرادته من الإدارة السياسية الحالية(..)".

وما لم يقله الاثنان قاله مسؤول الجنوب نبيل قاووق الذي اعتبر انه "بعد الانتصار أصبح لبنان على طريق بناء الدولة القادرة والمقاومة التي لا يمكن ان يشارك في بنائها من رهن على هزيمة المقاومة وعلى انتصار إسرائيل(..)".

أما عون، فرأى أن "الحكومة تتمسك بالسلطة من اجل الاستيلاء على المساعدات الخارجية المخصصة لإعادة الإعمار بعد الحرب"، وقال إنه "يمكن حلّ البرلمان وإجراء انتخابات جديدة"، مضيفاً أنه "إذا لم تكن الحال على هذا النحو، نكون قد اخترنا النزاع والمواجهة(..)".

التاريخ 04-04-2006

بري: احترامي لرئيس الحكومة معروف و"ليخيط المزايدون بغير هالمسلة"
الحوار - 5 عتاب بين السنيورة ونصرالله وسؤال لججع عن السلاح
28 نيسان الموعد الأخير لبت موضوع الرئاسة سلباً أو إيجاباً

كتبت ريتا شرارة

في مرور شهر على بدئه، بات سيناريو الحوار واضحاً: طرح المشكلة على الرأي العام قبل ان تشبع تداولاً وتشنجاً وتحدياً، ثم تحرك السفراء، او بعض السفراء المحظيين للتأكيد ان لا مخرج لهذه المشكلة الا بالحوار، ولابداء كل ثقة بجدوى الطاولة المنصوبة في الطبقة الثالثة في مجلس النواب منذ ما يقارب 30 يوماً، فأقبال الشخصيات "باب اول" دائماً ومعهم معاونوهم الى الوسط التجاري الذي يعاني الامرين من الاستمرار في هذه الدوامة التي أرجئ بت مصير بندها الاساسي، اي رئاسة الجمهورية، الى عصر الجمعة 28 نيسان الجاري، ثم الخروج بكلام ينضح تفاؤلاً.

على وقع مذكرات الجلب السورية بموجب القانون السوري، او كما سماها وزير الاتصالات مروان حماده "مذكرات تهديد" في حقه هو والنائب وليد جنبلاط والزميل فارس خشان، انطلقت امس الجولة الخامسة من قطار الحوار، وقد اكتمل نصابه بعودة النائب غسان تويني الى مقعده بعدما تغيب للنقاهاة.

الافتراق كان واضحاً، وقد انقسم الحاضرون الى قسمين:

- فريق 8 آذار المتمثل بالكتل الشيعي "امل" "حزب الله"، ومعه النائب العماد ميشال عون الذي يرفض اقالة رئيس الجمهورية اميل لحود، اقله قبل طرح اسم البديل.

- فريق 14 آذار وحلفاؤه الذين اصروا على المضي في بند اقالة لحود حتى النهاية، والا الانتقال الى مناقشة بند سلاح "حزب الله"، ريثما يتأمن الاتفاق على بند رئاسة الجمهورية. الا ان المجتمعين لم يتوصلوا الى صيغة مناسبة لادارة الحوار بالمسار الجديد الذي رسمته قوى 14 آذار" بعد اجتماعها الليلي الاحد في دارة النائب سعد الحريري في قريطم لتغيير التكتيك المعتمد في الحوار.

ولأن الفريقين تشبثا كل بموقفه، ولان بري لم ينف سؤالا وجهه اليه صحافيون عن ان فريق 8 آذار كان طلب من الافرقاء ولا سيما من فريق 14 آذار وضع اسم البديل غير المتفق عليه اصلاً - على طاولة الحوار، فإنه امكن الاستنتاج، من خلال رد بري "اننا، عندما لا نتوصل الى نتيجة، نكون لا نزال في حاجة الى بحث. وبين ساعة واخرى، ربما يأتي الفرج، لا احد يدري".

وهكذا، أرجئ بت مصير لحود الى نهاية نيسان، سلباً او ايجاباً، وأرجئ معه ايضاً حل بند سلاح "حزب الله" الذي سيتطلب بدوره اشهرأ اضافية على ما بدا من تصريح بري ومن الاجواء، وذلك في انتظار ما امكن من المبادرات.

وما وصفه بري بأنه "مناقشة سريعة" لما حصل في قمة الخرطوم وما تلاه في مجلسي النواب والوزراء على خلفية شطب عبارة "المقاومة" من البيان الختامي، بدا انه اخذ المساحة الاساسية في النصف الاول من الحوار الذي توقف بعض الوقت في الساعة 1:15، وهي الفترة الكافية التي اظهر فيها حماده مذكرات التوقيف السورية بحقه وهو جنبلاط وخشان.

في اي حال، لم يتوصل المتحاورون في موضوع السلاح الذي حسم منذ اليوم الاول من الحوار عندما قال نصر الله انه مستعد ان يطرح هذا السلاح من ضمن خطة استراتيجية الدفاع الوطني للبلاد، فيكون جزءاً لا يتجزأ منها".

Appendix F. Resolution 1680

United Nations S/RES/1680 (2006)

Security Council Distr.: General

17 May 2006

06-35177 (E)

0635177**Resolution 1680 (2006)****Adopted by the Security Council at its 5440th meeting, on
17 May 2006***The Security Council,*

Recalling all its previous resolutions on Lebanon, in particular resolutions 1559 (2004), 425 and 426 (1978), resolution 520 (1982) and resolution 1655 (2006), as well as the statements of its President on the situation in Lebanon, in particular the statements of 18 June 2000 (S/PRST/2000/21), of 19 October 2004 (S/PRST/2004/36), of 4 May 2005 (S/PRST/2005/17) and of 23 January 2006 (S/PRST/2006/3),

Reiterating its strong support for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized borders, *Noting positively* that further significant progress has been made towards implementing in full all provisions of resolution 1559 (2004), in particular through the Lebanese national dialogue, but noting also with regret that other provisions of resolution 1559 have not yet been fully implemented, namely the disbanding and disarming of Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias, the extension of the control of the Government of Lebanon over all its territory, the strict respect of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence of Lebanon, and free and fair presidential elections conducted according to the Lebanese constitutional rules, without foreign interference and influence,

Noting with concern the conclusion of the Secretary-General's report (S/2006/248) that there had been movements of arms into Lebanese territory for militias over the last six months,

Expressing full support for the Lebanese National Dialogue and commending all Lebanese parties for its conduct and for the consensus reached in this context on important matters,

Having heard the Prime Minister of Lebanon's address to the Security Council on 21 April 2006 (S/PV.5417),

1. *Welcomes* the third semi-annual report of the Secretary General to the Security Council of 18 April 2006 on the implementation of resolution 1559 (2004) (S/2006/248);

2

S/RES/1680 (2006)

2. *Reiterates* its call for the full implementation of all requirements of resolution 1559 (2004);

3. *Reiterates also* its call on all concerned States and parties as mentioned in the report, to cooperate fully with the Government of Lebanon, the Security Council and the Secretary-General to achieve this goal;

4. *Strongly encourages* the Government of Syria to respond positively to the request made by the Government of Lebanon, in line with the agreements of the Lebanese national dialogue, to delineate their common border, especially in those areas where the border is uncertain or disputed and to establish full diplomatic relations and representation, noting that such measures would constitute a significant step towards asserting Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence and improving the relations between the two countries, thus contributing positively to the stability in the region, and urges both parties to make efforts through further bilateral dialogue to this end, bearing in mind that the establishment of diplomatic relations between States, and of permanent diplomatic missions, takes place by mutual consent;

5. *Commends* the Government of Lebanon for undertaking measures against movements of arms into Lebanese territory and calls on the Government of Syria to take similar measures;

6. *Welcomes* the decision of the Lebanese national dialogue to disarm Palestinian militias outside refugee camps within six months, supports its implementation and calls for further efforts to disband and disarm all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias and to restore fully the Lebanese Government's control over all Lebanese territory;

7. *Reiterates* its support to the Secretary-General and his Special envoy in their efforts and dedication to facilitate and assist in the implementation of all provisions of resolution 1559 (2004);

8. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

نص القرار 1680

هنا ترجمة غير رسمية لنص قرار مجلس الأمن الرقم 1680، متابعة للتقرير الثالث في شأن تطبيق القرار 1559:

إن مجلس الأمن،

إذ يذكّر بكلّ قراراته السابقة حول لبنان ولا سيّما القرارات 1559 (2004) و 425 و 426 (1978) و 520 (1982) و 1655 (2005)، وكذلك بياناته الرئاسية حول الوضع في لبنان لا سيّما البيانات الصادرة في 18 حزيران 2000 (S/PRST/2000/21) و 19 تشرين الأول 2004 (S/PRST/2004/36) و 4 أيار 2005 (S/PRST/2005/17) و 23 كانون الثاني 2006 (S/PRST/2006/3)،

إذ يجدّد دعمه القويّ لسلامة لبنان الإقليمية وسيادته واستقلاله السياسي ضمن حدوده المعترف بها دولياً،

إذ يلفت بايجابية إلى تحقيق مزيد من التقدّم المهمّ نحو التطبيق الكامل لكلّ أحكام القرار 1559 (2004)، لا سيّما من خلال الحوار الوطني اللبناني، ولكن إذ يلفت أيضاً بأسف إلى أنّه لا تزال هناك أحكام أخرى من القرار 1559 لم تُطبّق تطبيقاً كاملاً، ولا سيّما حلّ الميليشيات اللبنانية وغير اللبنانية ونزع سلاحها، وبسط سلطة الحكومة اللبنانية على أراضيها كاملة، والاحترام الشديد لسيادة لبنان وسلامته الإقليمية ووحدته واستقلاله السياسي، وإجراء انتخابات رئاسية حرة وعادلة بموجب أحكام الدستور اللبناني من دون تدخل وتأثير أجنبيّين.

إذ يلفت بقلق إلى ما خلص إليه تقرير الأمين العام (S/2006/248) عن عمليّات نقل أسلحة إلى ميليشيات داخل الأراضي اللبنانية في الأشهر السّنة الماضية،

إذ يُعرب عن دعمه الكامل للحوار الوطني اللبناني ويثني على كلّ الأفرقاء اللبنانيين مسجّلاً لهم طريقة سير الحوار والتوافق الذي جرى التوصل إليه في هذا السياق حول مسائل مهمة،

إذ استمع إلى كلمة رئيس الوزراء اللبناني أمام مجلس الأمن في 21 نيسان 2006 (S/PV.5417)،

1 - يرحّب بتقرير الأمين العام نصف السنوي الثالث إلى مجلس الأمن تاريخ 18 نيسان 2006 حول تطبيق القرار 1559 (2004) (S/2006/248)؛

2 - يدعو مرّة أخرى إلى التطبيق الكامل لكلّ مقتضيات القرار 1559 (2004)؛

3 - يجدّد أيضاً دعوته كلّ الدوّل والأفرقاء المعنّيين المذكورين في التقرير، إلى التعاون تعاوناً كاملاً مع الحكومة اللبنانية ومجلس الأمن والأمين العام من أجل تحقيق هذا الهدف؛

4 - يشجّع الحكومة السورية بقوة على التجاوب مع مطلب الحكومة اللبنانية الداعي، تماشياً مع الاتّفاقات التي جرى التوصل إليها في الحوار الوطني اللبناني، إلى تحديد الحدود المشتركة بين البلدين ولا سيّما في المناطق ذات الحدود الملتبسة أو المتنازع عليها، وإلى

إقامة علاقات دبلوماسية كاملة وتمثيل دبلوماسي كامل بين البلدين، مع الإشارة إلى أنّ من شأن هذه الإجراءات أن تشكل خطوة مهمة نحو تأكيد سيادة لبنان وسلامته الإقليمية واستقلاله السياسي، وتحسين العلاقات بين البلدين، ما يُقدّم مساهمة إيجابية للاستقرار في المنطقة، ويحضّر الطرفين على بذل جهود من خلال مزيد من الحوار الثنائي من أجل تحقيق هذه الغاية، أخذين في الاعتبار ان إقامة علاقات دبلوماسية بين الدول وإنشاء بعثات دبلوماسية دائمة يتمّان من خلال الموافقة المتبادلة؛

5 - يثني على الحكومة اللبنانية لاتّخاذها إجراءات لمكافحة نقل الأسلحة إلى داخل الأراضي اللبنانية، ويناشد أيضا الحكومة السورية اتّخاذ إجراءات مماثلة؛

6 - يرحّب بالقرار الصادر عن مؤتمر الحوار الوطني والذي يقضي بنزع سلاح الميليشيات الفلسطينية خارج مخيمات اللاجئين في غضون ستة أشهر، ويدعم تطبيقه ويدعو إلى بذل مزيد من الجهود لحلّ كلّ الميليشيات اللبنانية وغير اللبنانية ونزع سلاحها، ولإسطة الحكومة اللبنانية على أراضيها كاملة؛

7 - يكرّر دعمه للأمين العام ومبعوثه الخاص في الجهود التي يبذلونها والتفاني الذي يُظهرانه بهدف تسهيل تطبيق كلّ أحكام القرار 1559 (2004)؛

8 - يقرّر أن يستمرّ في متابعة المسألة".

(ترجمة نسرين ناضر)

- واشنطن تعتبر القرار 1680 'رسالة واضحة إلى سوريا' والسنيرة يرحّب به ودمشق ترى فيه 'تدخلا في الشؤون السيادية'
- هل ستنفذ سوريا القرار 1680؟

التاريخ 29-04-2006

نصرالله حدد الحدود في المزارع وجنبلات رسمها بين لبنان وسوريا
دخان الحوار - 6 رمادي: لا مساومة مع لحدود ولا اتفاق على البديل
مرشحون عدة لـ 14 آذار وعون لم ينسحب والتكملة في 16 أيار

كتبت ريتا شرارة:

في مرور 25 يوما امضاها بعض سياسيي "الباب الاول" المشارك في طاولة الحوار اللبناني في حال تشنج سياسي شبه يومي على خلفيات عدة منها رئاسية واخرى تتعلق بالعلاقة مع سوريا، عاد المحاورون الـ 14 الى الجولة السادسة في الحوار للبحث في بندين كان اتفق عليهما مطلع نيسان الجاري (الاثنين 3) ولا ثالث لهما: رئاسة الجمهورية وسلاح "حزب الله" على ان يبيت امر الرئاسة سلبا او ايجابا.

الا ان الدخان خرج رماديا من مدخنة الطبقة الثالثة في مجلس النواب. فلا ملف الرئاسة الاولى طوي، ولا رئيس "تكتل التغيير والاصلاح" النائب ميشال عون ترك مقعده، خلافا لما اشيع عشية الجلسة عن نيته ان هو لم يتلق الجواب النهائي على ترشحه لمنصب الرئاسة او لدى البحث في هذا الملف لكونه مرشحا ولا يجوز، بحسبه، ان يبقى ويناقش، ولا المرشحون الكثر لقوى 14 آذار لا قوا تأييدا. فطرحت الاسماء على الطاولة وبقيت مكانها، الى ان يحل موعد الثلاثاء 16 ايار المقبل لاستكمال البحث في ما سيناقشه المعنيون خارج تلك الطاولة المستديرة. وبدا، بحسب مشاركين، ان الاجواء التي رافقت المناقشات زهاء اربع ساعات من الخامسة بعد الظهر، لم تكن متشنجة، انما هادئة نوعا ما، رافقها بعض نكات. اذ ساق النائب غسان تويني مزحة الى الحضور واكملها عون، وخلفيتها قصر بعيدا، اذ اقترح عون ان يتوجه تويني والنائب ميشال المر عند رئيس الجمهورية اميل لحود. فرد تويني "ان واحدا منا لن يعود من هناك في حال توجه الى القصر". فاجاب عون: "انتما معا لن تعودا من هناك".

وعلى وقع الهدوء ما بعد العاصفة، تركز حديث المحاورين، في مجمله، على الآتي:

- العتاب:

على جاري العادة، ولدى البدء في الحوار، تكون تهديئة للخواطر. فبين الجولة والاخرى يشنح السياسيون الاجواء، على خلفيات عدة، مما يستوجب، لدى البدء بالحوار، ازالة ترسبات التصريحات والتصريحات المضادة. وهذا ما دفع رئيس مجلس النواب نبيه بري الى القول في مؤتمره الصحفي انه في حال أي تباين في اي موقف، فليتصل اي زميل من المحاورين بزميله او يتمهل ريثما يعود الى طاولة الحوار للاستيضاح كما حصل اليوم (امس)".

- التحديد والترسيم:

الاستيضاح على ما بدا تركز اساسا على تحديد الحدود او ترسيمها بين لبنان وسوريا. اذ اشار الامين العام لـ "حزب الله" السيد حسن نصرالله الى المحاورين "اننا اتفقنا على تحديد الحدود في مزارع شبعلا لا ترسيم الحدود" بين البلدين. فأوضح رئيس "اللقاء الديموقراطي" وليد جنبلاط ان ما اتفق عليه هو ترسيم الحدود بين البلدين وتحديد المزارع لا ترسيمها، على اساس ان الرئيس السوري بشار الاسد كان قال، في احد مؤتمراته، ان من يرسم الحدود في تلك المزارع يكون كمن يتبنى الموقف الاسرائيلي. واثار الى تعهد سوريا في ورقة

مكتوبة ارسلتها الى لبنان ترسيم الحدود على خمس دفعات تبدأ بالبحر ومن ثم بالشمال فعرسال ودير العشائر، على ان ترسم في الجنوب.

رينو ووفدان من "القوات" و"التغيير" والاصلاح" في المختارة جنبلات: الترسيم او التحديد لهدف واحد

اعلن رئيس "اللقاء الديموقراطي" النائب وليد جنبلاط تمسكه باتفاق الهدنة مع اسرائيل وبعلاقات ديبلوماسية مع سوريا، كما ابدى تمسكه بتثبيت حدود مزارع شبعاً معتبرا ان الترسيم او التحديد هما لهدف واحد.

كلام جنبلاط جاء امس لدى استقباله في المختارة وفدا من "القوات اللبنانية" من بلدة كفرمتى في الشحار الغربي في حضور النواب اكرم شهيبي وانطوان اندراوس وهنري حلو ونبيل البستاني ووكيل داخلية عاليه الثانية في الحزب زاهي الغصيني.

والقى المسؤول عن "القوات اللبنانية" في عاليه الثانية الياس حداد كلمة قال فيها: "لان قدر هذا الجبل ان نعيش فيه معا مسيحيين ودروزا، ولان التحالف بيننا كقوات لبنانية وحزب اشتراكي اثبت انه لم يكن تحالفاً انتخابياً آنياً وظرفياً بل هو حلف استراتيجي مدرك ان هذا الجبل لا يمكن الا ان يعيش بجناحيه الدرزي والمسيحي، ولاننا تحالفنا معا في ثورة الارز المستمرة وفي انتفاضة السيادة والحرية والاستقلال وفي رفع الوصاية والهيمنة، ولانه كان ممنوعا علينا يا وليد بك ان نلتقي، استشهد الرئيس الشهيد رفيق الحريري وكان ما كان من تفجيرات و اغتيالات ومحاولات اغتيال وسلسلة طويلة من الشهداء بدأت بمحاولة اغتيال الوزير

الاستاذ مروان حماده ولم تنته باستشهاد النائب الشهيد جبران تويني. نطلب يا وليد بك من الله ان يمدك بالقوة والعزيمة وطول العمر لختم جرح كفرمتى البالغ بالتعاون مع كل المخلصين والمحبين والمعنيين، فتكون نهاية الحرب اللبنانية، وذيلها وتنتهي جلجلة كفرمتى الطويلة وتكون العودة تويجاً للزيارة التي قام بها غبطة البطريرك مار نصرالله بطرس صفير الى الجبل ووضع الحجر الاساس معكم لمصالحة تاريخية، وتكون تلك العودة ايضا تويجاً لتحالفكم مع قائدنا رئيس الهيئة التنفيذية في القوات اللبنانية الدكتور سمير جعجع وكل القوى والاحزاب والتيارات المنضوية تحت لواء 14 آذار وكل الذين آمنوا بالسيادة والحرية والاستقلال ورفع الوصاية من انى انت".

ورد جنبلاط قال: "المصالحة وضعناها معا والبطريرك صفير عام 2001، ومنذ ذلك الوقت خطونا خطوات جبارة واستعدنا تدريجاً السيادة والاستقلال واطلاق المسجونين وفي مقدمهم الدكتور سمير جعجع، وعودة المنفيين والمبعدين واعني العماد عون، وكنا جميعاً، واجتمعنا معا في 14 آذار 2005 وكانت تلك الوقفة التاريخية لكل الشعب اللبناني الذي يريد السيادة والحرية والاستقلال وتطبيق اتفاق الطائف ابي بناء الدولة وبسط سيادتها على كل الارض اللبنانية، وضبط الحدود، وتطبيق اتفاق الهدنة، ونصر على هذا الاتفاق الذي وقع عام 1949، واعطاء اللاجئين الفلسطينيين الضمان في العيش الكريم وسحب السلاح الفلسطيني خارج المخيمات وارساء علاقات ديبلوماسية بيننا وبين سوريا، لانه لا يوجد في العالم سوى بلدين هما لبنان وسوريا لا توجد بينهما علاقات ديبلوماسية، وهذا امر غريب عجيب، ليس هناك سابقة في العالم. وطبعاً وكما نقول وقلنا في الحوار، تثبيت، تحديد او ترسيم، المعنى واحد لحدود مزارع شبعاً. اما في الجبل فانتم تعلمون اننا قمنا مع البطريرك صفير بخطوات جبارة رغم انه في الاسبوع نفسه في السابع من آب، حاولوا تعطيل المصالحة، وكانت الاعتقالات وغير الاعتقالات، لكننا تجاوزناها وقطعنا الشوط. طبعا قضية الشحار قضية مشتركة تهم لبنان والجبل، واعتقد ان الحواجز النفسية زالت وبقي الموضوع المادي، واننا نتعهد ونواب كتلة اللقاء الديموقراطي ان نتوجه الى الحكومة والرئيس فؤاد السنيورة والى الوزراء المعنيين لتوفير الاموال اللازمة لطى ملف التهجير، وان يكون للعائد وللمقيم الحقوق المعنوية والمادية المطلوبة والمضمونة، وعلينا كنواب ان نقوم بذلك مع المسؤولين. الحرب كما ذكر غسان تويني كانت حرب الآخرين على ارضنا

وصفحة الحرب طويت الى الابد، واهلا وسهلا بكم".

وكان جنبلاط استقبل وفودا من عائلة زيتوني في قبيع وعين دارة، ومن طلاب جامعة الروح القدس الكسليك في زحلة، ومن بلدة البيرة ضم المجلس البلدي وفاعليات البلدة والاهالي تقدمه رئيس البلدية جورج مسلم والمختار يوسف صفير.

وظهرا استقبل النائب جنبلاط سفير الاتحاد الاوروبي باتريك رينو، وعضوي حركة "التجدد الديموقراطي" النائب مصباح الاحدب ووفيق زنتوت في حضور مفوض الشؤون الخارجية في الحزب التقدمي الاشتراكي زاهر رعد، واستبقاهم الى مائدة الغداء.

ومساء استقبل جنبلاط وفدا من كتل "التغيير والاصلاح" ضم النائبين فريد الخازن وغسان مخيبر يرافقيهما كميل الطويل، في حضور النواب فؤاد السعد وفيصل الصايغ ووائل ابو فاعور. واثر اللقاء الذي استمر قرابة ساعتين قال الخازن: "جننا والزميل غسان مخيبر في اطار التواصل مع وليد بك وقد بحثنا في كل المواضيع المطروحة ومنها ما هو على طاولة الحوار ومسائل اخرى، وهذا التواصل سيستكمل. وان شاء الله نرى ثمارا ايجابية على كل المستويات".

وسئل هل ان التكتل مطمئن الى مسار الحوار والبنود الاساسية فيه ومنها الموضوع الرئاسي؟ فاجاب: "جلسة امس طرح فيها هذا الموضوع وكانت هناك صيغ عدة لكن لم يتم التوافق عليها وسيستكمل هذا الموضوع في الجلسة المقبلة ويجب الان ننسى ان هذا الموضوع شأنك وهناك تداخل بينه وبين المواضيع الاخرى المطروحة ومنها ما حصل عليه توافق. ونأمل ان يكون الاجتماع المقبل مثمرا اكثر مع العلم ان هناك موضوعا آخر هو سلاح "حزب الله" ونتأمل ان نصل إلى نتيجة".

18-07-2006 النهار

يستهل بتركيا جولة أوروبية الحريري مؤيداً الموقف السعودي من "حزب الله": نطالب بمحاسبة المغامرين وكفانا مزایدات

أيد رئيس "كتلة المستقبل" النائب سعد الحريري الموقف السعودي الاخير الذي انتقد عملية "حزب الله" وقال "ان اولئك المغامرين وضعونا في موقف حرج بسبب مغامراتهم غير المسؤولة، وفي الواقع ان الموقف السعودي جسّد حقيقة الوضع الراهن بدون اي مواربة او مجاملة ونحن نؤيد هذا الموقف. وكفانا مزایدات وشعارات لا تخدم إلا قوى الاحتلال." وافاد مكتب الحريري في بيروت ان رئيس "كتلة المستقبل" الذي يقوم بجولة في المنطقة سيصل اليوم الى انقرة ويلتقي رئيس الوزراء التركي رجب طيب اردوغان في اسطنبول ويبحث معه في الوضع في لبنان وكان قد أجرى امس اتصالاً بالرئيس الباكستاني برويز مشرف وطلب منه مشاركة بلاده في المساعي الدولية المبذولة حالياً لوقف الحرب على لبنان. "ووعده مشرف الحريري بأن تبذل اسلام اباد جهوداً مع الدول الدائمة العضوية في مجلس الامن والدول الاسلامية والصديقة من اجل التوصل الى وقف للنار في اسرع وقت. وفي حديث الى صحيفة "عكاظ" السعودية اشاد الحريري بالمساعدة العاجلة التي قدمتها السعودية الى لبنان وقال: "لم نستغرب هذا الموقف الايجابي من خادم الحرمين الشريفين الملك عبد الله بن عبد العزيز في هذا الظرف التاريخي العصيب الذي يمر به لبنان، ولقد عودتنا القيادة السعودية الحكيمة ان تكون السباقة في تقديم العون والمساعدة للبنان سواء في النواحي السياسية او المادية او المعنوية. ولأننا نمر بظرف تاريخي معقد وصعب فإننا نرغب في اطلاق العالم العربي والمجتمع الدولي على حقيقة ما يجري ونقول ان لبنان لم يشهد استقراراً سياسياً او اقتصادياً او امنياً إلا بعد توقيع اتفاق الطائف الذي رعته المملكة وساهمت في اتجاحه، وان الاستقرار الذي شهده لبنان طوال العقود الماضية كانت المملكة عاملاً رئيسياً وجوهرياً في تحقيقه وبدون دعم المملكة لكان لبنان يعيش في تدهور سياسي لا نعرف مدهاه. وأود ان اتقدم بوافر الشكر والتقدير لخادم الحرمين الشريفين الملك عبدالله بن عبد العزيز وسمو ولي عهده الامين لاهتمامهما وحرصهما على تخفيف معاناة الشعب اللبناني".

ورأى ان موقف المملكة من المواجهة الحالية بين لبنان واسرائيل "كان موقفاً عقلانياً حسيماً يتصف بالحكمة السياسية والبعد من العاطفة، لأن الوضع لا يحتمل المجاملات، والمملكة في بيانها قالت الحقيقة كاملة، فأولئك المغامرون وضعونا في موقف حرج بسبب مغامراتهم غير المسؤولة، وفي الواقع ان الموقف السعودي جسّد حقيقة الوضع الراهن بدون اي مواربة او مجاملة ونحن نؤيد هذا الموقف. وكفانا مزایدات وشعارات لا تخدم إلا قوى الاحتلال وتؤدي في النهاية الى تدمير البنى التحتية اللبنانية وقتل الأبرياء من اللبنانيين، ونحن نطالب بمحاسبة اولئك المغامرين الذين زجوا بلبنان في ازمة هو في غنى عنها. والمطلوب قول الحقيقة حتى ولو كانت مؤلمة وجارحة كما قال سمو الامير سعود الفيصل في كلمته في اجتماع القاهرة." وشار الى انه على اتصال مع الأطراف المعنية العرب والخليجيين وخصوصاً السعودية و"ان خادم الحرمين الشريفين وسمو ولي عهده الامين يتابعان لحظة بلحظة التطورات الخطيرة التي يشهدها لبنان، وهما حريصان على تخفيف معاناة الشعب اللبناني والتوصل الى وقف للنار".

وقال "سنعيد بناء كل ما دمرته الآلة العسكرية الاسرائيلية، سنعيد بناء الجسور والبنى التحتية لنثبت للعالم ان الشعب اللبناني يستطيع الوقوف على قدميه مرة أخرى، ولن يتسبب هذا العدوان الآثم عن مضي لبنان في مسيرة بناء الدولة والحفاظ على تطلعات الشعب وتحقيق حقوقنا المشروعة".

وكرر رداً على سؤال "اقول ان لبنان قدّم تضحيات كبيرة وأولئك الذين ادخلوا لبنان في معادلة نحن في غنى عنها ادخلوا لبنان في حرب

لا نعلم كيف ستنتهي، وهم لم يتشاوروا مع احد ولم ينسقوا مع الحكومة واللبنانيون لم يكونوا على علم بما سيفعلونه، ولكن هذا ما كان، نحن امام عدوان اسرائيلي وحشي وما نسعى اليه الآن مع القوى الفاعلة العربية والقوى الدولية المؤثرة عالميا هو ايجاد حل لوقف للنار، نحن لا نريد استمرار الدمار لهذا الشعب الذي وقع في مأزق بسبب مغامرة البعض الذين لم ينسقوا مع حكومتهم." وابدى ثقته بأن الاتصالات التي اجرتها السعودية والقوى الدولية والمؤثرة سيكتب لها النجاح "لان المملكة قوة سياسية فاعلة ومؤثرة على المسرح العربي والدولي وتحظى بالاحترام والتقدير في المحافل الدولية وهدفها تخفيف معاناة الشعب اللبناني." ورأى ان الانقسام العربي الذي حدث في اجتماعات وزراء الخارجية العرب "هو بين الحق والمؤيدين الحقيقيين للحقوق العربية وبين المنافقين، وكما قلت ان موقف المملكة ومصر والاردن ودول الخليج كان موقفا ايجابيا واولئك المنافقون الذين يدعون الى السواجة هم في الواقع ابعد الناس عن هذه المواجهة، وهم يرغبون في ادخال المنطقة في حرب شاملة، ولهذا ندعو الى العقلانية السياسية والابتعاد عن العاطفة وتحكيم العقل والمنطق والابتعاد كليا عن المغامرات غير المحسوبة لأن الوضع لا يحتمل مزيدا من هذه المغامرات." وسئل هل يتوقع امتداد الحرب الى العمق السوري، فاجاب: "لا استبعد ذلك لان جرائم العدو الاسرائيلي ليس لها حدود وما قامت به آلة التدمير الاسرائيلية على الاراضي اللبنانية شاهد عيان، ولكن لبنان سيصمد وسيواجه هذا الاعتداء." و اشار الى انه سيقوم بجولة اوروبية قريبا تشمل الى تركيا ايطاليا وفرنسا وبريطانيا وبروكسيل. وتطرق الى وضع السعوديين في لبنان، قال: "ان منازلنا في قريطم مفتوحة لجميع السعوديين وعائلاتهم ونحن مستعدون لاستضافتهم وتسهيل مهمتهم والوقوف بجانبهم لانهم اهلنا واخواننا، والسعودية وقفت معنا في احلك الظروف، ولهذا ادعوهم اذ كان احد منهم لا يزال في لبنان للتوجه الى قريطم وسنسهل نقلهم الى سوريا بالتنسيق مع السفارة السعودية."

Appendix J. Sayed Hassan Nassrallah (December 7, 2006)

كلمة الأمين العام لحزب الله سماحة السيد حسن نصر الله في وسط بيروت بالمتظاهرين :::
 وعد - 2006/12/07 - 22:51 | مرات القراءة 16874 :

الأحد في القدس والأخوات، عندما نزلتم إلى الشوارع واعتصمتم مساء الجمعة ومساء السبت واحتشدتم يوم أيها الأخوة كيف تعامل معكم الفريق الحاكم، الفريق الذي يدعي صباحاً وبعد الظهر في المهرجان وفي الليل في الاعتصام المعهود، الحريات العامة وعن حق حرية التعبير. كانت حركتكم حضارية اعترف بها كل العالم. وكان يتحدث عن الديمقراطية وعن فعلوا كيف تصرفوا؟ وهنوا بحشدكم انضباطكم مدهشاً وأنتم دائماً تدهشون العالم، في الحرب في السلم في التظاهر. ماذا المسلحة، وأنا يحزنني أن يجلس البعض معنا على طاولة الحوار ليناقتش الغير مسبوق، ولكنهم للأسف، أرسلوا شلهم ويوزع السلاح في أكثر لم بوجه إلى الداخل، ويريد أن ينزع هذا السلاح، وهو يأتي بالسلاح ويخزن السلاح سلاحاً مقاوماً طريق العودة وتقتل الشهيد أحمد محمود وتجرح آخرين من منطقة وأكثر من مكان. أرسلوا شلهم المسلحة لتعترضكم في التي يدعون أنهم يحافظون عليها. كما وجهوا من تهديدات إلى شخصيات في المعارضة، ضاقت صدورهم بالديموقراطية السيارات والمسلحين لمحاصرة وخصوصاً تلك الشخصيات الوطنية التي تنتمي إلى الطائفة السنية الكريمة. ألم يرسلوا والشخصيات؟! هل هذه هي الديمقراطية هل هذه هي الحرية؟؟ البيوت والأماكن التي تنتسب إلى هؤلاء الزعماء الأمنية كما تسمونها، في وليالي طويلة، إني أسألكم وأسأل اللبنانيين وأسأل العالم: في ظل نظام الأجهزة لقد تظاهرتم لأيام الذهاب أو الإياب؟ هل قتل متظاهر لأنه ذهب إلى اعتصام ظل نظام الأجهزة الأمنية هل قطع عليكم أحد الطريق؟ في طريق الطائفي، اليوم الأخطر فيما يجري اليوم، الأخطر هو التحريض المذهبي، لقد كفوا عن التحريض أو عاند من اعتصام؟ لكن في لبنان. قالوا عن الحشد الكبير يوم ليس هناك حديث عن مسلمين ومسيحيين في لبنان، كل الحديث عن سنة وشيعة المشاركة الكبيرة والعارمة من كل الطوائف، ليصوروا وكان المسألة مظاهرة الجمعة، أن هذه المظاهرة شيعية وتجاهلوا بعد ذلك ليقولوا أن مقابل حكومة سنية. لا المظاهرة شيعية ولا الحكومة سنية، هذه هي الحقيقة. ثم جاؤوا شيعية في يحدوا بقية أطراف المعارضة، ثم من خلال الطابع المذهبي المظاهرة هي لحزب الله، يعني في المرحلة الأولى أرادوا أن حملتهم الشديدة ليحدوا حركة أمل وليقولوا أن هذه المظاهرة لحزب الله، ثم جاؤوا بعد ذلك ليركزوا للمظاهرة، ثم جاؤوا حزب الله وحلفائه. يريدون أن يتجاهلوا بقية على حزب الله وخطابهم الإعلامي المنسق والمتفق عليه، يقولون اعتصام الأيام الماضية انكشف زيف هذا الإدعاء، وأن التظاهر والاحتشاد الليلي هو قوى المعارضة الحقيقية. عل كل حال، خلال وسيسقط، ولكنهم يواصلون حقيقي وصادق عن كل أطراف المعارضة الوطنية اللبنانية. هذا الشعار المذهبي سقط تعبير وخطابهم، يستهدفون ويخاطبون الشارع السني في لبنان، ومن العمل على أساسه. في كل الإدعاءات السابقة في إعلامهم وإلى على امتداد العالم العربي والإسلامي، ويتصورون أنهم بذلك يسبون إلى مكانة حزب الله خلاله أيضاً الشارع السني تريد تغيير اتفاق الطائف، وهذا افتراء مكانة القوى المشاركة في المعارضة الوطنية اللبنانية. تارة يقولون المعارضة قتلة الرئيس الشهيد رفيق الحريري، ثم يستحضرون العراق وغير وكذب، وأخرى يقولون التظاهر هدفه التغطية على السرايا: أدخل في التباسات هذا الاستحضار، وآخر الأكاذيب، ويناقضون أنفسهم عندما يقولون العراق، ولا أريد أن السرايا الحكومي. كيف يكون السرايا الحكومي محاصر وفي نفس الوقت يبتون عبر شاشاتهم عن الوفود التي تتقاطر إلى محاصراً وتأتي كل هذه الوفود

وإذا أخذت مكانها الطبيعي الأحوال، التحريض المذهبي خطيئة وجريمة تاريخية ودينية وإنسانية وسياسية كبرى، في كل أنا أطالب بلجنة تحقيق عربية من جامعة الدول العربية أو فإنها تحرق الجميع. التحريض المذهبي لعب بالنار، واليوم وليحققوا. من الإسلامي، تأتي إلى هنا وتحقق. أنا أقول من يحرض مذهبياً أو طائفياً هو خائن، إسلامية من منظمة المؤتمر يوزع بيانات تحلل قتل أبناء هذه الطائفة أو تلك الذي يقدم اليوم خطاباً طائفياً أو مذهبياً؟ من الذي يحرض؟ من الذي السياسي في لبنان إلى صراع مذهبي؟ ثم يعرفون هم ويعتقدون وهذه شهادة لنا: أننا في الطائفة؟ من الذي يحول الصراع وحساسون اتجاه الفتنة المذهبية بين. حزب الله تحديداً وفي بقية قوى المعارضة الوطنية، حساسون اتجاه الفتنة الطائفية، الله ويقولون أن مكانتنا في العالم العربي تراجعت، وينصحوننا، كلهم الشيعة والسنة. أيضاً يحاولون أن ينالوا من حزب العربي. العالم لحزب الله ولي شخصياً، ويقولون لا تضيعوا ما جمعتموه، ولا تضيعوا مكانتكم في العالم يواجهون النصح شريفة ومقدسة ونحن نخدم قضيتنا. نحن لسنا العربي يعرف، وحصلنا على هذه المكانة لأنه يعرف، أننا أصحاب قضية شهرة، حتى في حكومة الوحدة الوطنية المقبلة، نحن لا نطالب بحصة لحزب طلاب مناصب ولا طلاب مكانة ولا طلاب الوطنية سنتخلى عنها أعلن أمامكم بوضوح: إن المقاعد الوزارية التي تعطى لحزب الله في حكومة الوحدة الله. إنني طلاب منصب، نحن أصحاب قضية، نفتديها بدماننا وأبنائنا ليشارك فيها حلفاؤنا في المعارضة. نحن لسنا طلاب سلطة ولا يخاصمون اليوم ومن يواجهون اليوم، نحن قوم لا نخاف من الشتائم ولا من السباب ولا ، وأقول لهم ليعرفوا من أبنائنا ودماننا وأرواحنا وماء وجوهنا، لا الاتهامات، فليسمعوني جيداً : نحن نخلص لقضيتنا وشعبنا وأمتنا ونقدم من أجلها. أن يشيع في نفس فرق عند الواحد منا أن يجلس على العرش أو يتابعون اليوم أحداث لبنان بشكل تفصيلي وأسألهم لنبحث ثانياً، أخاطب كل لبناني وكل الشعوب العربية والإسلامية الذين

أي لبناني أو أي عربي، أن نسكت أو ندعم حكومة يعلن عن دعمها كل يوم جورج بوش عن مكائنا عندهم: هل يرضى تملك قراراً وطنياً لبنانياً وإنما وإيهود أولمرت؟ هل تقبلون أن ندعم أو نسكت عن حكومة ثبت بالدليل القاطع أنها لا ورائه كوندليزا رايس؟ نحن نريد حكومة لبنانية وطنية لا تخضع لأي تخضع لإرادة وقرار السفير الأميركي فيلتمان ومن ، يختبئون خلف سواء كان عدواً أو صديقاً أو شقيقاً؟ هم ليدافعوا عن تسلط واستنثار الفريق الحاكم أجنبي كما قلت وللجنة في العالم العربي، أن المعارضة تستهدف العنوان المذهبي السنني والشيعي، ويحاولون أن يصورا للجنة في لبنان صحيحاً. هذه الحكومة الغير شرعية ليست حكومة السنة في لبنان وليست حكومة وطنية حكومة السنة في لبنان! هذا ليس وليسمع كل العالم وأقول صادقاً إذا تشكلت على أساس حكومة وحدة وطنية، هذه حكومة السفير الأميركي. وأنا أقول لكم إلا السنة في لبنان لكنت أنا أول المطيعين لهذه الحكومة وقد عودتكم على الصدق: لو كانت هذه الحكومة حكومة اللبنانية بالمذهبية، ولو أردتم أن تدخلوا الملف الفلسطيني في ساحة الصراع فصحة قوى المعارضة فليتوقفوا عن اللعب التباسات الموقف في العراق ، فأنتم تعرفون : مشرقة ومضينة فيما يعني فلسطين، ولكن أين صفحتكم. لو أردتم أن تدخلوا وأعلن هذا بوضوح وشفافاً، ولم نهتم للشتانم لأن الموقف كان حقاً، أما أنتم فادعياء نحن أصلاً ضد الغزو الأميركي للعراق وتدعون إدارة بوش إلى احتلال سوريا بقاء الاحتلال الأميركي، وتمدحون هذا الاحتلال وتروونه صانياً وتعارضون إنهائه، والإسلامية. نحن مع المقاومة في فلسطين، في العراق في كل مكان يحمل فيه وطني وإلى احتلال المزيد من الأرض العربية تشبهوا الأمور على الناس، لا سلاحه من أجل تحرير أرضه من الاحتلال والهيمنة والوصاية. لا تخلطوا المسائل ولا شريف يحتج أحد من الشيعة بموقف فنة سنية هنا أو هناك. هل ليجوز تحجوا بموقف فنة شيعية هنا أو هناك، كما لا يجوز أن مع إسرائيل في الأهل الكرام والأحباء والأخوة، أهل السنة في العالم لأن رئيساً عربياً وقع صلحاً لشيعي أن يقف ويحاسب أحد أهل السنة مسؤولية بعض الزعماء كامب ديفيد ويحمل أهل السنة مسؤولية صلح كامب ديفيد؟ هل يجوز أن يحمل ويحاصرون الانتفاضة في فلسطين؟ أبداً. الشيعة ليسوا حساباً واحداً، الذين يصفحون الصهاينة ويطلبون مع الصهاينة وسنة هنا وهناك، هناك حساباً واحداً وليسوا معسكراً واحداً. وليسوا مشروعاً واحداً. في كل بلد هناك شيعة والسنة ليسوا الآخر على أساس مواقفه الوطنية والقومية التي تخدم مسلمون هنا وهناك. هناك مسيحيون هنا وهناك. فليحاسب بعضنا هذا الأمر جانباً. ولكن من المؤسف والمحزن أنه في الأيام الأخيرة عمموا على بعضهم مصالح وطنه ومصالح أمته. دعوا الحرب والدمار والتبعات البعض وأعادوا فتح ملف الحرب الأخيرة في تموز وأب، ليعيدوا تحميل حزب الله مسؤولية واضح. أنا من الذين كانوا يحرصون دائماً على تأجيل الكلام الاقتصادية وإلى آخره، ويبدو أن هناك تعميم واضح وتركيز اللبنانيين، ولكن ما دتم تصرون فاسمعوا، قبل أن أشرح وأوضح أقول للمعارضة جميعها في هذا الملف لمصلحة نتائج ولا ردات فعل وسوف يستغرب وخصوصاً للجمهور الذي يعتبر نفسه معيناً مباشرة بالمقاومة، ما أقوله ليس له عندنا وحرصون ، ما أقوله لن يغير من الهدف شيئاً، وسوف نبقى العالم: كم نحن وأنتم أخلاقيون ومتسامحون ومتواضعون لبنانية لنشكل حكومة وحدة وطنية ، ولكن اسمعوا عن الحرب: أنا أدعو إلى تشكيل لجنة قضائية نقول لهم : تعالوا معاً مسألة الحرب الأخيرة. هم يتهمونا، ولكن من قضاة نزيهين أو لجنة قضائية عربية من قضاة نزيهين، ولتفتح تحقيقاً في أمريكا، من جورج بوش وديك تشيني بشكل رسمي أن تشن الحرب على لبنان أنا اليوم بصراحة سأتهمهم. الذي طلب من لبنانية لانتزاع سلاح الحوار حول سلاح المقاومة باعتقادهم وصل إلى طريق مسدود وأن لاإمكانية داخلية بدليل أن وهذا ما أكدته استطلاعات الرأي العامة، ولأن الجيش المقاومة لأنها قوية وذات جمهور لبناني عريض في كل الطوائف مع المقاومة، قالوا لهم لا سبيل لبناني ومحلي ل، هاء مسألة المقاومة، الطريق الوحيد اللبناني جيش وطني يرفض الصدام قاضية ليس على حزب الله فقط بل هو أن تطلب الإدارة الأمريكية من حكومة (إيهود) أولمرت أن تشن حرباً كبيرة مدمرة حزب الله فقط بل على حزب الله وعلى كل الذين يؤيدونه أو على حزب الله أن تشن حرباً كبيرة مدمرة قاضية ليس على المقاومة باقية ولا تقوم لها حتى في المستقبل قائمة يحتضنونه حتى لا تبقى لهذه

19-09-2006 المستقبل

طالب بإسقاط نظرية الساحة المستباحة
 جنبلاط: بعيداً عن الاجتهادات الإلهية
 النصر عملي وكل لبنان شارك في تحقيقه

طالب رئيس "الحزب التقدمي الاشتراكي" النائب وليد جنبلاط بإسقاط "نظرية الساحة المستباحة"، معتبراً ان "ذلك لا يتم إلا من خلال تعزيز دولة الطائف التي تشكل القاسم المشترك لجميع الأفرقاء". واعتبر أن "النصر هو نصر عملي بعيداً عن الاجتهادات الإلهية والفقهيّة، إنه نصر شارك كل لبنان في تحقيقه، كل على طريقته". وقال جنبلاط في افتتاحية جريدة "الأبناء" الأسبوعية الصادرة عن "الحزب التقدمي" ينشر اليوم: "انتهت الحرب وظهر حجم الدمار الذي أتى على لبنان من جرائها، وهذه الخسائر هي الدليل على الكلفة الباهظة التي دفعت من قبل كل اللبنانيين. لقد كان لبنان ساحة صراع مفتوحة بين اسرائيل والولايات المتحدة من جهة وبين سوريا ويران من جهة ثانية. من هنا، كانت مطالبتنا ولا تزال بإسقاط نظرية الساحة اللبنانية المستباحة، وذلك لا يتم إلا من خلال تعزيز الدولة، دولة الطائف، التي تشكل القاسم المشترك لجميع الأفرقاء".

أضاف: "لبنان سيبقى على التزامه القضايا العربية وعلى رأسها القضية الفلسطينية التي لا تحل إلا بتطبيق المبادرة العربية التي أعلنها الملك عبد الله بن عبد العزيز في قمة بيروت 2002، والتي تركز الى مبدأ الأرض مقابل السلام وقيام دولة فلسطينية قابلة للحياة".

أضاف: "بقدر ما نستطيع تعزيز مشروع الدولة اللبنانية بقدر ما نقلص من فرص استخدام لبنان لأغراض اقليمية ودولية هي أبعد ما تكون عن طاقاته وقدراته وألوياته. وليست الدعوات المتكررة لتغيير الحكومة تحت شعار حكومة الوحدة الوطنية إلا محاولة يسعى من خلالها من يروج لها الى إحداث تغييرات ينفذ عبرها الى تعطيل المحكمة الدولية في اغتيال الرئيس الشهيد رفيق الحريري. لهذا نكرر المطالبة بإعادة تأكيد مقررات الحوار التي تم التوصل اليها بالاجماع وأولها موضوع المحكمة الدولية، فضلا عن موضوع التحديد ثم الترسيم والعلاقات الدبلوماسية بين لبنان وسوريا ومسألة تثبيت لبنانية مزارع شبعاً وسحب السلاح الفلسطيني خارج المخيمات كمرحلة أولى".

وأردف: "أما بالنسبة إلى الحديث عن الانتصار، والذي أخذ طابع النصر الإلهي بحسب "حزب الله"، فقد يكون من المفيد التذكير ان مستويات ثلاثة حققت هذا النصر:

- 1- صمود المقاومة على أرض المعركة، وهو تحقق بإصرار المقاومين ولكن أيضاً بالترسانة المتطورة من الأسلحة.
- 2- المساعي الدبلوماسية المكثفة التي قادتها حكومة الرئيس فؤاد السنيورة، والتي حققت دورها انتصاراً للبنان عبر سحب مشروع القرار الفرنسي - الأميركي واستبداله بقرار جديد يراعي النقاط السبع التي أقرتها الحكومة اللبنانية بالاجماع.
- 3- الوحدة الداخلية واحتضان اللبنانيين للنازحين بعيداً عن الحساسيات والخلافات السياسية، وهو ما أجهض أية محاولة للفتنة الداخلية.

هذه المرتكزات الثلاثة حققت النصر، وهو نصر عملي بعيداً عن الاجتهادات الإلهية والفقهيّة، إنه نصر شارك كل لبنان في تحقيقه، كل على طريقته".

Hezbollah leader: Militants 'won't surrender arms'

POSTED: 3:46 p.m. EDT, September 22, 2006

BEIRUT, Lebanon (CNN) -- In a speech to thousands of cheering supporters, the leader of Hezbollah vowed Friday the militants never will give up their arms, as called for in the U.N. resolution that ended its 34-day war with Israel last month.

"No army in the world will force us to drop our weapons, force us to surrender our arms, as long as people believe in this resistance," said Hassan Nasrallah, who claimed Hezbollah victorious in the fighting.

But he added, "We do not wish to keep our weapons forever," because they should not be part of domestic life. He assured the crowd, "Those who say the resistance is weak, I want to say it's stronger than ever."

"We were prepared for a long war. What we offered during that war is only a small part of our capability," he said.

"Today the resistance owns more than 25,000 missiles. ... The resistance has been able to regroup and rearm and regain its capability."

Nasrallah, who called for national unity among all Lebanese, spoke in one of the southern Beirut suburbs that was heavily bombed by the Israeli military.

They "said this courtyard would be bombed and this building would be destroyed in order to frighten and intimidate people, and here you are today," Nasrallah said. "... You are the most brave and most courageous of any of them put together."

Hezbollah, he said, should celebrate the "divine and strategic victory."

"Peace be with you and with your martyrs and with your families. I feel your pain, and I salute your tears and your blood and your destroyed homes, and I salute your will and your determination," he said.

Israel says Nasrallah is terrorist

Israel has made no secret of its desire to kill Nasrallah, calling him a leading terrorist in the region.

Acknowledging his vulnerability, Nasrallah said: "My presence here is not without any danger. However, my heart and my soul would not allow me to address you from a distance and through some screen."

He walked through the crowd greeting people and shaking hands before starting his speech. Many were waving yellow Hezbollah flags.

Israel launched a major military campaign July 12 to dislodge Hezbollah from southern Lebanon after militants kidnapped two Israeli soldiers, and after months of Hezbollah rocket attacks on northern Israel.

The fighting generally stopped after the August 14 passage of Resolution 1701 by the U.N. Security Council, which also called for the re-establishment of Lebanese government control over the area.

Nasrallah, speaking on the Muslim Sabbath, urged all groups in Lebanon, including Christians, to unite against any interlopers, and warned the U.N. peacekeeping forces called in to monitor the fragile cease-fire to stick to their mission. The soldiers are supporting the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon, or UNIFIL, and Lebanese soldiers.

"Your job is not to spy on Hezbollah or dismantle Hezbollah," he said.

Nasrallah vowed that Lebanon will never give up its claim to the Shebaa Farms, a disputed area near the Israeli-Lebanese border.

"We will not give up one inch of Middle East territory," he said.

Although Nasrallah declared victory in the war, he previously said that if Hezbollah could have predicted Israel's response, it would not have abducted the Israeli soldiers and sparked the fighting. He made that comment in a televised interview with Lebanon's New TV last month.

In that interview, Nasrallah said if he had thought there had been "a 1 percent possibility" that Israel's military response would have been as extensive as it turned out to be, "I would say no, I would not have entered this for many reasons -- military, social, political, economic."

He added, "If there was a 1 percent possibility, we would not have done that. We would not have done any capturing."

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert called those remarks a "contrition speech" by Nasrallah and said, "It's absolutely clear that Hezbollah has been whipped."

But Nasrallah was not contrite as he spoke to the crowd Friday.

He called the conflict "an American war."

"It was an American war by providing the arms and the planning and by giving deadline after deadline to the enemy. What stopped the war was the Zionists' failure to defeat us," he said. "They thought the war would lead Hezbollah to give in. ..."

"Lebanon has been victorious, Palestine has been victorious, Arab nations have been victorious."

Nasrallah called Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez "a great hero" for speaking against President Bush at the U.N. General Assembly on Wednesday. (Watch Hugo Chavez cross himself as he tells world leaders he can smell the devil -- 1:06)

Chavez called Bush the devil and said that, "as the spokesman of imperialism, he came to share his nostrums to try to preserve the current pattern of domination, exploitation and pillage of the peoples of the world.

Nasrallah defended Hezbollah supporters Iran and Syria, which have been criticized for supplying arms and money to the militants, and said the Hezbollah stances have nothing to do with the international outcry over Iran's nuclear-enrichment program.

نصر الله وردود الفعل

اعلن امين عام حزب الله السيد حسن نصر الله امام منات الالف المواطنين الذين تجمعوا في مهرجان الانتصار في الضاحية الجنوبية رفضه للفتن ومشاريع التقسيم وركز على الحوار وعلى ضرورة بناء الدولة القوية القادرة والعادلة التي تبدأ بحكومة وحدة وطنية وبقانون انتخابي لا يشعر احد انه مغبون فيه وأشار الى ان الانقسام الحاصل في لبنان ليس انقساماً مذهبياً طائفياً بل هو انقسام سياسي واكد ان المقاومة حمت لبنان من الحرب الاهلية وهي اليوم اقوى من أي يوم مضى مشيراً الى ان حزب الله استعاد وضعه التنظيمي والعسكري موضحاً ان الترسانة الصاروخية لحزب الله اكثر من عشرين الف صاروخ والتخلي عن السلاح يكون بزوال اسبابه وشدت على ان الانتصار الذي تحقق ليس انتصاراً فنوياً انه انتصار لكل الشرفاء للمسلمين والمسيحيين وان السلاح الذي بحوزة المقاومة ليس سلاحاً شيعياً، انه سلاح اللبنانيين جميعاً وشدت نصر الله على اننا لن نصير طويلاً على الخروقات الإسرائيلية وجدد ترحيبه باليونيفيل وفق التزامها بمهامها، وأكد ان الرهان على خلاف بين الجيش اللبناني والمقاومة رهان خاسر ان كان خارجياً او محلياً مشيراً الى ان بعض الأطراف يسعى لذلك فالجيش والمقاومة أخان حبيبان وأشار الى ان الجيش لن يكون عداداً لإحصاء الخروقات الإسرائيلية وشدت على ضرورة تسليحه.

وهاجم نصر الله رئيس الحزب التقدمي الاشتراكي وليد جنبلاط وطلبه بالاعتذار من شعب المقاومة وجمهورها على خلفية كلامه بانه لا يفكر مشدداً على ان حزب الله ليس فنة شمولية، "فلم يكن جدي بيك ولا ابي بيك ولن يكون ابني بيكاً".

ورأى ان الحكومة الحالية ليست قادرة على توحيد لبنان وصيانتته واعماره. وانتقد دموع الرئيس السنيورة أمام اجتماع وزراء الخارجية العرب في بيروت وهاجم الحكام العرب الذين يحمون عروشهم بدماء الفلسطينيين مشيراً الى ان حجة العرب بهزيمة إسرائيل سقطت بعد الانتصار الذي سجلته المقاومة واكد ان الأسرى اللبنانيين سيعودون جميعاً من خلال عملية تبادل غير مباشرة مثلما وعد لدى اسر الجنديين الإسرائيليين.

- الرئيس السنيورة علق عبر مكتبه الإعلامي على كلام نصر الله وقال ان تركيز السيد نصر الله على موضوع الحوار امر جيد وبناء ويفتح آفاقاً مستقبلية.

- النائب جنبلاط رفض في اتصال مع " السفير " التعليق على خطاب نصر الله ونقلت عن أوساطه انه سيتخذ الموقف المناسب في الوقت المناسب.. مكتفية بالقول ان جنبلاط لم يكن مرتاحاً لما صدر من مواقف عن نصر الله

Appendix M. Sayed Hassan Nassrallah (August 15, 2006)

::الإنتصار والإعمار::

وعد - 2006/08/15 - 5:27 | مرات القراءة: 3530

السيد نصرالله وجه كلمة الى اللبنانيين تناول فيها المستجدات :أنا امام نصر استراتيجي وتاريخي وليس في هذا اي مبالغة للبنان كل لبنان وللمقاومة وللامانة كل الامانة . وجه الأمين العام لحزب الله السيد حسن نصر الله كلمة إلى اللبنانيين، عبر محطة تلفزيون "المنار"، تناول فيها التطورات والمستجدات المحلية، جاء فيها :

"في هذا اليوم العظيم والجليل، والذي يعود فيه اهلنا الشرفاء والاطهار الى قراهم وديارهم واحيانهم، أتوجه اليكم برسالتني هذه، وأود في هذه الرسالة أن أركز على بعض العناوين والمواضيع . اولاً: ما نحن اليوم فيه، لا اريد ان ادخل في تقييمه ولا في الحديث التفصيلي عنه، وانما استطيع ان اقول بكلمة مختصرة أننا امام نصر استراتيجي وتاريخي، وليس في هذا اي مبالغة للبنان كل لبنان، وللمقاومة وللامانة كل الامانة، ما معنى هذا المختصر، ما هي آفاقه، وما هي ادلته، وما هي وقائعه، هذا ما سأتركه للحديث في الأيام المقبلة لأن الحديث في هذا السياق يتوجه بالدرجة الاولى الى الشهداء، الى التضحيات الشهداء من شهداء المقاومة، من كل الأحزاب والقوى المقاومة الشريفة الى شهداء الجيش، وشهداء القوى الامنية وشهداء الدفاع المدني وشهداء وسائل الاعلام الى الرجال والنساء والاطفال المدنيين، الذين قتلوا وخصوصاً شهداء المجازر، ابتداء من مروحين في الايام الاولى، انتهاء بيوم أمس في بريتل ومحلة صغير ومحلة الرويس ومجمع الامام الحسن عليه السلام، في الضاحية الجنوبية، لان الحديث في هذا السياق هو حديث عن المقاومين والتضحيات والثبات والصمود والناس والاهل والاحبة والاصدقاء والصبر والثقة والتحمل والوفياء الذين وقفوا معنا في لبنان وفي خارجه طيلة هذه الحرب لا اعتقد اني مؤهل واستطيع ان اعبر عما يجول في عقلي ومشاعري، وان اشرح هذا الامر وانا اجلس على كرسي في قبالة الكاميرا، وانما المكان المناسب هو اللقاء القريب مع الناس، مع الاحبة، مع المجاهدين، والخطاب المباشر معهم. لذلك، ما يرتبط بهذا الموضوع سأتركه لتلك المناسبة القريبة، ان شاء الله، لتحدث عن هذا كله عن الاسرى، عن معاناة بقية الارض المحتلة، عن غرة معاناة أهلها، عن فلسطين، عن التضحيات، عن المظلومية عن المسؤولية التاريخية عن المفصل التاريخي عن المرحلة المقبلة . الموضوع الثاني الذي اود ان اتحدث عنه، ما يرتبط بالنازحين وعودتهم الى ديارهم وما بعد هذه العودة بالتأكيد وبالدرجة الاولى يجب ان اتوجه بالتحية الى كل الذين صمدوا في ارض المواجهة . وفي الحقيقة، تحملوا ما لا يطاق لان حجم القصف من الجو والبر والبحر لا سابقة له في تاريخ لبنان، وان حجم الدمار الذي لحقه العدو الاسرائيلي بالبيوتن اضافة الى البنية التحتية، ولكن البيوت يعني يلحق الاذى المباشر بالعائلات لا سابقة له في اي حرب اسرائيلية على لبنان، وهناك دمار وخراب كبيران خلفهما هذا العدو الذي عبر لنا عن حقه ووحشيته وعجزه فقط في الايام القليلة الماضية قام بتدمير آلاف المنازل في الجنوب والضاحية الجنوبية والبقاع وفي مختلف المناطق اللبنانية ولكن كان هناك تركيز كبير جدا على مناطق الجنوب اللبناني وعلى الضاحية الجنوبية والهدف طبعاً هو ايلام الناس ومعاقبتهم على موقفهم على شرفهم على شهادتهم على التزامهم على ايمانهم على انسانيتهم وعلى سموخهم

في كل الأحوال الشكر يجب أن نوجهه والتحية الى الذين صبروا في مرحلة النزوح والتهجير وعادوا اليوم الى مناطقهم والى أرضهم والى ديارهم حتى ولو كانت مهدمة . وأخص ايضا بالشكر كل السكان وأهالي المناطق وكل الطوائف وكل التيارات السياسية والدولة ومؤسسات الدولة وكل الهيئات الانسانية وكل من ساعد وساهم في احتضان أهلنا المهجرين والنازحين خلال فترة الحرب الصعبة . وأتوجه الى العائدين والى الصامدين والى الباحثين في مسألة ما هدم من بيوت أو لحق به الضرر من البيوت هنا صنفان ونوعان وأنا سأحدث عن الوحدات السكنية والبيوت وما سواها من أمور ترتبط بالبنية التحتية بالأوضاع الاقتصادية بالأمور الأخرى التي لحق بها خراباً ودماراً .

أؤجل الحديث عن هذا الأمر الى مرحلة لاحقة وأعتقد ان ما هو ملح الآن هو مسألة المنازل والبيوت لأنها المكان الذي يروي هذه العائلات الشريفة . بالنسبة للبيوت التي لحق بها أذى أو ضرر ولكن ما زالت صالحة للاستخدام والسكن ابتداء من الغد صباحاً، إن شاء الله الأخوة في البلدات، في القرى، وفي المدن أيضاً هم سيبادرون ويتصلون ويجولون على أصحاب هذه المنازل لتقديم العون المباشر والسريع للبدء بترميم هذه المنازل والسكن فيها في أسرع وقت ممكن . بالنسبة للبيوت المهدامة وهي الموضوع الأصبأ أود أن أؤكد أولاً وأن أطمئن هذه العائلات الشريفة أن عليها ألا تقلق، يعني ما قلته في الأيام الأولى للحرب لم يكن هو كلام فقط لتصدوا، اليوم هو يوم الوفاء في هذا الكلام وبهذا الوعد وأنتم إن شاء الله لن تحتاجوا لأن تطلبوا من أحد ولا أن تقفوا في أي صف أو أن تذهبوا الى أي مكان . إخواننا الذين هم إخوانكم وأبنائكم في كل المناطق والبلدات والقرى سيكونون في خدمتكم وايضاً ابتداء من غد صباحاً وستعاونون نحن وإياكم في هذه المسألة . لا نستطيع أن ننتظر طبعاً أمر الحكومة والمعدات المعتمدة لديها وما قد تستهلك وتحتاج لبعض الوقت . بكل الأحوال ما ستقوم به الحكومة ويمكن متابعته خلال الفترة القريبة المقبلة ولكن ما يمكن أن نتعاون به هو أن نعمل سوياً على خطين وفي وقت واحد وابتداء من الغد

الخط الأول هو تأمين مبلغ مالي معقول لكل عائلة يساعدها على أن تستأجر منزلا لمدة سنة وتشتري أثاثا للمنزل، أثناء لانقا ومناسبا لهذا المنزل لأن عملية إعادة بناء البيوت والمنازل والأبنية وبالتأكيد هي تحتاج الى شهور ومن الطبيعي في هذه المرحلة أن يستأجر الانسان منزلا ويشترى أثاثا لهذا المنزل وهذا ابتداء من غد . إن شاء الله وخلال أيام قليلة أستطيع القول انه سوف يتم تغطية كل هذه الحالات وإن كانت حالات كبيرة وخطيرة. حتى هذه اللحظة الاحصاء الأولي المتوفر لدينا في ما يتعلق بالبيوت المهتمة تهديما كاملا يتجاوز الخمس عشرة ألف وحدة سكنية وأنا اعرف ان هذا أمر كبير وخطير ولكن إن شاء الله نحن نملك ارادة هذا العمل وهذا الانجاز . والخط الثاني هو البدء برفع الانتفاض وأعمال البناء عسى ولعل أن نتمكن نحن وإياكم إن شاء الله وخلال شهور قليلة من بناء كل هذه المنازل التي هدمت، هنا المسألة أيضا هي مسألة ارادة. الارادة والايامن والصبر والتحمل والجديّة والتخطيط والدقة والعمل الدؤوب الذي من خلاله استطعنا أن نواجه العدوان وأن نصمد وأن ننتصر بنفس هذه المعاني وبفلسفة هذه القيم والمشاعر نستطيع أن نخوض محنة وتجربة إعادة البناء وننتصر بها إن شاء الله . في هذا السياق ادعو جميع المهندسين ونحن هنا لا يكفي أن نوفر المال إنما هناك حاجة الى التضامن والالتزام والتعاون من المهندسين وتجار البناء وتجار مواد البناء وتجار الأثاث المنزلي، يعني لا يجوز أن يقدم أحد على رفع الأسعار نتيجة ازدياد الطلب، يجب ان يتصرف الكل بمسؤولية وبمسؤولية وطنية أيضا . نحن في حاجة الى الجهد المباشر، الى اليد العاملة امام هذا الحجم من اعمال البناء التي نحتاج اليها . قد لا تتوافر اليد العاملة الكافية بسبب الظروف التي عاشتها البلد خلال الشهور الماضية، هنا جميعا يجب ان نتطوع ونعمل الى جانب اصحاب هذه المنازل في اعادة البناء . وهنا، ادعو الشباب اللبناني الى التطوع بالروح الوطني نفسها، التي شاهدناها خلال مرحلة المواجهة والاحتضان والاندفاع المدني والغيرة والحمية مع المودة والمحبة والتهفة على الناس، وواجه النداء بالتحديد الى شباب حزب الله الى اخواننا في كل المؤسسات والاطراف والمجاهدين الى شباب التعبئة والطلاب والنقابيين والمهمن الحرة، الى الجميع يجب ان ننزل الى الارض في معركة البناء وفي كل قرية وفي كل حي وفي كل مدينة، فلندع اعتباراتنا الشخصية جانباً وما يحتاجه هذا البناء حتى على مستوى العمل العادي البسيط يجب ان نساهم فيه، وان نكون حاضرين فيه، واعتقد ان الاعداد الكبيرة والالوف المؤلفة التي نعبر عنها لو اخذنا من كل اخ ومن كل شخص يوم او يومين او أيام عدة او ساعات عدة في كل يوم نستطيع ان نقدم جهدا كبيرا ونوفر امكانات مالية كبيرة . في كل الاحوال، هذا جهد عظيم وضخم، وايضا المتبرعون والمغتربون الذين اعتدنا على دعمهم في كل انحاء العالم، المجال مفتوح امامهم ايضا لهذه المساهمة والمشاركة لان استكمال النصر انما يكون باعادة البناء، وخصوصا بناء البيوت والمنازل، كما كانت وافضل مما كانت ليعود اليها هؤلاء الشرفاء الذين لولا صمودهم لما كان هذا النصر . الموضوع الأخير في رسالتي هذه يرتبط بمسألة الجدل الذي بدأ قبل أيام حول سلاح المقاومة، وأنا بالتأكيد لا أريد أن أدخل في هذا الجدل وإنما أريد أن أقارب المسألة بطريقة مسؤولة وحريصة . أياها الأخوة والأخوات، أثناء القتال وعندما كان أحباؤكم وأعزائكم مجاهدو المقاومة يسطرون البطولات والملاحم ويصنعون المعجزات كان هناك نقاش في الغرف المغلقة والقنوات الخاصة حول صورة الوضع الذي يمكن أن يكون عليه الجنوب ومنطقة جنوب نهر اللبثاني بالتحديد وحول مسألة المقاومة والجيش اللبناني هناك ومسألة الحدود وقوات الطوارئ الدولية، وفي حال حصول هذا الانتشار ما هو مكان المقاومة وموقعها وسلاحها وكيف ستتصرف المقاومة؟ وكانت هذه النقاشات مسؤولة وجادة وحريصة وكانت تدار هذه النقاشات في الحقيقة من خلال أخينا الأكبر الرئيس نبيه بري الذي يشكل بحق ضمانة وطنية كبرى، وأنا أمل من كل أولئك الذين فتحوا هذا الملف في الاعلام أن يصغوا اليه ويستمعوا الى صوته ويقفوا عند كلمته في معالجة هذا الأمر الحساس والخطير والمصري . في كل الأحوال هذه النقاشات كانت قائمة قبل صدور القرار عن مجلس الأمن وبعد صدور القرار الى آخر جلسة للحكومة اللبنانية، طرح هذا الأمر وحصل نقاش ما حوله وفوجئنا أن بعض الوزراء في الحكومة قاموا بتسريب هذا الأمر أمر النقاش والاختلاف في وجهات النظر الى بعض محطات التلفزة المحلية والعربية وبدأ الجدل والنقاش يتسع ويتسع ويكبر، وما كان ينبغي أن يبقى نقاشه في الغرف المغلقة تحول الى نقاش علني وهذا طبعاً برأيي ليس فيه مصلحة وطنية وليس مناسباً على الإطلاق. لكن في كل الأحوال ادعو مجدداً الى إعادة هذا النقاش الى قنواته الطبيعية المسؤولة وهي معروفة

في كل الأحوال نحن فضلنا أن لا ندخل في هذا السجال لأننا نعتبر انه لا يخدم المصلحة الوطنية وإنما يخدم العدو العدو الذي الآن بدأ بالداخل سجالات حادة في داخل المؤسسة العسكرية بين المستوى العسكري والمستوى السياسي وبين الحكومة والمعارضة بين اليمين واليسار في الصحافة في الشارع ويبدو ان البعض يريد أيضاً أن يدخل لبنان في سجالات هي ليست لمصلحة لبنان

أنا هنا بكل حرص ومحبة وهذوء ومسؤولية أريد أن ألفت بعض هؤلاء السادة والجهات السياسية الذين نقلوا النقاش الى المستوى الاعلامي والعلني وأود ان ألفتهم الى بعض الأمور. حول خطتهم في هذا المجال . أولاً هناك خطأ في التوقيت على المستوى النفسي والاخلاقي، يعني اليوم وخصوصاً عندما بدأ النقاش يعني قبل وقف إطلاق النار أو ما سمي بالأعمال الحربية فتح هذا النقاش، لبنان كان يقصف، تدمر بناه التحتية، كل المناطق أصيبت كل اللبنانيين أصيبوا ولكن بالتحديد كان الحظ الأوفر هو لأهل الجنوب وأهل البقاع وأهل الضاحية الجنوبية، وهؤلاء يعبرون عن شريحة كبيرة جداً من اللبنانيين في الوقت الذي يعني هنا أريد أن ألفت الى التوقيت النفسي الخاطيء، في الوقت الذي كانت هذه الشريحة الكبيرة المؤمنة بالمقاومة كغيرهم من بقية اللبنانيين والتمسكة بسلاح المقاومة والمعترزة بالمقاومة

والتي تقدم تضحيات جسيمة في الوقت الذي كان ما يقارب المليون نازح عن بيته، في الوقت الذي كانت بيوت هولاء تدمر وقتل قبل قليل لقد تجاوز العدد التقريبي حتى الآن ما يزيد عن خمس عشرة ألف وحدة سكنية، في الوقت الذي غالبية الشهداء المدنيين والمجازر هم من أهل الجنوب والبقاع والضاحية الجنوبية في الوقت الذي شاهدتم فيه العائلات على شاشات التلفزة تنزح وغالبيتها من النساء، الأطفال والشيوخ، الذين بقوا في جبهات القتال هم الشباب الذين كانوا يقاتلون بشهامة وبشجاعة وبصمود ويصنعوا معجزة حقيقية ويقف العدو الاسرائيلي امامهم حائرا خائرا ضعيفا جيانا مهزوما لا يستطيع ان يحقق شيئا من اهدافه، في هذه اللحظة النفسية العاطفية الصعبة والمصيرية يأتي بعض الأشخاص ويجلسون خلف مكاتبهم وتحت المكيف ويتحدثون بأعصاب هادئة وينظرون على الناس بسلاح المقاومة ويتكلمون بلغتهم الخشبية

هم دائما يقولون عنا اننا نتكلم بلغة خشبية، بينما هم الذين يتكلمون باللغة الخشبية، ولم أدخل الآن في مادة هذه اللغة الخشبية هذا أمر غير أخلاقي وغير صحيح وخطأ وغير مناسب بمعزل عن صحة الفكرة التي يتكلمون فيها او لا هل يتصورون ان هولاء الناس هذه الشرائح الكبيرة جدا من المجتمع اللبناني ومن يحتضنها ومن يؤمن بها ومن يدعمها اهولاء بلا مشاعر بلا عواطف هل يمكن ان يتصور ان هولاء كلهم يعني هم قادة سياسيون على درجة عالية من الوعي يتجردون من عواطفهم واحاسيسهم ومشاعرهم، ماذا يفعل هولاء ماذا يقول هولاء، هل هولاء الناس مجرد يعني احجار او مجرد عبيد عندما تكلم بعض النخب السياسية في لبنان عليها ان تسمع وان تصغي وان تطيع هذا خطأ هذا خطأ كبير، طبعا نحن بذلنا جهدا كبيرا حتى لا تكون هناك ردات فعل بأن ما حصل مسينا، وانا ادعو الناس وجمهور المقاومة ومحبي المقاومة مؤيدي المقاومة الى تجاوز ما سمعوه وما يمكن ان يسموه لان التضامن في البلاد ووحدة البلد هو اعلى ما يجب ان نحرص عليه، نحن صبرنا على القتل وعلى الهدم وعلى التدمير وعلى الجراح وعلى التهجير، يمكننا ان نتحمل بعض الاذى ممن يصدر عنه الاذى في هذا المجال وان كنت انا ادعو هولاء الى الكف عن هذا الاذى ادعوهم بكل حرص وبكل مسؤولية ومحبة ان يستوعبوا جيدا الوضع القائم، الوضع النفسي والوضع العاطفي وايضا الوضع المعنوي، يعني هم لا يتحدثون مع قوم صحيح دمرت بيوتهم وقتل اطفالهم ولكنهم خرجوا منتصرين في معركة كانت تهزم فيها جيوش عربية طويلة عريضة، نحن اليوم خرجنا من معركة مرفوعي الرأس وعدونا هو المهزوم وهو الذي سيسشكل لجان تحقيق وهو

اذا انتم هناك وتحدثون مع اناس منتصرين ولكن يوجد تضحيات كبيرة في ثمن هذا النصر الذي حصل عليه لبنان والامة والجميع. هذا امر يجب ان يؤخذ بعين الاعتبار من جهة اخرى. ثانيا في المضمون، المستغرب انه ما كان يدور النقاش حوله هو وضعية السلاح والمقاومة في منطقة جنوب الليطاني الان لا يطلب احد حتى العدو هو الان لا يطالب لبنان ولا المجتمع الدولي يطالب لبنان بأن يسارع الى نزع سلاح المقاومة، هذه المسألة وضعت في اطار المعالجة البعيدة الامد والحل الدائم وما شاكل ولكن للاسف الشديد وجدنا بعض الاصوات التي جاءت لتقول اذا كان المطلوب ان يكون جنوب النهر منزوع السلاح اذا ما هي فائدة السلاح شمال النهر وما هي فائدة سلاح المقاومة في كل لبنان اذا فلنبادر من الان وناقش كل هذا السلاح ليس لنناقشه، هم يطالبون بإنهاء وحسم هذه المسألة، هذا الامر يا احباينا ويا اعزاعنا لا يحسم بهذه الطريقة وبهذه العجلة وأنا أتصح بأن لا يلجأ أحد الى الاستفزاز والى التهويل أو الضغط للاعتبارات الانسانية والاعتبارات الأمنية، نحن نعرف أن من أهم الأهداف الحقيقية للحرب الاميركية الاسرائيلية التي قامت في لبنان مؤخرا من جملة أهدافها هو نزع هذا السلاح وإنهاؤه وعزله وأنا ادعوكم أيضا الى ان تقرأوا وتسمعوا ما قالته وزيرة خارجية العدو أن أقوى جيش في العالم لا يستطيع نزع سلاح حزب الله ثم هذا الامر لا يعالج لا بالاستفزاز ولا بالتهويل ولم يعالج لا بهدم المنازل ولا قتل الأطفال والنساء ولا بخوض أشرس معركة

وفي هذه النقطة يجب أن تكون دقيقين، المطروح للنقاش هو الوضع في منطقة جنوب النهر ونحن كنا وما زلنا نناقش هذا الموضوع في الأطر المسؤولة والجادة ولذلك ايضا في المضمون أنتم تتركبون خطأ أنتم تذهبون أبعد مما يطلبه الاميركي والاسرائيلي الآن من لبنان وهذا أمر مستغرب في الحقيقة. وثالثا في حيثيات المسألة يعني الذين جاؤوا اليوم ليقولوا نحن نطلب من حزب الله أن يسلم سلاحه للدولة، هولاء العظماء هل جاؤوا ومعهم أرض مزارع شبعاً وسيتمكن أصحاب هذه الأراضي من العودة اليها، هل جاؤوا وهم يطلبون منا ذلك ومعهم الأسرى في الجنوب، هل جاؤوا ومعهم ضمانات حقيقية بحماية لبنان وان العدو الاسرائيلي الذي ما زال يهدد والان قبل أن أدخل الى التسجيل كان اولمرت يهدد لبنان الذي ما زال في دائرة التهديد واحتمال الاعتداء عليه في أي وقت من الذي يدافع عن هذا البلد من الذي يلقن العدو درسا من الذي يجعل هذا العدو يدفع ثمنا باهظا. اليوم نعم نحن نستطيع أن ندعي بالاعتزاز أما أي قرار تريد أن تأخذه الحكومة الاسرائيلية في المستقبل ستأخذ بعين الاعتبار أن الحرب مع لبنان ليست نزهة وان الحرب مع كل لبنان مكلفة جدا في البشر وفي الحجر وفي الاقتصاد والكرامة وفي الصورة في الحبيثة هذا الامر الآن يدرس في كيان العدو في شكل دقيق والأيام المقبلة سوف تكشف الخسائر الحقيقية على أكثر من صعيد نتيجة هذه المواجهة القائمة، اذا ما هي البدائل التي جنتم بها الجيش اللبناني نحن نؤيد انتشاره في الجنوب اللبناني لكن الجيش اللبناني في وضعه الحالي في إمكانياته وقدراته الحالية هل يستطيع أن يخوض حربا لو فرضت الحرب على لبنان قوات الطوارئ الدولية لو عززت بعشرة آلاف أو عشرين ألفا أو خمسين ألفا عندما تعدي اسرائيل على لبنان سوف تقف قوات الطوارئ الدولية لتدافع عن لبنان وتحمي لبنان، هذا أمر غير مطروح إذ هناك مسألة ترتبط بمصير البلد بحماية البلد ولا يجوز أن نتعامل معها بهذه العجلة وبهذا التبسيط، هذه المسألة معقدة ونحن قلنا قلنا جاهزون للحوار وما زلنا جاهزين للحوار، الى طاولة الحوار تحدثنا طويلا ودائما

الحجة الدائمة وأنا أعتقد هذا دخل باللغة الخشبية
نحن موافقون على بسط سلطة الدولة ونحن أصلا في الدولة هل نحن خارج الدولة نحن في الحكومة ونحن في المجلس
النيابي ونحن جزء أساسي من هذا البلد ونؤمن بالدولة لكن أي دولة، الدولة القوية القادرة العادلة المقاومة المظمنة
التي يشعر كل اللبنانيين انها تمثلهم وهذا ما أجمعنا عليه على طاولة الحوار هل الدولة القائمة الآن هي هذه الدولة القوية
القادرة المقاومة العادلة المظمنة لكل الشرائح والتيارات السياسية في لبنان هذا يحتاج الي تأمل على طاولة الحوار،
دائما كان النقاش وأنا أصر على هذا المعنى، البعض يأتي ويقول ان سحب سلاح المقاومة شرط أساسي لبناء الدولة
القوية القادرة وأنا أقول العكس ان بناء الدولة القوية والقادرة والمقاومة المظمنة هو المقدمة الطبيعية لتأتي هذه الدولة
الى الشعب اللبناني والى أهل الجنوب وتقول لهم يا أهلنا نحن دولة قوية مقتدرة ومقاومة نستطيع أن نحمي كرامتكم
ودماءكم وأعراضكم وعزتكم وشرفكم ولستم بحاجة الى أن تكونوا في أطر شعبية اسمها مقاومة أو سلاح خاص اسمه او
سلاح المقاومة

البداية تبدأ من بناء دولة قوية قادرة على حماية انناس وكرامة الوطن ولا تنتهي هنا هذه مغالطة كبيرة جدا في كل
الأحوال أريد أن أختتم بالقول فلنعد النقاش الى مكانه الطبيعي والاستمرار في سجال حول هذا الموضوع أنا أتصور أنه
يفقد لبنان قوته الآن قوة لبنان في مقاومته ليس بالمعنى الخاص مقاومته العامة التي تشمل الصمود والتضامن وايضا
الحضور المباشر في الميدان والمقاومة الخاصة المقاومة والوحدة الوطنية واذا حافظنا على عنصر القوة نستطيع أن
نبني الدولة القوية القادرة بجيشها ومؤسساتها الأمنية ومؤسساتها السياسية والمدنية، وبالتالي تشكل الحل لكل
المشكلات القائمة حاليا في البلد

لا تضيعوا عنصر القوة الحالي في البلد، يعني لا تدخلوا في امور وفي سجلات تضيعوا المقاومة وتضيعوا الوحدة وان
هذا لا يساعد على بناء الدولة القوية والقادرة التي نجمع جميعا على لانها الحل والمخرج الوحيد لمستقبل لبنان لنعيش
جميعا في لبنان في ظل هذه الدولة التي تحمي الجميع وتحافظ على كرامة الجميع وتدافع عن الجميع وتطمئن الجميع اذا
فلنعد هذا النقاش الى دوائره الطبيعية والى نقطة النقاش الحقيقية الان وبالتالي انا اقول من خلال المناقشة الجديدة من
خلال الحكماء الموجودين لدينا في البلد احساسنا جميعا بالمسؤولية وبعيدا عن المناقشات الاعلامية والعلنية والمزايدات
انا واثق اننا نستطيع ان نصل الى المعالجات المناسبة التي تحقق المصلحة الوطنية من جهاتها المختلفة .
ختاما، ابارك للعائدين الى ديارهم عودتهم المنتصرة واطمننكم واطمننهم.انتم اهل هذه الارض انتم اصحابها انتم شرفها
انتم كرامتها بكم تعمر الديار وتقوم الكرامة ويصنع التاريخ.

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