Appendix A: RST Relations Classification on Informational/Presentational Basis (the Model)

### Definitions of Presentational Relations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation Name</th>
<th>Constraints on either S or N individually</th>
<th>Constraints on N + S</th>
<th>Intention of W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antithesis</td>
<td>on N: W has positive regard for N</td>
<td>N and S are in contrast (see the Contrast relation); because of the incompatibility that arises from the contrast, one can not have positive regard for both of those situations; comprehending S and the incompatibility between the situations increases R's positive regard for N.</td>
<td>R's positive regard for N is increased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>on N: R won't comprehend N sufficiently before reading text of S</td>
<td>S increases the ability of R to comprehend an element in N</td>
<td>R's ability to comprehend N increases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concession</td>
<td>on N: W has positive regard for N</td>
<td>W acknowledges a potential or apparent incompatibility between N and S; recognizing the compatibility between N and S increases R's positive regard for N</td>
<td>R's positive regard for N is increased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enablement</td>
<td>on N: presents an action by R (including accepting an offer), unrealized with respect to the context of N</td>
<td>R comprehending S increases R's potential ability to perform the action in N</td>
<td>R's potential ability to perform the action in N increases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence</td>
<td>on N: R might not believe N to a degree satisfactory to W</td>
<td>R's comprehending S increases R's belief of N</td>
<td>R's belief of N is increased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on S: R believes S or will find it credible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justification</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>R's comprehending S increases R's readiness to accept W's right to present N</td>
<td>R's readiness to accept W's right to present N is increased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation</td>
<td>on N: N is an action in which R is the actor (including accepting an offer), unrealized with respect to the context of N</td>
<td>Comprehending S increases R's desire to perform action in N</td>
<td>R's desire to perform action in N is increased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>S precedes N in the text; S tends to make R more ready, interested or oriented for reading N</td>
<td>R is more ready, interested or oriented for reading N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation Name</td>
<td>Constraints on either S or N individually</td>
<td>Constraints on N + S</td>
<td>Intention of W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumstance</td>
<td>on S: S is not unrealized</td>
<td>S sets a framework in the subject matter within which R is intended to interpret N</td>
<td>R recognizes that S provides the framework for interpreting N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>on S: S presents a hypothetical, future, or otherwise unrealized situation (relative to the situational context of S)</td>
<td>Realization of N depends on realization of S</td>
<td>R recognizes how the realization of N depends on the realization of S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elaboration</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>S presents additional detail about the situation or some element of subject matter, which is presented in N, or inferentially accessible in N in one or more of the ways listed below. In the list, if N presents the first member of any pair, then S includes the second: - set : member - abstraction : instance - whole : part - process : step - object : attribute - generalization : specific</td>
<td>R recognizes S as providing additional detail for N. R identifies the element of subject matter for which detail is provided.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>on N + S: S relates N to degree of W's positive regard toward N.</td>
<td>R recognizes that S assesses N and recognizes the value it assigns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>On N + S: S relates N to a framework of ideas not involved in N itself and not concerned with W's positive regard</td>
<td>R recognizes that S relates N to a framework of ideas not involved in the knowledge presented in N itself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td>on N: an activity</td>
<td>S presents a method or instrument which tends to make realization of N more likely</td>
<td>R recognizes that the method or instrument in S tends to make realization of N more likely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-volitional Cause</td>
<td>on N: N is not a volitional action</td>
<td>S, by means other than motivating a volitional action, caused N; without the presentation of S, R might not know the particular cause of the situation; a presentation of N is more central than S to W's purposes in putting forth the N-S combination.</td>
<td>R recognizes S as a cause of N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-volitional Result</td>
<td>on S: S is not a volitional action</td>
<td>N caused S; presentation of N is more central to W's purposes in putting forth the N-S combination than is the presentation of S.</td>
<td>R recognizes that N could have caused the situation in S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otherwise</td>
<td>on N: N is an unrealized situation</td>
<td>realization of N prevents realization of S</td>
<td>R recognizes the dependency relation of prevention between the realization of N and the realization of S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>on N: N is an activity; on S: S is a situation that is unrealized</td>
<td>S is to be realized through the activity in N</td>
<td>R recognizes that the activity in N is initiated in order to realize S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restatement</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>On N + S: S restates N, where S and N are of comparable bulk; N is more central to W's purposes than S is.</td>
<td>R recognizes S as a restatement of N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>R recognizes N as a solution to the problem presented in S</td>
<td>R recognizes S as a shorter restatement of N</td>
</tr>
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<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solution hood</td>
<td>on S: S presents a problem</td>
<td>N is a solution to the problem presented in S;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>On N: N must be more than one unit</td>
<td>S presents a restatement of the content of N, that is shorter in bulk</td>
<td>R recognizes S as a shorter restatement of N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unconditional</td>
<td>On S: S conceivably could affect the realization of N</td>
<td>N does not depend on S</td>
<td>R recognizes that N does not depend on S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unless</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>S affects the realization of N; N is realized provided that S is not realized</td>
<td>R recognizes that N is realized provided that S is not realized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volitional Cause</td>
<td>On N: N is a volitional action or else a situation that could have arisen from a volitional action</td>
<td>S could have caused the agent of the volitional action in N to perform that action; without the presentation of S, R might not regard the action as motivated or know the particular motivation; N is more central to W's purposes in putting forth the N-S combination than S is.</td>
<td>R recognizes S as a cause for the volitional action in N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volitional Result</td>
<td>On S: S is a volitional action or a situation that could have arisen from a volitional action</td>
<td>N could have caused S; presentation of N is more central to W's purposes than is presentation of S;</td>
<td>R recognizes that N could be a cause for the action or situation in S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Definitions of Multinuclear Relations</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relation Name</strong></td>
<td><strong>Constraints on each pair of N</strong></td>
<td><strong>Intention of W</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>The items are conjoined to form a unit in which each item plays a comparable role</td>
<td>R recognizes that the linked items are conjoined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>No more than two nuclei; the situations in these two nuclei are (a) comprehended as the same in many respects (b) comprehended as differing in a few respects and (c) compared with respect to one or more of these differences</td>
<td>R recognizes the comparability and the difference(s) yielded by the comparison is being made</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disjunction</td>
<td>An item presents a (not necessarily exclusive) alternative for the other(s)</td>
<td>R recognizes that the linked items are alternatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List</td>
<td>An item comparable to others linked to it by the List relation</td>
<td>R recognizes the comparability of linked items</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multinuclear Restatement</td>
<td>An item is primarily a re expression of one linked to it; the items are of comparable importance to the purposes of W</td>
<td>R recognizes the re expression by the linked items</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence</td>
<td>There is a succession relationship between the situations in the nuclei</td>
<td>R recognizes the succession relationships among the nuclei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: The Analysis of English Editorials

Article (1): Is This the "Smoking Gun"?

*Telegraph*, By Anton LaGuardia
17 January 2003

Text no. 1
(Will the discovery of chemical warheads in Iraq trigger a war? Those opposed to war will doubtless say it is a trivial find.)¹ (But many others will see it as the "smoking gun" amounting to a "material breach" of the United Nations resolutions on disarmament,)² (and proving the lie of Iraq's claim not to have any banned weapons.)³
Rhe-rel (1-2 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Joint)

Text (2)
(The inspectors, a who have in recent days adopted a much tougher tone, b will play a key role in interpreting the importance of the find.)c (Do the warheads point to the existence of a secret stock of chemical agent,)² (or are they a quartermaster's oversight?)³
Rhe-rel (a-b & c of 1 Continued)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Disjunction)

Text no. 3
(That was the line taken last night by Iraq, which claimed it had "forgotten" the munitions,)¹ (and thus omitted them from its 12,000-page declaration on its arms programmes made to the UN in December.)²
Rhe-rel (1-2 Conjunction)

Text no. 4
(Under the terms of UN Security Council Resolution 1441, passed unanimously in November,)¹ (inspectors are due to submit a full report on Iraq's compliance on Jan 27.)² (But they will go back sooner)³ (if they regard the discovery as serious.)⁴ (Resolution 1441 requires the inspectors "to report immediately to the council any interference by Iraq with inspection activities,)⁵ (as well as failure by Iraq to comply with its disarmament obligations".)⁶ (The Security Council would then meet "to consider the situation and the need for full compliance with all the relevant council resolutions in order to secure international peace".)⁷
Text no.5
(The resolution is ambiguous on the question of force.)¹ (It does not give explicit approval for war, but neither does it require a second resolution to authorise military action.)²

Text no.6
(Britain and America believe that the Security Council must approve a war to disarm and depose Saddam)¹ (if there is a material breach.)² (If the UN blocks actions,)³ (they reserve the right to take action alone.)⁴ (But Arab countries, and others opposed to war, are likely to make a final argument to delay military action,)⁵ (saying that the discovery of a "smoking gun" proves the inspectors are effective and can disarm Iraq.)⁶

Text no.7
(Even before yesterday's discovery,)¹ (America had argued that Iraq twice committed a "material breach" since the passage of Resolution 1441.)² (The first time was in November following Iraqi attacks on allied aircraft patrolling the "no-fly" zones, and the second was Iraq's December declaration which the United States said contained glaring omissions.)³

Text no.8
(Even if the inspectors decide that the warheads are insignificant,)¹ (Iraq would remain under extreme pressure.)² (America will point to the discovery of undeclared chemical munitions as another example of Iraq's "pattern" of non-compliance.)³
Iraq has allowed inspectors to work with unprecedented freedom, entering Saddam's palaces, visiting the bases of Iranian dissident groups\(^1\) (and searching the homes of Iraqi scientists.)\(^2\) (But there has been a growing chorus of demands, including from the inspectors themselves that Iraq has to move from "passive" compliance to "active" co-operation if it wants to avert war.)\(^3\) (In particular, Saddam has to account for the chemical and biological weapons, as well as the missiles and other means of delivering them, listed by the UN as unaccounted for when they left Iraq in 1998.)\(^4\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 List)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Elaboration, generalization: specific)

(If the warheads are a minor breach,)\(^1\) (Britain will nevertheless urge America to stick by the inspectors in the belief that they will, sooner or later, find the evidence that will damn Saddam.)\(^2\) (If they are the "smoking gun"),\(^3\) (Britain will urge America to seek Security Council approval for military action.)\(^4\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Condition)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Condition)

http://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/168-general/37575.html or
http://www.telegraph.co.uk

Article (2): Iraq and Al Qaeda: No Evidence of Alliance
By Rohan Gunaratna
International Herald Tribune, February 19, 2003

(Although Al Qaeda has suffered some heavy setbacks since the attacks on the United States in September 2001,)\(^1\) (its core leadership is intact and continues to provide ideological and strategic direction.)\(^2\) (As long as Osama bin Laden, the Al Qaeda leader, Ayman Zawahiri, the principal strategist, and Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, head of the Al Qaeda military committee, are alive,)\(^3\) (the United States is at risk of another serious terrorist attack.)\(^4\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Concession)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Circumstance)
**Text no. 2**
(Al Qaeda is growing.)¹ (For every Al Qaeda and Taliban member captured or killed in Afghanistan, the group has been able to recruit another one or two members.)² (For every terrorist support cell detected and disrupted, even in Europe,)³ (Al Qaeda has been able to establish a new cell to disseminate propaganda, raise funds and recruit.)⁴

Rhe-rel (1-2 Justification)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Preparation)

**Text no. 3**
(There is overwhelming evidence that Iraq is not complying with UN resolutions to account for its chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weapons programs.)¹ (However, the case that Saddam's regime has helped Al Qaeda is weak.)² (Iraqi intelligence agents have met with Al Qaeda leaders and operatives,)³ (but there is no conclusive evidence of Iraqi assistance to Al Qaeda.)⁴ (Al Qaeda operatives have traveled in and out of Baghdad,)⁵ (but there is no evidence of state sponsorship.)⁶

Rhe-rel (1-2 Concession)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Contrast)

**Text no. 4**
(Since U.S. intervention in Afghanistan in October 2001,)¹ (I have examined several tens of thousands of documents recovered from Al Qaeda and Taliban sources.)² (In addition to listening to 240 tapes taken from Al Qaeda's central registry,)³ (I debriefed several Al Qaeda and Taliban detainees,)⁴ (I could find no evidence of links between Iraq and Al Qaeda.)⁵ (The documentation and interviews indicated that Al Qaeda regarded Saddam, a secular leader, as an infidel.)⁶

Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Joint)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Evidence)
Text no. 5
(Saddam has sponsored terrorism against Israel, Kuwait and Iran.)¹ (He has provided money and weapons to such terrorist groups, but not chemical, biological or radiological material.)² (He did not transfer chemical and biological weapons to terrorist groups,)³(probably because he knew that they could one day be used against his secular regime.)⁴
Rhe-rel (1-2 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Volitional Cause)

Text no. 6
(But the U.S. threat to invade Iraq might prompt Saddam to establish ties with any enemy of America.)¹ (The threat of an invasion is already starting to undermine the global campaign against Al Qaeda and its associate groups.)²
Rhe-rel (1-2 Concession)

Text no. 7
(An invasion that lacks a broad base of support in the Islamic community is likely to cause severe disruption and damage to the security, intelligence, law enforcement)¹ (and judicial cooperation that the U.S. government has built in Muslim countries since 2001.)² (As a result of this cooperation,)³ (U.S. and foreign counterpart agencies have prevented at least three dozen terrorist attacks against U.S., allied and friendly targets.)⁴ (More than 3,000 Al Qaeda leaders, agents and supporters have been arrested in 98 countries in the last 15 months.)⁵ (This has reduced the threat of terrorism significantly.)⁶
Rhe-rel (1-2 List)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Volitional Result)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Volitional Result)

Text no. 8
(If the United States launches a unilateral invasion of Iraq,)¹ (Muslim rulers and regimes in the Middle East and Asia will come under sustained pressure from their citizens.)² (Especially if the military operation in Iraq is protracted and causes extensive civilian casualties,)³ (the Muslim public will demand to know why their governments are continuing to support the United States when fellow Muslims are being killed.)⁴
Rhe-rel (1-2 Condition)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Condition)
Text no. 9
(As public support for Muslim governments declines,)¹ (information sources will dry up and the flow of counterterrorism intelligence will suffer.)² (Muslim law enforcement and intelligence officials will be reluctant even to conduct counterterrorist operations.)³ (As a result, U.S. intelligence agencies and law enforcement authorities will fail to detect terrorist infiltration and attack plans against American targets at home and overseas.)⁴

Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Non-volitional Result)

Text no. 10
(A number of key Muslim countries in Asia,⁵ such as Malaysia, Indonesia and Pakistan,⁶ have cooperated with the United States in countering terrorism.)⁷ (In addition to weakening this work, a unilateral invasion of Iraq would strengthen the popularity of Islamist political parties at the expense of moderate groups.)² (This would make it easier for terrorist groups to operate.)³ (Islamist propaganda has already identified the United States as the main enemy and sensitized Muslims in their Middle East and Asian heartlands,)⁴ (as well as Muslim migrant communities in North America, Europe and Australia.)⁵ (An invasion of Iraq would give a new lease on life to existing and emerging terrorist groups.)⁶

Rhe-rel (a-b & c of 1 Continued)
Rhe-rel (1-2 Joint)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Non-Volitional Result)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (4-6 Interpretation)

http://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/167-attack/35215.html
http://nuclearn.org/text.asp?5171
Article (3): Bush Gives Saddam and His Sons 48 Hours to Leave Iraq

By Julian Borger

Guardian, March 18, 2003

Text no.1
(President George Bush last night gave Saddam Hussein and his sons 48 hours to give up power and go into exile)\(^1\) (or face invasion by more than a quarter of a million US and British troops massed on Iraq's borders.)\(^2\) (In a televised address to the nation, Mr. Bush urged Iraqi soldiers not to fight for a "dying regime")\(^3\) (and said they would be given instructions on what to do to avoid being "attacked and destroyed").\(^4\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Otherwise)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Conjunction)

Text no.2
(The Iraqi regime quickly rejected the ultimatum, a response the US administration said it had expected.)\(^1\) (In effect, the president's 15-minute televised address to the nation from the White House was a declaration of war, \(^a\) which could come any time after tomorrow night.)\(^b\) ("Saddam Hussein and his sons must leave Iraq within 48 hours.")\(^3\) (Their refusal to do so will result in military conflict commenced at a time of our choosing," the president said.)\(^4\) (He warned foreigners, including journalists and weapons inspectors,)\(^5\) (to leave immediately.)\(^6\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Background)
Rhe-rel (a-b of 2 Continued)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Volitional Result)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Purpose)

Text no.3
(Mr. Bush also braced Americans for retaliatory attacks at home and abroad and assured them that security measures were being taken to protect them,)\(^1\) (including the deportation of "certain individuals with ties to Iraqi intelligence services" and higher security at airports and seaports.)\(^2\) (As soon as the president finished speaking,)\(^3\) (the national alert level was raised to code orange, signifying there was a high threat of terrorist attack.)\(^4\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, process: step)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Circumstance)
Text no.4
(The president expressed regret that the United Nations Security Council had chosen not to back military action against Iraq,)¹ (hours after the US, Britain and Spain decided to withdraw a resolution threatening military force in the face of staunch opposition from France and Russia.)² (The president justified the impending invasion on grounds of pre-emptive self-defence,)³ (arguing that Baghdad could arm terrorists with weapons of mass destruction.)⁴
Rhe-rel (1-2 Sequence)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Justification)

Text no.5
("The United Nations security council has not lived up to its responsibilities,)¹ (so we will rise to ours," he said.)² (As the Security Council broke up amid acrimony earlier yesterday,)³ (the UN secretary general, Kofi Annan, questioned the legitimacy of such an attack.)⁴
Rhe-rel (1-2 Volitional Result)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Circumstance)

Text no.6
(Much of last night's presidential address was directed towards the Iraqi armed forces in an attempt to persuade them)¹ (to stand aside rather than defend Saddam and his two sons, Qusay and Uday, who both hold powerful positions in the regime.)² (Iraqi commanders, the president said, would be given "clear instructions to avoid being attacked and destroyed".)³ (He also told the Iraqi forces not to destroy oil wells or obey instructions to use chemical or biological weapons,)⁴ (or they would face war crimes trials.)⁵ ("It will be no defence to say :)⁶ (I was just following orders.")⁷ (His remarks came a few hours)⁸ (after Pentagon officials said they had intelligence that Republican Guard units south of Baghdad may have been issued with chemical munitions.)⁹
Rhe-rel (1-2 Purpose)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Joint)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Otherwise)
Rhe-rel (6-7 Justification)
Rhe-rel (8-9 Circumstance)
Text no.7
(As for ordinary Iraqis, the president promised: "The day of your liberation is near.")¹ (The assault would not be aimed at them,² (and US troops would bring food and medicine.)³ (As the final countdown to war began,⁴ (UN monitors on the Kuwait-Iraq border left their observation posts between Iraq's 350,000-strong army and a gathering force of 225,000 American and 45,000 British troops, supported by six aircraft carriers and more than 600 combat aircraft.)⁵

Rhe-rel (2-3 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Circumstance)

http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2003/mar/18/iraq.usa1

Article (4): After the fall

Guardian, April 10, 2003

Text no.1
(The collapse of Saddam Hussein's regime will send shockwaves of joy and alarm around the world.)¹ (Although the war is not yet over,² (the fall of Baghdad means it is all but won.)³ (In 21 days,⁴ (US and British forces ended 35 years of Ba'ath party misrule and the towering tyranny of one man.)⁵ (Even as statues of the vanquished dictator crashed to the ground and jubilant Iraqis ground his hated image beneath their feet,)⁶ (the fate of the real, flesh-and-blood Saddam was still a mystery.)⁷ (Until the body of Saddam is handed up, dead or alive,)⁸ (until the spectre of Saddam is finally exorcised,)⁹ (many Iraqis will have trouble believing they are really free.)¹⁰

Rhe-rel (2-3 Concession)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (6-7 Concession)
Rhe-rel (9-11 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (10-11 Circumstance)

Text no.2
(All over Iraq, and beyond, the shock of war is being replaced by the shock of the new.)¹ (It will take some getting used to.)² (Iraqis' problems are not at an end; they merely change in form and scale.)³ (Baghdad, let alone Iraq as a whole, is not yet secure.)⁴ (Saddam's weapons of mass destruction have not been found.)⁵ (There may yet be a last stand in Tikrit.)⁶ (There may be hard fighting still ahead, as Dick
Cheney warned yesterday.7 (There may be yet more civilian casualties to add to the uncounted thousands.)8 (For them and many like them, victory is meaningless.)9 (But the swiftness of Saddam's rout reduces the chances of continuing carnage.)10 (For this relief, much thanks.)11

Rhe-rel (1-2 Evaluation)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Elaboration, whole: part)
Rhe-rel (3-5 Elaboration, whole: part)
Rhe-rel (3-6 Elaboration, whole: part)
Rhe-rel (3-7 Elaboration, whole: part)
Rhe-rel (3-8 Elaboration, whole: part)
Rhe-rel (3-8 Justification)
Rhe-rel (9-11 Concession)

Text no.3
(Iraq's state of shock, replacing its state of siege, will have many difficult manifestations.)1 (Already, revenge and reprisal intermingle with celebration.)2 (Already, excitement at a beckoning, better future is tempered by present, urgent human need.)3 (Already, the same British troops who have performed so professionally are being forced to take on policing duties, trying to prevent looting and keep the peace while seeking trustworthy locals to fill the power vacuum.)4 (Parts of Baghdad and other cities are close to anarchy.)5 (Overnight, political authority ceased to exist in a country which hitherto has known only the fiercest political control.)6

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, abstraction: instance)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Elaboration, abstraction: instance)
Rhe-rel (1-4 Elaboration, abstraction: instance)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Non-volitional Cause)

Text no.4
(The shock of the day weighed heavily on some - but not all - Arab hearts.)1 (Many viewers in Cairo turned off televisions in disgust.)2 (Some see this, wrongly, as an Arab and Muslim defeat.)3 (While they had no cause to love Saddam,)4 (the leaders of Iran and Syria - or even Libya or North Korea - will shiver at his passing.)5 (This unprecedented show of US offensive power sends a daunting message.)6 (Who knows which way the Abrams tank barrels will swivel next?)7 (And who in Damascus, Tehran or Riyadh is entirely sure that the Iraqi
people's release will not find willing emulators there?) (If reconstruction works, and that is an enormous "if", a resource-rich,) (democratic Iraq may become the throbbing engine of the Middle East.)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, set: members)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Elaboration, set: members)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Concession)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Interpretation)
Rhe-rel (7-8 Joint)
Rhe-rel (9-10 Condition)

Text no. 5
(The political ramifications of that do indeed invite shock and awe.) (On one level the US-British success to date is deeply impressive and on another, troubling.)

'Saddam's overthrow is a great boon.' (But Iraq's "liberation" must not lead to internal destabilisation or external exploitation.) (Pre-war promises must be fulfilled ;) (there must be long-term follow-through and a major rethink, too.) (For George Bush's America must understand that Iraq does not mean future pre-emptive, unilateral,) (illegal war-making is now somehow OK.) (Sometimes war proves unstoppable ;) (but it is seldom OK.)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Interpretation)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Joint)
Rhe-rel (7-8 Evaluation)
Rhe-rel (9-10 Antithesis)

http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2005/nov/01/schools.uk

Article (5): US 'Almost All Wrong' on Weapons
By Dana Priest and Walter Pincus
Washington Post, October 7, 2004

Text no.1
(The 1991 Persian Gulf War and subsequent U.N. inspections destroyed Iraq's illicit weapons capability) (and, for the most part, Saddam Hussein did not try to rebuild it,) (according to an extensive report by the chief U.S. weapons inspector in Iraq that contradicts nearly every pre-war assertion made by top administration officials about Iraq.)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Evidence)
Text no.2
(Charles A. Duelfer, a whom the Bush administration chose to complete the U.S. investigation of Iraq's weapons programs, b said Hussein's ability to produce nuclear weapons had "progressively decayed" since 1991. c1 (Inspectors, he said, found no evidence of "concerted efforts to restart the program.")2
Rhe-rel (a-b & c of 1 Continued)
Rhe-rel (1-2 Evidence)

Text no.3
(The findings were similar on biological and chemical weapons.)1 (While Hussein had long dreamed of developing an arsenal of biological agents,)2 (his stockpiles had been destroyed and research stopped years before the United States led the invasion of Iraq in March 2003.)3 (Duelfer said Hussein hoped someday to resume a chemical weapons effort after U.N. sanctions ended,)4 (but had no stocks and had not researched making the weapons for a dozen years.)5
Rhe-rel (2-3 Concession)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Contrast)

Text no.4
(Duelfer's report, a delivered yesterday to two congressional committees, b represents the government's most definitive accounting of Hussein's weapons programs,) c1 (the assumed strength of which the Bush administration presented as a central reason for the war.)2 (While previous reports have drawn similar conclusions,)3 (Duelfer's assessment went beyond them in depth, detail and level of certainty.)4 ("We were almost all wrong" on Iraq,)5 (Duelfer told a Senate panel yesterday.)6
Rhe-rel (a-b & c of 1Continued)
Rhe-rel (1-2 Interpretation)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Concession)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Circumstance)

Text no.5
(President Bush, Vice President Cheney and other top administration officials asserted, before the U.S. invasion, that Iraq was reconstituting its nuclear weapons program, had chemical and biological weapons)1 (and maintained links to al Qaeda affiliates to whom it might give such weapons to use against the United States.)2
Rhe-rel (1-2 List)
Text no.6
(But after extensive interviews with Hussein and his key lieutenants,\(^1\) (Duelfer concluded that Hussein was not motivated by a desire to strike the United States with banned weapons,\(^2\) (but wanted them to enhance his image in the Middle East and to deter Iran, against which Iraq had fought a devastating eight-year war.\(^3\) (Hussein believed that "WMD helped save the regime multiple times," the report said.)\(^4\) (The report also provides a one-of-a-kind look at Hussein's personality.\(^5\)
Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Joint)

Text no.7
(Hussein, the report concluded, "aspired to develop a nuclear capability" and intended to work on rebuilding chemical and biological weapons\(^1\) (after persuading the United Nations to lift sanctions.)\(^2\) (But the report also notes: "The former regime had no formal written strategy or plan for the revival of WMD after sanctions.\(^3\) (Neither was there an identifiable group of WMD policy makers\(^4\) (or planners separate from Saddam" tasked to take this up once sanctions ended.)\(^5\)
Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Disjunction)

Text no.8
(Among the most diplomatically explosive revelations was that Hussein had established a worldwide network of companies and countries,\(^1\) (most of them U.S. allies,)\(^2\) (that secretly helped Iraq generate $11 billion in illegal income and locate, finance and import banned services and technologies.)\(^3\) (Among those named are officials or companies from Belarus, China, Lebanon, France, Indonesia, Jordan, Poland, Russia, Turkey, Syria, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen.)\(^4\)
Rhe-rel (a-b & c of l Continued)
Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, set: member)
Duelfer said one of Hussein's main strategic goals was to persuade the United Nations (to lift economic sanctions, which had devastated the country's economy and, along with U.N. inspections, had forced him to stop weapons programs.) (Even as Hussein became more adept at bypassing the sanctions,) (he worked to erode international support for them.)

Democrats seized on the exhaustive report, which comes amid a presidential race dominated so far by the Iraq war, (to argue that the administration misled the American public about the risk Hussein posed and then miscalculated the difficulties of securing post-war peace.) ("Now we have a report today that there clearly were no weapons of mass destruction," Sen. John Edwards (N.C.), the Democratic vice presidential candidate, said in West Palm Beach, Fla.) (All of that known, and Dick Cheney said again last night that he would have done everything the same.) (George Bush has said he would have done everything the same.)

Neither Bush nor challenger John F. Kerry spoke directly about the report yesterday, (though at a campaign appearance in Pennsylvania the president emphasized that Hussein was a threat to the United States.) ("There was a risk, a real risk, that Saddam Hussein would pass weapons or materials or information to terrorist networks," Bush said.) ("In the world after September 11 th that was a risk we could not afford to take.")

Duelfer's report contradicted a number of specific claims administration officials made before the war. (It found, for example, that Iraq's "crash" program in 1991
to build a nuclear weapon before the Persian Gulf War was far from successful, and was nowhere near being months away from producing a weapon, as the administration asserted.\textsuperscript{2} (Only micrograms of enriched uranium were produced and no weapon design was completed.)\textsuperscript{3}

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, abstraction, instance)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Elaboration, abstraction, instance)

\textbf{Text no.13}
(The CIA and administration officials have said they were surprised by the advanced state of Iraq's pre-1991 nuclear program, \textsuperscript{a} which was discovered after the war,)\textsuperscript{1b} (and therefore were more prone to overestimate Iraq's capability when solid proof was unavailable.)\textsuperscript{2} (There also was no evidence that Iraq possessed or was developing a mobile biological weapons production system, an assertion Secretary of State Colin L. Powell and others made before the invasion.)\textsuperscript{3} (The two trailers that were found in early 2003 were "almost certainly designed and built exclusively for the generation of hydrogen gas".)\textsuperscript{4}

Rhe-rel (a-b of 1 Continued)
Rhe-rel (1-2 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Evidence)

\textbf{Text no.14}
(Duelfer also found no information to support allegations that Iraq sought uranium from Africa or any other country after 1991,)\textsuperscript{1} (as Bush once asserted in a major speech before the invasion.)\textsuperscript{2} (The only two contacts with Niger that were discovered were an invitation to the president of Niger to visit Baghdad,)\textsuperscript{3} (and a visit to Baghdad by a Niger minister in 2001 seeking petroleum products for cash.)\textsuperscript{4} (There was one offer to Iraq of "yellowcake" uranium,)\textsuperscript{5} (and that was from a Ugandan businessman offering uranium from Congo.)\textsuperscript{6} (The deal was turned down,)\textsuperscript{7} (and the Ugandan was told that Baghdad was not interested)\textsuperscript{8} (because of the sanctions.)\textsuperscript{9}

Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Joint)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (7-8 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (8-9 Volitional Cause)
Article (6): Pentagon Report Says Iraqi Forces

By Josh White

Washington Post, July 22, 2005

Text no.1
(Iraqi security forces are not yet ready to defend their country on their own against a stubborn insurgency,)¹ (but most of the nation's army battalions are able to fight with help from U.S. and coalition forces,)² (according to a Pentagon assessment of progress in Iraq released yesterday.)³

Rhe-rel (1-2 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Evidence)

Text no.2
(The 23-page report was presented to Congress as a detailed review of where the war in Iraq stands,)¹ (and much of the document argued that economic, political and security indicators are heading in the right direction.)² (It cautioned that the insurgency remains "capable, adaptable, and intent on carrying out attacks,"³ (and senior defense officials again would not place a timetable on the withdrawal of a significant number of U.S. troops.)⁴ ("Success will be achieved)⁵ (when there is a free Iraq in which Iraqis themselves are the guarantors of their own liberty and security," the unclassified section of the report said.)⁶ ("We have consistently made it clear that the criteria for withdrawing coalition forces from Iraq are conditions-based,)⁷ (not calendar-based.)⁸

Rhe-rel (1-2 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Joint)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Condition)
Rhe-rel (7-8 Antithesis)

Text no.3
(Senior Democrats in the House and Senate assailed the report)¹ (for discussing details of the readiness of Iraqi security forces only in classified annexes, which they said keeps the public in the dark about the status of the war.)² (Congress demanded the report in passing supplemental funding for the war.)³ (It was delivered 10 days late.)⁴

Rhe-rel (1-2 Volitional Cause)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Sequence)
Text no.4
(The broad outline of Iraqi readiness was provided in an unclassified statement to Congress by Gen. Peter Pace, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.)¹ (He said that only a "small number of Iraqi security forces are taking on the insurgents and terrorists by themselves," and he estimated that one-third of the Iraqi army's battalions are capable of counterinsurgency operations with coalition support and two-thirds are "partially capable.")² (While half of the Iraqi police are partially capable,)³ (the other half is still forming and not conducting operations,)⁴ (according to Pace's statement, which was released by the Pentagon yesterday.)⁵
Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, whole: parts)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Concession)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Evidence)

Text no.5
(Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), a member of the Armed Services Committee, b said it is "obvious that the training program is in trouble") c¹ (and argued that the readiness evaluations of Iraqi forces should made be public.)² ("No foreign policy is sustainable without the support of the American people,)³ (and it's clear that support is waning," Kennedy said in a statement,)⁴ ("The American people deserve to know the facts about our policy.)⁵ (They want to know how long it will take to fully train the Iraqis and when our military mission will be completed.")⁶
Rhe-rel (a-b & c of 1Continued)
Rhe-rel (1-2 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Elaboration, whole: parts)

Text no.6
(Pentagon officials said they have no intention of releasing specific information about the progress of Iraqi troops)¹ (because they fear it would give insurgents an advantage.)² (They said there are 171,300 troops trained and equipped.)³ (Many of those forces are in the early stages of development.)⁴ ("The enemy's knowledge of such details would put both Iraqi and coalition forces at increased risk," the report said.)⁵ (It said the "threshold condition" for success is developing Iraqi security forces to a level)⁶ (where they can take over primary responsibility for their security.)⁷
(Pentagon officials said getting troops to that level could take some time,)\(^1\) (and U.S. troops probably will return as part of a "gradual process.")\(^2\) ("As they become more capable,")\(^3\) (they'll take over more responsibility," said Peter W. Rodman,)\(^4\) assistant defense secretary for international security affairs, a briefing reporters at the Pentagon.)\(^b\) ("It's not going to be a dramatic shift from one day, you know.")\(^5\) (we're there, the next day, we're gone.")\(^6\)

(The Iraqi security force numbers indicate that they are unlikely to be able to take control of major parts of the country any time soon,)\(^1\) (even with what Pentagon officials have cited as significant progress.)\(^2\) (Iraqi forces now outnumber the 160,000 coalition troops in the country, of which about 138,000 are American,)\(^3\) (but they are just beginning to take joint control of small portions of relatively stable areas.)\(^4\) (Senior defense officials said some U.S. troops will likely accompany Iraqi security forces indefinitely, particularly in hostile areas of the country.)\(^5\) (The Baghdad area, for example, sustains about 35 percent of insurgent attacks, and the four most tumultuous provinces take nearly 80 percent of the more than 400 attacks weekly.)\(^6\)

(Success in Iraq is also closely linked with ongoing political and economic processes.)\(^1\) (The Pentagon expects a draft constitution to be ready by Aug. 15)\(^2\) (and hopes the nation will be able to vote on the document in October.)\(^3\) (General elections for a permanent government would follow in December.)\(^4\)
(Unemployment, which recently rose to 28 percent from 22.5 percent in December, remains a serious concern.)\(^5\) (Electricity demands have outpaced production, and oil production has consistently failed to meet the daily target of 2.5 million barrels because of operations, maintenance and security problems, the report said.)\(^6\)

Rhe-rel (2-3 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (2-4 Sequence)
Rhe-rel (1-5 Elaboration, generalization: specific)
Rhe-rel (1-6 Elaboration, generalization: specific)

washingtonpost.com/staff/articles/josh+white/

**Article (7): The Unlearned Lessons of Abu Ghraib**

By Christopher Graveline

*Washington Post*, October 19, 2006

**Text no.1**
(President Bush has signed into law Congress's latest attempt to clarify our country's position on proper treatment of detainees)\(^1\) (and the boundaries of legitimate interrogation techniques.)\(^2\) (Unfortunately, this legislation demonstrates that both the administration and Congress have failed to learn important lessons from what Bush described as the "biggest mistake that's happened so far" in Iraq: the detainee abuses at Abu Ghraib.)\(^3\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Joint)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Interpretation)

**Text no.2**
(By dissociating potential criminal responsibility from overly aggressive interrogation practices that could be classified as "minor" breaches of the Geneva Conventions,)\(^1\) (and setting up a situation in which different interrogation practices can be used by our military and the CIA,)\(^2\) (our national leadership has ensured more abuse scandals.)\(^3\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Means)
Text no.3
(As part of the Army judge advocate general team investigating and prosecuting
the Abu Ghraib soldiers,1 (I crisscrossed the globe interviewing witnesses,
collecting documents and studying our national policies, searching for went wrong
at that prison.))2 (The evidence demonstrated that most of the photographed abuse
had little or nothing to do with interrogation ;))3 (it was done for sport by prison
guards.)4 (But we also found disturbing conduct by military and civilian
interrogators.)5
Rhe-rel (1-2 Volitional Cause)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Interpretation)
Rhe-rel (3-5 Contrast)

Text no.4
(The interrogation abuses could be linked to three main areas of breakdown:)1
(confusion in the military ranks about what was acceptable behavior, given the
conduct of civilian contractors and "other governmental agencies";))2 (migration of
certain techniques within the intelligence community without an understanding of
how to implement them properly;))3 (and exploitation of the ambiguity in
apparently innocuous interrogation tactics.)4
Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, whole: part)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Elaboration, whole: part)
Rhe-rel (1-4 Elaboration, whole: part)

Text no.5
(Our military and civilian intelligence agencies do not operate in mutually
exclusive bubbles.)1 (A great deal of interaction occurs as military units capture
suspected personnel, hand them over to interested agencies and, often, witness the
interrogations.)2 (Our service members, especially Special Operations forces, will
see the double standard - the CIA's and the military's.)3 (This blurring was a main
complaint of Abu Ghraib prison guards.)4
Rhe-rel (1-2 Interpretation)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Interpretation)
Text no.6
(Army Maj. Gen. George Fay, who investigated Abu Ghraib, wrote in his report that "CIA detention and interrogation practices led to a loss of accountability, abuse, reduced interagency cooperation," and an unhealthy mystique that further poisoned the atmosphere.) (The power of the CIA's mystique to influence our soldiers should not be underestimated.) (Army guards reported seeing unknown men in civilian clothes dropping prisoners off and telling the guards not to give the detainees identification numbers, contrary to usual practices under the Geneva Conventions.) (The civilians exuded an air of confidence that suggested they knew exactly what they were doing) (and that this departure from the norm was allowed.) (Similar issues were unearthed in the interrogation booth, including one instance of a man dying during a CIA interrogation at Abu Ghraib.)

Text no.7
(The CIA conducted its own internal abuse investigation but never reported the results to any military authority in Iraq, creating resentment, the impression of a double standard and confusion in the military ranks as to what were acceptable practices.)

Text no.8
(The new law grants too much latitude in an area where precision and oversight are critical.) (If confusion reigned in Washington during the past several weeks over whether water boarding or other, "harsher" techniques would be permissible under the legislation,) (imagine the results when our agents and service members are faced with the same question halfway around the world and years removed from this debate- especially if the threat of criminal responsibility is gone.)

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Text no.9
(The better route would have been to authorize mirror-image interrogation techniques for both the CIA and the military,)\(^1\) (and to maintain the possibility of criminal prosecution)\(^2\) (if an interrogator exceeds these authorized approaches.)\(^3\) (All interrogators would have more than enough flexibility to obtain necessary information simply)\(^4\) (by using the approaches recently rewritten into the new Army field manual that governs interrogation.)\(^5\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Joint)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Condition)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Means)

Text no.10
(Now we must wait)\(^1\) (to see what interrogation rules the president will promulgate for the CIA.)\(^2\) (Given the administration's rhetoric,)\(^3\) (there seems little hope for a cure for the systemic problems exposed at Abu Ghraib.)\(^4\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Purpose)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Non-volitional Result)

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/10/18/AR2006101801501.htm

Article (8): Lessons of War

Washington Post, March 18, 2007

Text no.1
(TOMORROW MARKS the fourth anniversary of the start of the Iraq war, as appropriate a moment as any to take stock.)\(^1\) (What matters most is finding the best policy now… doing whatever can be done)\(^2\) (to help Iraq and safeguard U.S. interests in a vital region.)\(^3\) (But looking back also is essential, particularly for those of us who supported the war.)\(^4\)

Rhe-rel (1-4 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Purpose)

Text no.2
(We will never know what might have happened)\(^1\) (had Saddam Hussein and his sons been left in power,)\(^2\) (Nor do we know how Iraq will evolve ;)\(^3\) (history's judgment in five years or 10 may look very different than today's.)\(^4\) (But the picture today is dire,)\(^5\) (and very different from what we would have hoped or predicted four years ago.)\(^6\) (The cost in lives, injuries and dislocations, to
Americans and Iraqis, has been tragic ;)\(^7\) (the opportunity costs for U.S. leadership globally have been immense.)\(^8\) (So there is an obligation to reassess.)\(^9\)

Text no.3
(The easy way out is to blame President Bush, Vice President Cheney)\(^1\) (or former defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld :)\(^2\) (The decision was right, the execution wrong.)\(^3\) (There's no question that the execution was disastrous.)\(^4\) (Having rolled the dice on what everyone understood to be an enormous gamble,)\(^5\) (Mr. Bush and his team followed up with breathtaking and infuriating arrogance, ignorance and insouciance.)\(^6\) (Read Post reporter Rajiv Chandrasekaran's account of the first year of occupation, "Imperial Life in the Emerald City,"\(^7\) (and weep at the tales of White House operatives sending political hacks to overhaul Baghdad's stock exchange and tinker with its traffic rules as a deadly insurgency gathered strength.)\(^8\)

Text no.4
(But the war might have spun out of control even under wiser leadership.)\(^1\) (Decisions that seem so obviously wrongheaded now,\(^a\) such as disbanding the Iraqi army or deploying too few troops,\(^b\) had smart people arguing both sides at the time.)\(^c\)\(^2\) (Even a larger force might not have stopped the looting ;)\(^3\) (total forgiveness of Baathist officers might not have forestalled Sunni insurgency or might have spurred the Shiites into rebellion.)\(^4\) (Wars unleash unpredictable and ugly forces,)\(^5\) (even short and "successful" wars.)\(^6\) (The United States is still paying a price for the betrayal of Shiites and Kurds)\(^7\) (after the Persian Gulf War ;)\(^8\) (U.S. forces remain bogged down in Afghanistan)\(^9\) (after dislodging the Taliban regime in that brilliant, brief campaign of 2001.)\(^10\)
Text no.5
(An overarching lesson is that the failure of diplomacy is not a sufficient argument for war.)¹ (It seems as evident today as it was four years ago that sanctions on Saddam Hussein's regime were eroding and that the U.N. Security Council had no appetite to prolong "containment" in any meaningful form.)² (David Kay's postwar report suggests that Saddam Hussein would have used the resulting loosening of bonds to build a dangerous arsenal.)³ (Yet we should have considered that not as an argument for war but only as a predicate for beginning to weigh war's risks and benefits.)⁴

Text no.6
(We were not wrong that Iraqis, like all human beings, crave freedom.)¹ (But people also crave security.)² (We may have underestimated the impoverishment brought about by misrule and sanctions and the brutalization born of totalitarian cruelty.)³ (We underestimated, too, the regime's determination to fight back and its resourcefulness in doing so.)⁴

Text no.7
(Clearly we were insufficiently skeptical of intelligence reports.)¹ (It would almost be comforting if Mr. Bush had "lied the nation into war," as is frequently charged.)² (The best postwar journalism instead suggests that the president and his administration exaggerated and simplified)³ (but fundamentally believed, as did the CIA, the catastrophically wrong case that then-Secretary of State Colin L. Powell presented to the United Nations.)⁴
(The question that Gen. David H. Petraeus posed, (as recounted in Rick Atkinson's history, "In the Company of Soldiers"))¹ (as he led the troops of his 101st Airborne Division from Kuwait across the Iraq border,)² ("Tell me how this ends?")³ (That question must be the first to be asked, not the last.)⁴ (The answer won't always be knowable.)⁵ (But the discussion must never lose sight of the inevitable horrors of war.)⁶ (It must not be left to the generals in the field.)⁷ (And it must assume, based on experience from Germany to Korea to Afghanistan that a U.S. commitment, once embarked upon, will not soon be over.)⁸

Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Interpretation)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (7-8 Joint)

(We raised such issues in our prewar editorials but with insufficient force.)¹ (In February 2003, for example, we wrote that "the president [must] finally address, squarely and in public, the question of how Iraq will be secured and governed after a war that removes Saddam Hussein, and what the U.S. commitment to that effort will be. . . .")² (Who will rule Iraq, and how?)³ (Who will provide security?)⁴ (How long will U.S. troops remain?)⁵ (Many of these questions appear not to have been answered even inside the administration.)⁶ (They were still unanswered when the war,⁸ which we nevertheless supported,⁹ began.)¹⁰

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, abstraction: instance)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Elaboration, abstraction: instance)
Rhe-rel (1-4 Elaboration, abstraction: instance)
Rhe-rel (1-5 Elaboration, abstraction: instance)
Rhe-rel (6-7 Concession)
Rhe-rel (a-b & c of 7 Continued)

(Even now, though, many of the lessons that others draw from Iraq do not strike us as obvious.)¹¹ (Unquestionably, for example, the experience has shown the risks of preemptive war.)¹² (Yet it remains true in an era of ruthless, suicidal terrorists and easily smuggled weapons of unimaginable destructive power that not acting also can be dangerous.)¹³

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, abstraction: instance)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Concession)
Text no.11
(The risks of war with North Korea or Iran are evident;\(^1\) (but the cost of leaving nuclear weapons in the hands of a Mahmoud Ahmadinejad or a Kim Jong IL may not become evident until the price has been paid.)\(^2\) (And while Iraq illustrates the importance of challenging intelligence estimates,)\(^3\) (there will also be risks in waiting for certainty that may never be achievable.)\(^4\)
Rhe-rel (1-2 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Concession)

Text no.12
(Similarly, Iraq has shown the disadvantages of acting without full allied support.)\(^1\) (Multilateralism and U.N. authorization are force multipliers, morally and literally; unilateralism should be a last resort.)\(^2\) (But ask the victims of genocide in Darfur whether international law and multinational organizations can always be counted upon.)\(^3\) (And, yes, the past four years have demonstrated the difficulty of seeding democracy in unaccustomed soil.)\(^4\) (But no American foreign policy will be supported at home or abroad)\(^5\) (if it does not include as one ambition the spread of freedom.)\(^6\)
Rhe-rel (1-2 Background)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Joint)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Condition)

Text no.13
(Unfortunately, none of this provides bright guidelines to make the next decisions easier,)\(^1\) (not even those facing the nation right now in Iraq,)\(^2\) (It's tempting to say that if it was wrong to go in,)\(^3\) (it must be wrong to stay in,)\(^4\) (But how Iraq evolves will fundamentally shape the region)\(^5\) (and deeply affect U.S. security,)\(^6\) (Walking away is likely to make a bad situation worse,)\(^7\) (A patient, sustained U.S. commitment, with gradually diminishing military forces, could still help Iraq to move in the right direction.)\(^8\)
Rhe-rel (1-2 Concession)
Rhe-rel (3-4 unconditional)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Joint)
Rhe-rel (7-8 Solution hood)

Article (9): Will Black Water Be Rehired?

By Adam Zagorin and Brian Bennett

Time, January 23, 2008

Text no.1
(Regardless of the outcome of various legal proceedings against Blackwater,\(^1\) (the controversial security firm potentially faces a massive business setback this coming May,)\(^2\) (That's when its State Department contract to protect U.S. diplomats in Iraq comes up for renewal,)\(^3\) (and its hundreds of millions of dollars in revenue for the company are no longer a sure thing in light of the legal and political repercussions of two recent incidents in which Black water guards allegedly killed Iraqis.)\(^4\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Concession)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Conjunction)

Text no.2
(A Washington, D.C., grand jury is currently hearing evidence involving one of the episodes.)\(^1\) (The first of the two incidents occurred on Christmas Eve 2006, when a reportedly drunk Black water staffer allegedly killed an Iraqi guard inside Baghdad's Green Zone.)\(^2\) (The second occurred on Sept. 16, 2007, when Black water guards protecting a vehicle convoy may have killed as many as 17 Iraqis in a fire fight.)\(^3\) (That bloody episode has strained relations between Washington and Baghdad and caused elements within the Iraqi government to demand that Black water be expelled from the country.)\(^4\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, whole: parts)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Elaboration, whole: parts)
Rhe-rel (1-4 Interpretation)

Text no.3
(And if the U.S. were to bring criminal indictments against Black water personnel,)\(^1\) (many observers believe it could jeopardize the contract's renewal and further undermine the company's already shaky status in Iraq.)\(^2\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Condition)

Text no.4
(Major obstacles stand in the way of indictments, however.)\(^1\) (In the case of the Christmas Eve shooting, a senior law enforcement official told TIME that Justice Department prosecutors are having difficulty finding a legal basis to prosecute
former Blackwater contractor Andrew Moonen, who was fired by Blackwater and flown out of Iraq the day after the shooting.)\(^2\) ("It's a legal mess," says the official,)\(^3\) (citing uncertainty about the application of U.S. law for an alleged crime committed in Iraq, as well as the status of an Iraqi statute promulgated soon after the U.S. invasion designed to shelter contractors from prosecution.)\(^4\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Evidence)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Elaboration, abstraction, instance)

**Text no.5**
(Moonen's lawyer said he believed investigators were still gathering evidence in the case)\(^1\) (despite the legal hurdles.)\(^2\) (Prosecutions in the September 16 case would face similar obstacles,)\(^3\) (in addition to having to overcome the limited immunity granted by the State Department to Blackwater staff soon after the incident.)\(^4\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Concession)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Joint)

**Text no.6**
(The possibility that few or none of the Blackwater personnel involved in the killings will be prosecuted has aroused the ire of critics.)\(^1\) (Human Rights First, a Washington advocacy group, has released a report citing "scores of well-documented reports of serious abuse by private contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan," none of which has been prosecuted.)\(^2\) (It further contended that the Bush Administration lacks the political will to bring criminal cases)\(^3\) (and, as a result, is creating a "culture of impunity.")\(^4\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Justification)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Conjunction)

**Text no.7**
(Still, in the September 16 incident,)\(^1\) (there may also be substantial evidentiary problems that could block an indictment.)\(^2\) (The Iraqi government has claimed that a convoy including 19 Blackwater guards opened fire on Iraqis,)\(^3\) (but the firm says their staffs was merely responding to an attack mounted by insurgents dressed as policemen.)\(^4\)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Concession)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Contrast)
(One observer close to the investigation told TIME that U.S. authorities have examined a log from a command post, or Tactical Operations Centre (TOC), showing that Black water guards radioed repeatedly that they were under attack from persons wearing police uniforms.)¹ (Photographic evidence of Kalashnikov shells scattered around the site of the shooting could also suggest that the Black water convoy did come under hostile fire.)² (Black water itself has said that a number of vehicles in the convoy were damaged,)³ (and it has photographs showing bullet damage,)⁴ (although the fact that those pictures are undated makes it difficult to be certain when the damage was inflicted.)⁵

Text no.9
(Two weeks ago, the Associated Press reported that Black water had repainted and repaired vehicles soon after the attack, making it even harder to know what damage had occurred.)¹ (But Black water President Gary Jackson told TIME that all the vehicles belonged to the U.S. government and that they were repaired on government instruction)² (after the State Department conducted its review of the incident, and after pictures were taken of the damaged vehicles.)³

Text no.10
(Black water is contractually obliged to follow State Department rules and procedures before firing weapons in Iraq,)¹ (and it may be possible that some of those rules were violated in the chaos of the September 16 fire fight in Baghdad.)³ (Breaking State Department rules, however, may not constitute a criminal offence,)³ (particularly if other evidence suggests that the Black water convoy was, in fact, engaged by the enemy.)⁴ (But that will be for a grand jury to decide.)⁵

http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1706121,00.html
(After six bloody, ruinously costly years,) (there is an end in sight to the American occupation of Iraq.) (Under an agreement with the Baghdad government,) (American combat troops are to leave Iraq’s cities by Tuesday.) (President Obama has pledged that by Aug. 31, 2010 — 14 months from now,) (all combat troops will be out of Iraq and by the end of 2011 all American troops will be gone.)

(For a badly overstretched American military, it will certainly be time to go.) (Repeated deployments have taken a huge toll on soldiers and their families.) (The Iraq war, an unnecessary war, has diverted critically needed resources away from Afghanistan,) (the real front in the war on terrorism.) (Many Iraqis are eager to see the Americans gone.) (Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki has declared June 30 to be a day of “feast and festivals.”)

(But there is an enormous amount to do, and not a lot of time,) (to help Iraqis prepare for the withdrawal and to reduce the chances the country will unravel as American troops leave.)

(We once hoped that a clear timetable for an American withdrawal would finally persuade Iraq’s leaders) (to make the political compromises that are the only way to hold their country together without an indefinite occupation,) (That has not happened,) (The Parliament has still not passed a law to divide Iraq’s oil resources equitably.)
Text no.5
(Indeed there are worrying signs that Iraqi politicians are doing the opposite, looking for ways to shore up their communal interests in case the civil war reignites.)¹ (Many of Iraq’s neighbors are making the same calculations.)² (Violence is down,)³ (but extremists are still trying to spark a new cycle of attacks and retaliation.)⁴

Text no.6
(Mr. Obama was right to commit to a carefully paced and responsible withdrawal,)¹ (and he was right to say that the United States cannot solve all of Iraq’s problems before it leaves.)² (But we are concerned that Iraq may not be getting all the attention it needs in Washington.)³

Text no.7
(The top American military commander in Iraq, Gen. Ray Odierno, is a strong leader,)¹ and Christopher Hill, the new American ambassador in Baghdad, is a talented diplomat.)² (Still, Mr. Obama has a high-level adviser for Afghanistan and Pakistan, for Middle East peace negotiations, and for Iran,)³ (but there is no marquee name for Iraq to ensure that the president and the bureaucracy are fully engaged.)⁴

Text no.8
(We understand that for political reasons, in both countries, the United States cannot be seen to micro-manage events.)¹ (But there are still many problems that need sustained and high-level American attention.)²
(Iraqi Readiness until a few weeks ago,)¹ (American commanders were hoping that Iraq’s government would invite them to keep combat troops in certain Baghdad neighborhoods and in the northern city of Mosul,)² (where sectarian tensions are high and Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia is still active.)³

Rhe-rel (1-2 Volitional Cause)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Circumstance)

(Most analysts give the American military training program good marks.)¹ (They differ on whether Iraq’s army,⁴ still plagued by corruption, discipline problems, equipment shortages and security breaches, ⁵ is ready to keep the peace in the cities.)⁶

Rhe-rel (1-2 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (a-b & c of 2 Continued)

(A January report to Congress by the Pentagon said that as of last fall, 17 of the Iraq Army’s 174 combat battalions were capable of conducting counterinsurgency operations without American support.)¹ (All of Iraq’s army is dependent on the American military for intelligence, logistics and air support.)²

Rhe-rel (1-2 Justification)

(Before American troops can really go,)¹ (Iraq’s Army will need to develop enough of those missing capacities to be able to fight on its own.)² (The United States is also going to have to help Iraq build an air force and a navy)³ (so it can defend its own borders,)⁴ (an effort that will stretch far beyond the 2011 withdrawal deadline.)⁵

Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Purpose)
Rhe-rel (3-5 Circumstance)

Appendix C: The Analysis of Arabic Editorials

Article (1):

استغلال الإرهاب وسياسة سياسته
صحيفة الرياض 27-8-2003
فوزي الأسمير

Text no.1

(تستخدم كل الأطراف المعادية للعرب والإسلام، خاصة في أمريكا، وهي أكثر مما يتصور كثيرون منها، كل الأسلوب لتحقيق أهدافها العدائية، (بغض النظر عن الثمن الذي يدفعه الجميع، (القاسم المشترك بين هذه الأطراف هي أنهم تدفع للحرب والقتل، (حجة أن هذا هو الأسلوب الذي سيؤدي إلى السلام).

Rhe-rel (1-2 Concession)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Justification)

Text no.2

(وقود هذه المجموعة الإدارة الأمريكية التي ترأسها جورج بوش، (ومع ان تسلم بوش قيادة أمريكا، (فقد أن تسلم بوش قيادة أمريكا، (والدخل سبب اخبار مختلفة من العالم، وخاصة في الشرق الأوسط، (ومن أن تسلم بوش قيادة أمريكا، (في الوقت الذي تشير فيه التوصيات الرسمية إلى أن الحقل هو الوصول إلى "عالم السلام". (وفي نهاية شهر حزيران "يونيو" الماضي، (وقف جورج بوش في حديقة الزهر في البيت الأبيض، (أعلن أن "الأوضاع في العراق تتطور بشكل سلمي" وأن "السلام يفرع الأبواب في منطقة الشرق الأوسط".

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, whole: part)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Concession)
Rhe-rel (7-8 Conjunction)

Text no.3

(ثم توقفت الأخبار الرسمية لفترة طويلة عما يحدث في أفغانستان، (تمشياً مع التوصيات الرسمية القائمة أن الوضع في تلك البلاد سير نحو الاستقرار، (وتحذيت الأخبار عن القتال، (واخبار القتلى والجرحى التي تقع يومياً والمواجهات: "مقاومة" أو "إرهاب" أو غيرها).

Rhe-rel (1-2 Volitional Cause)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Joint)

Text no.4

(ففي شهر تموز "يوليو" وآب "أغسطس" قتل في أفغانستان 112 شهداء حسب ما تقول صحيفة "نيويورك تايمز" (2003/8/20)، (من بينهم عدد كبير من الشرطة المحلية والجنود الأفغان الموالين لأمريكا، (ومدنيين بسبب انفجارات، (ومدنيين في الحكومة الأفغانية، (وبعض رجال الدين المسلمين الذين يتعاونون مع الاحتلال الأمريكي، (وجنود أمريكيين).

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, generalization: specific)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Elaboration, generalization: specific)
Rhe-rel (1-4 Elaboration, generalization: specific)
 هذه الأخبار تمر في كثير من الأحيان، (1) لأن معظم الضحايا هم من الأفغان. (2) لقد نجحت إدارة بوش في إقامة شرطة وجندن أفغان ليتولوا هم محاربة طالبان، (3) في حين بقي الأمريكيون مختلفين في البلد. (4) وهذا ماحاول الاحتلال الأمريكي عمله في العراق، (5) إقامة جيش عراقي وشرطة عراقية لمحاربة "الإرهاب العراقي والإرهاب العربي". (6)

وظع أفضل تعبير عن هذا الموقف هو ما كتبته البروفيسورة جاسكا ستيرن في مقال لها (نيويورك تايمز 20/8/2003) عندما قالت في مقدمة المقالة: "إن تدمير مقر الأمم المتحدة البارجة في بغداد، كان بمثابة آخر مثال على أن أمريكا قد احتلت بلداً لا يمكنه تهدأ أرهابياً، وحولته إلى بلد إرهابي." (1)

ومع تدخل إدارة بوش بشكل جدي في تصرفات إسرائيل (1) خصوصا خلال فترة الهدنة التي قبالتها كل المنظمات الفلسطينية المقاتلة، (2) حيث استمرت حركة أرشيل شاوفر بالاعتقالات والاعتقالات، وهدم المنازل وبناء "الجدار العنصري"، وغيرة من الأعمال، (3) أجريت المنظمات الفلسطينية على الرد على هذه الأعمال وانتهت حالة "الهدنة". (4)

والعلاقة بين حالات "الهدنة" و"الإرهاب".
(هكذا غرقت المنطقة بالدم،)1 (في الوقت الذي لا تزال الإدارة الأمريكية ترد شعارات السلام،)2 (مطالبة السلطة الفلسطينية الدخول في حرب أهلية،)3 ( لتحقيق السلام الامريكي - الإسرائيلي المشرود،)4
Rhe-rel (1-2 Concession)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Purpose)

(واصل نTER إلى كل هذا، نرى الإدارة الأمريكية، وجوزج بوش بالذات، يقرر رسميًا يوم 22/8/2003 تعinition أحد كبار العنصرين، دانييل بابيس الذي يحمل كل الأحقاد والكراهية للعربي والمسلمين،3 عضواً في مجلس أمانة "المعهد السلام الأمريكي"،)1 (متجاهلاً موقف "مجلس الشيوخ" الذي من المقرر أن يوافق على كل عضو في مجلس أمناء المعهد.)2 (قضية بابيس مطروحة أمامه منذ أشهر، إلا أنه لم يأخذ قرارا بذلك،)3 (نتيجة موقف بابيس العنصرية العلنية، والضغوط الشعبية العربية والإسلامية وغير العربية والإسلامية.)4
Rhe-rel (a-b & c of 1 Continued)
Rhe-rel (1-2 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Volitional Cause)

(واستغل بوش وجود مجلس الشيوخ الأمريكي في عطلته الصيفية،)1 (وبعض نصوص القانون التي تسمح له في مثل هذه الحالة تعين من يريد.)2 (وموقف بوش هذا يتماشى مع موقفه بالنسبة لدارون، والذي وصفه بأنه "رجل سلام".)3
Rhe-rel (1-2 Joint)

(وكما أحاط بوش نفسه بمجموعة من المتطرفين في وزاراته المختلفة، وخارجها وأصبحوا من صناع القرار الأمريكي، العسكري والدبلوماسي،)1 (على غرار بول ولفقيطس المعادي للعرب والإسلام وترشيد بيرل وغيرهما.)2 (حاول بوش الآن أن يزرع مثل هذه العناصر في المجالات الثقافية والمعاهد العلمية،)3 (وهذا لا يبشر بخير، ولا يشير إلى أن بوش يتفتح سلاماً عادلاً.)4 (بل إنه يرى أن يستمر في استغلال "الإرهاب" لتحقيق أهداف سياسية وشخصية، وربما إلى حد ما أهداف أيديولوجية.)5
Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, set: member)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Interpretation)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Concession)

http://www.alriyadh.com/artc.php?id=162
 الاحتلال العراقي للكويت في العام 1990 كان مقدماً لاحتلال أميركا للعراق في 2003
جريدة الرياض
راكان المجاني

Text no.1
(تكد الأيام السوداء في تاريخ العرب الحديث لا تعد ولا تحصى، (1) فقد شهد القرن الماضي سلسلة من الهزائم والكوارث والنكبات والنكسة التي توالت منذ بسط العرب نفوذ الاستعمار والاستغلال على هذه المنطقة من العالم، (2) ولم تكن سطوة العامل الخارجي ورغبة الرأسمالية في فرض الهيمنة على أمتتنا وقية الأمم العامل الوحيد الذي أفضى لحالة الاكتساح المستمرة، (3) فقد كانت عوامل الضعف والجهل والفرقة والتمزق العربي والانفعالات العصابات والعصابات المستمرة كلها عوامل هبوط وترد داخلي سهل الهزائم أو ساهم فيها بشكل مباشر وبشكل غير مباشر. (4)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Justification)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Interpretation)

Text no.2
(ويمكن القول ان 15 أيار من العام 1948 هو ذكرى اغتصاب فلسطين كان أسوأ أيام العرب) (1) حيث تكرست تلك فلسطين وضايها فكانت إلى حد ما "أندلس" أخرى (2) ولكن في قلب الوطن العربي وليس في قارة أوروبا كما هو حال إسبانيا (3) (كما يمكن القول ان يوم 2آب من العام 1990 كان أسوأ أيام العرب) (4) فقد كان هذا اليوم بداية ضياع العراق واحتلاله (5) حيث أعطى النظام العراقي عبر احتلاله لدولة الكويت إشارة البدء للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية للتدخل السافر في المنطقة (6) ووفر لها مساعات التصعيد ضد العراق وصولاً إلى غزو العراق في 20آذار من العام الماضي (7) وذلك عبر سياسات العقوبات التي انتهكت العراق وجعلته لقمة سائغة عندما قررت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية اقتناص الفريسة فكان العراق

Rhe-rel (1-2 Interpretation)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Concession)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Justification)
Rhe-rel (6-7 Joint)
Rhe-rel (7-8 Means)

Text no.3
(وعندما احتل العراق الكويت في 2آب من العام 1990) (1) قلنا ان هذا الاحتلال سيكون احتلالاً غابرة (2) (ودون التقليل من الكارثة المفاجئة والرهبة التي ألمت بالكويت وعصفت بالنظام العربي وصعقت الوطن والقومي وأضعفت الأمة واضحت المجال للتدخل الخارجي) (3) (وخلقت تداعيات انهيار إضافية في المنطقة) (4) (لا ان ذلك لم يكن كل شيء لأن ما هو أخطر من الاحتلال العراقي الغابر في الكويت هو هذا الاحتلال الأمريكي الدائم للعراق) (5)
وقد كنا نقول إن يوم 2أب من العام 1990 هو يوم له ما بعده(1) (وان آثاره المأساوية لن تقتصر على احتلال الكويت و انهيار النظام العربي)(2) (وان المغامرة المجنونة التي قادت إلى كارثة احتلال الكويت هي مغامرة كانت تنطوي على الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وتنتشوب لها)(3) (لأنها ستؤدي لفا افتعال التداعيات والظروف التي تحقق لهبتها وحلمها باحتلال العراق وتحويله إلى نقطة ارتكاز استراتيجية مثالية للسيطرة على المنطقة).4

Text no.5
(ويعد كثيرون ان النظام العراقي اتبع سياسات مبرمة ضمن سيناريو أمريكي محكم بدا بمفاجأة انقلاب العام 1968 على يد عبدالراحول النادي إبراهيم الداوود كواوجه لانقلاب الذين مهدت لعودة البعضين إلى الحكم)(1) (لكن الحرب كان وجهة أيضاً لشب معمر هو صدام حسين الذي أصبح الحاكم الأمر الناهي بعد أقل من أسبوعين من انقلاب 7 تموز وذلك عبر انقلاب 30 تموز في نفس العام)(2) (والدي أن هناك خصائص مشتركة بين مفاجأة وصول صدام للسلطة في العام 1978)(3) (وتخليه عنها في 9 نيسان من ربيع العام الماضي)(4) (حيث تم تسليم بغداد للميركوريدين دون مقاومة).5

Text no.6

Text no.7
ولم يكن خالقاً الترابط بين حرب العراق ضد إيران وحرب العراق ضد الكويت، فقد اعتقد حسین
أن هذه الحرب المكلفة التي خاضها ضد إيران ولمدة 8 أعوام لا يمكن إلا أن تكون موضع تقدير
خاص وكبير من قبل الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، وفي نفس الوقت عبرت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية
عن رضا عميق تجاه نتيجة هذه الحرب، وعن مبادرة مباشرة للدور الذي قام به النظام العراقي لتحنيم إيران.

(1) أمّا الرئيس العراقي صدام حسين فقد اعتقد بأنه سيفوز بمكافأة مجزية بعد دوره في تدمير إيران والعراق
معاً، لكن المكافأة الأمريكية كانت محدودة (وأكدت أمريكا بتقديم معونة مالية للعراق مخصصة لشراء
مواد غذائية) ولم تزدد هذه المكافأة عن 4 مليارات دولار قبل انها قابلة للزيادة(2) وقد استغل العراق هذه
المنحة لشراء بعض أشكال التكنولوجيا العسكرية عبر بنوك ووسطاً قدموا فواتير واعتمادات مستندةً بمواد
غذائية (وقد تسلحت أمريكا في هذا الأمر بل رحبتها بسترآ،).

(3-4) عرف الكثير من الشكاوى في العراق من الأشخاص العسكريين، ومع ذلك، صدام حسين
 sez مسؤولية عن بعض الناس، وهذا يجعله على نهائي و بالنهاية، وذلك لعدم احترامه للرواد في الحرب.
(5-6) ويعد نجاح الحرب على النظام العراقى، أو السلامة، أو وفاة النظام، أو استقلاله
ومن أن له يحدث انتقال واحداً بقوة داخل حدود العراق.)

(7-8) وتمهيد لذلك، تم تحسين نظام النظام العراقى، وانطلاقاً من النظام السابق، فقد إليمن
النظام العراقى، واعاده النظام السابق، كما وقع وفقاً للقرار الواقع من النظام السابق، في الخصوصية.
وكم أقرنا فإن تطبيق الموقف العراقي والأمريكي لضرب إيران لا يعني أن أمريكا معنية بمساعدة صدام

بتحقيق طموحاته في السيطرة والتقلوق (1) لأن أمريكا معنية فقط بتحقيق مصالحها عبر النهاك وإضعاف

الجميع. (2) وقد توفر صدام حسين أن الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية سوف تغض الطرف عن احتلاله للكويت

كمقدمة لتسهيل تهجيه على النفوذ في منطقة الخليج. (3) وقد تضعم هذا الوهم عندما لقي صدام

حسين مباركة وتآيذاً خليجيين للحرب ضد إيران وخاصة من قبل الكويت التي وقفت مع بكل امكانياتها في

تلك الحرب. (4) ولم يدرك صدام أن دول الخليج اخذت هذا الموقف معه (5) لأنها عانت طويلاً من أطاع

النظام الإيراني أيام الشاه ولأنها كانت ترفض توجهات الخميني بتصدير الثورة. (6)

وفي ظل كل هذه التدخلات في المواقف العربية الدولية اعتقى صدام حسين أن الفرصة سانحة لإحتلال

الكويت (1) واعتقد بشكل خاص أن الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية لن تقبل عليه 180 درجة (2) (وأنها في أسأ

الاحوال سوف ترفض هذا الاحتلال سياسياً (3) (وأن القضية ستحل عبر المفاوضات وعبر المراوغة

والتسوية) (4) واعتقد صدام أنه سيستطيع أن يبتلع هذه اللقمة (5) ( مقابل منح أمريكا كل ما تريد من امتيازات

في المنطقة. (6)

وقد كانت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية على اطلاع ومعرفة ثامنة بنويا صدام حسين (1) ولم يكن التصعيد ضد

الكويت من قبل العراق مفاجأة لأمريكا التي بادرت إلى إطلاق اشارات تشجيع صدام حسين على المضي في

تفكيره باحتلال الكويت (2) (وقد كان محضر اللقاء مع السفيرة الأمريكية غلاسبي في بغداد عنواناً واضحاً

لموقف الأمريكي (3) ( الذي يوجي بأن أمريكا لن تتدخل عسكريا في أية صراعات أو خلافات في المنطقة

وأنها تزيد من شعوب ودول المنطقة ان تحل مشاكلها بنفسها. (4)

Text no.11

Rhe-rel (1-2 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Non-volitional Cause)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (6-7 Concession)

Text no.12

Rhe-rel (1-2 Justification)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Elaboration, abstraction: instance)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Volitional Cause)

Text no.13

Rhe-rel (1-2 Joint)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Joint)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Condition)
Text no.14
(وإذا كانت التفسيرات قد اختلفت في تقسيم حقيقة النوايا الأمريكية) (وهل هي نوايا مبينة تمثلت في نصب فخ للنظام العراقي للسقوط في هوة احتلال الكويت) (أو أن أمريكا انتظرت حتى يقع صدام في هذا الفخ من تلقته نفسه) (فإن النتيجة واحدة بمعزل عن النوايا).

Rhe-rel (1-4 Unconditional)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Disjunction)

Text no.15

Rhe-rel (1-2 Evidence)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Concession)
Rhe-rel (7-8 Justification)


Article (3):
 الحرب العراق ومذابح بغداد
 سلام بارودي, جريدة الرياض
 23 يناير 2007

Text no.1
(تزايدت حدة الهجمات في بغداد) (منذ إعلان بوش عن خطته الجديدة في العراق التي تعتمد على المزيد من الجنود) (في المقابل هناك من اعتمد على استراتيجيته الجديدة في العراق، المزيد من الهجمات والخسائر الفادحة في صفوف الجيش الأمريكي) (وطرف آخر اعتمد على التصعيد الأمني في شوارع بغداد، المزيد من السيارات المفخخة) (ومعمر بوس وحكومة المالكي أن يفعلوا في بلد إنفلتت أموره السياسية والأمنية) (ولم يعد من الامكاني التحكم في أي منه) (دمات الطائفية والإحتلال وروح الإنتقام هي السائدة في بلد يتجه نحو التمزق والتفكك كلما زادت خطط تأميمه).

Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Concession)
Rhe-rel (6-7 Circumstance)

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العراق اليوم هو عراق جديد (1) لم تعد فيه عناصر وحدة التماسك تجمع بين أبنائه. (2) (العراق الجديد هو هيكل فارغ بلا روح تنتزعه المليشيات) (3) (أما المقاومة فهي مطاردة من الجميع) (4) (وهي الحالة الوحيدة في التاريخ التي تحوّلت فيه المقاومة وطردت المحتل إلى جريمة توصف بالإرهاب) (5) (وبدعم أهلها من أبناء بلدهم) (6) (ولا يطالب البعض من زعماء العراق من أمريكا البقاء إلى حين). (7) (سوف نسمع الكثير من التفجيرات ونعد الكثير من الضحايا) (8) (وناجح المنفعة في بغداد وغيرها من مدن العراق). (9)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Interpretation)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Interpretation)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Evidence)
Rhe-rel (7-8 List)

Text no.3

(1) طبعا نسأل الله أن تكون هذه القراءة مجرد تقنية خاطئة (2) (لكن المقدمات لم تعد مقدما بل صارت اليوم نتائج حقيقية لسياسة الإستئصال التي تنفذها عقول الطائفية) (3) (ولمن لايرى مصطلح الاستئصال من العرب) (4) (فهو من أكثر المصطلحات التي كانت متناوّلة في الجزائر خلال العشر سنوات التي مرّت بها البلاد في تلك الفترة ضمن نفق مظلم من الحرب الداخلية) (5) (وكان بعض رجال السلطة وقحا يرفضون أي حوار مع الإسلاميين ومع المعارضة) (6) (ويسطرون سياستهم على أساس المواجهة العسكرية والأمنية) (7) (لكن وبعد سنوات من الدماء وعشرات الآلاف من الضحايا) (8) (تبيّن أن السياسة الوحيدة التي تنقذ البلاد هي المصالحة الحقيقية والحوار والمشاركة السياسية) (9) (فهدأت الأمور وتحسنت إلى أن انجل الليل في الجزائر).

Rhe-rel (1-2 Concession)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Elaboration, abstraction: instance)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (7-8 Non-volitional Cause)
Rhe-rel (8-9 Sequence)

Text no.4

(1) نتمنى أن يتجاوز ساسة العراق منطق الاستئصال في بلدهم) (2) (فقد كرست صور إعدام صدام حسين منطقا طائفيًا خطيرا كشف عن مدى الحقد الذي يحمله أصحاب مشروع العراق الجديد للمشروع الوطني العربي في بلاد الرافدين.

Rhe-rel (1-2 Justification)

Text no.5

(1) إن سياسة المواجهة والإقصاء لن تكون الحل الأنجح لعراق متفكك الكل يملك فيه حيشه وملبشيته وعلمه وبرلمانه ومنطقتة (2) (العراق متفكك اليوم) (3) (والحرب الطائفية لم تعد تظهر لنا تلك الحشمة التي لااحظناها) (4) (عندما سقطت بغداد).

Rhe-rel (1-2 Solution hood)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Circumstance)

http://www.alrai.com/
Article (4):

الديمقراطية هي مستقبل العراق
د. إجماد خلف
الصباح 2008

Text no.1
(بلاد الراقيين مولد أول الحضارات.) (حيث اختراع أول حرف وأول عجالة وأول قانون.) (ويمن هنا
بدأت السياسة وعرف الإنسان الآلة ونظم الزراعة والري وحرث الأرض.) (ومن هنا دعاء العلم الحديث
وتيعن الناس الكيمياء والفيزياء والرياضيات وعلم الفلك.)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Interpretation)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (1-4 Circumstance)

Text no.2
(فلا بد أن نحن علمنا بآمس، في لا يوجد ان نتعلم من البشرية نسأ جدا قد طور درسا في الماضي
الثليث.) (وإجادةنا قالت: متى استعدادتم الناس وقد ولدتهم أماتهم احرار؟) (ثمة الفيلسوف الفرنسي
العظيم جان جاك روسو وقال: يلد الإنسان حر فيكيل بلقيود.)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Sequence)

Text no.3
(وإلى الديمقراطية ثلاث بعد: بعد التاريخي والفلسفي والذي اشترناه بإيجاز،) (اما بعد الثاني فهو بعد
القانوني الذي يوفر الديمقراطية بأطار القانون الدستوري) (وبوجيه نفصل السلطات الى ثلاث، وهل
السلطة التنفيذية والتشريعية والقضائية) (ويبعد أن يكون الفصل بينهما فصلاً واضحًا) وكما جاء به
الفيلسوف الفرنسي مونتيسكيو) (حتى لا تستطيع أن تفرض اية سلطة إرادتها على السلطة الأخرى، وبالتالي
تستبد بلحكم وتؤسس نظاماً شموليًا.)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Elaboration, generalization: specific)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Justification)

Text no.4
(ولعب البدء الثالث والأخير هو البدء السياسي القائم على نوع النظام السياسي، وهناك أربعة أنواع من
الأنظمة السياسية: 1) (منها النظام البرلماني متمملا بنظام الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية،) 2) (والتسلسبارلماني
متملا بالنظام البريطاني) 3) (وأنظمة المختلط متمملا بالنظام الفرنسي) 4) (وأنظمة الجمعية متمملا بنظام الحكم
في سويسرا ناهيك عن النظام الشمولي.) (والمغرب لم تكن خارج إطار النظام الديمقراطية في التاريخ
الحديث والمعاصر) (بل هناك نظاماً ديمقراطياً ملكياً دستوريً بموجب دستور 1925.)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration: whole, part)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Elaboration: whole, part)
Rhe-rel (1-4 Elaboration: whole, part)
Rhe-rel (1-5 Elaboration: whole, part)
Rhe-rel (6-7 Concession)
وكان النظام في العراق برلمانياً نابياً حتى عام 1958. وبعد ثورة تموز ظهرت محاولة لإعادة العراق إلى النظام الديمقراطي (1) (ولكن التغييرات السياسية التي حدثت في العراق حالت دون ذلك).  

Rhe-rel (1-2 Concession)

وفي عام 2005 عاد العراق إلى النظام الديمقراطي عبر دستور 2005 الذي لا يخوض من الأرباك لسبي (محاصصة) (1) ومن الضحك المبكي، أن تصبح وإرادات النفط هي أيضاً ديمقراطية!!). 

Rhe-rel (1-2 Joint)

(ان العراق بآس الحاجة إلى الديمقراطية (1) والعلمانية والعلمانية فقط) (2) (وذلك لاستنصال النعرات الدينية والقومية والعنصرية والعشائرية وغيرها) (والتاكي على الرمزية الوطنية). 

Rhe-rel (1-2 Joint)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Justification)

(والمخاوف هو حاجس لعراق ما بعد أمريكا جريدة الشرق القطرية 14/آذار/2009 محمد حميد الصواف) 

Rhe-rel (1-2 Otherwise)
www.alsabaah.com/http://

Article (5):

مخاوف وهواجس لعراق ما بعد أمريكا
جريدة الشرق القطرية
14/آذار/2009
محمد حميد الصواف

Text no.1
(حزمت أمريكا أمرها... معلمة لملمة شتات حياتها المتهك وغضارة العراق في مدة أشهرها ثمانية عشر شهراً على ابتداء تحديد) (1) (مستتبثاً بذلك الإبقاء على بضع وحداته غير قابلة لغرف المشورة والتدريب) (2) (لتطويماً ستة أعوام مكلفة كيدت الولايات المتحدة ولا تزال خسائر باهظة على صعيدي الأموال والأرواح) (3)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, process: step)
Rhe-rel (1-3 Justification)

Text no.2
(فحسب ما أعلن الرئيس الأمريكي) (1) (بدأت التوجه المعلن لدى السادة الجدد في البيت الأبيض تأكيدهم على ضرورة ترك هامش متسق للعراقيين لجلب قضاياهم بعيداً عن التدخلات الأمريكية المباشرة) (2) (معتمدين على أنفسهم في الارتقاء بديمقراطيتهم الناشئة وفق مبدأ الاستناد على الذات) (3) (خصوصاً فيما يتعلق بترتيب البيت الداخلي والرد من التهديدات الخارجية المتمثلة بمحاولات الهيمنة المحمومة لبعض دول الجوار على القرار السياسي العراقي) (4)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Preparation)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Elaboration, generalization: specific)
(في الجانب الآخر يقف الساسة العراقيين بين مؤيد ومعارض ، 1) حيث تبانت الآراء بشكل يدعو الجميع إلى التمعن بجدية الانسحاب الأمريكي المزعوم وما سوف تترب عن هذا القرار من إسقاطات على المشهد العراقي.  

Rhe-rel (1-2 Interpretation)

Text no.4

(قضاد القناعات والإستراتيجيات لحلفاء الأسد القريب ورفاق النضال القريب) 1 (بات يهدف كما يرى العديد الاستقرار النسبي للبلاد، خصوصا بعد انسحاب الهوة بين شركاء العملية السياسية).  

Rhe-rel (1-2 Non-volitional Result)

Text no.5

(فهناك من يجد في مغادرة القوات الأمريكية فرصة سانحة للاعتماد على الذات) 1 (وتأتي بالعراق بعيدا عن الاستمرار في الولايات المتحدة) 2 (إبتداء من إعادة النظر في التوزيعات السياسية القائمة ومراجعة اغلب ما تم الاتفاق عليه سابقا، أكثر المؤسسات الدستورية أو تعديل النهج المتبع في إدارة الدولة).  

Rhe-rel (1-2 Joint)

Rhe-rel (1-3 Elaboration, process: step)

Text no.6

(في حين يرى آخرون أن تلك التوجهات تبث الربيعة والشك) 1 (معنين تخوفهم الواضح من ظهور نظام شمولي جديد في المشهد السياسي وان كل عبر الأفوني الديموقراطي المعتمدة) 2 (بما يعد تهديدا مباشر لما يعتبر مكتسبات تاريخية لا يمكن التراجع عنها) 3 (فضلا عن تراجع مشروع قدرة العراق).  

Rhe-rel (1-2 Means)

Rhe-rel (3-4 Contrast)

Text no.7

(يقف حزب الدعوة الإسلامية المتقدم على ابرز مفاصل الدولة صوب مبدأ تدعيم النظام العربي) 1 (وذلك عبر إعادة الهيبة لحكومة مركزية ذات صلاحية نافذا على جميع المحافظات بما يشمل إقليم الشمال) 2 (يجد السادة الكرد بأنه محاولة لضمن الحقوق الشرعية وإجهاض فكرة ضم محافظة كركوك الغنية بالنفط) 3 (فيما يراه المجلس الإسلامي العلوي وأد مشروع إقليم الوسط والجنوب الذي مسخ في مهدة، حسب المعطيات الأخيرة وإفرازات انتخابات مجالات المحافظات، التي قلصت نفوذ شهد لمحراب بشكل محرج) 4.  

Rhe-rel (3-4 Joint)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Interpretation)

Text no.8

(لكن بغض النظر عن الاستحاقات الانتخابية) 1 (يبيق الأكراد والتنسيق الأعلى يفرضان واقعا يصعب إكراهه على الأرض) 2 (باعتبارهما إبرز مؤسسي العملية السياسية في العراق ما بعد التاسع من نيسان، 3) (فضلا عن تعمهما بأجنحة عسكرية تمرس لسنين طوال خلال فترة النظام السابق) 4 (كلفات البديعية ومنظمة بدر) 5 (ولا تزال تربطهما أواصر مشتركة مما يؤهلهما مجتمعين القشرة على نصف كل ما تحقق بشكل يسير) 6 (إذا شعروا بخطر الاستهداف) 7.  

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الحلقة الأضعف في المعادلة تمثلت بالأحزاب السنية التي أنهشتها موجة العنف بعد أن اجتاحت مدناً منذ بداية تغيير النظام السابق،¹ (لتصبح أول الخارجين من دائرة الصراع وكان بشكل غير مباشر).²

Rhe-rel (1-2 Non-volitional Result)

Text no.10

ليطل علينا في خضم تلك التفاصيل تساوَل له من الأهمية بقدر ما تم تحقيقه خلال السنوات المتقدمة،¹ (وتشمل من حول على إجابته هو الرئيس ابراهيم نفسه،² (فالعراقيون وإن كانوا لا يجدون مقارنة قرار الانسحاب الوشيك بقرار الاجتياح في 2003)³ (لكن يبقى ساب التساؤل والتنبيهات مشرعة أمام الجميع، حتى يتبنَّى الخيار الأبيض من الأسود،⁴ (فهل سيكون قرار ابراهيم السنون مدروساً بما يضمن حفظ استقرار العراق وأمنه فعلاً؟).⁵ (إذا سيكون على وقع قرار بيش عندما قرر اجتياح العراق بمسؤولية هي أقرب إلى العبثية من التنظيم مما كبد العراقيين ما يطول شرده).⁶

Rhe-rel (1-2 Joint)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Concession)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Disjunction)

www.al-sharq.com/articles/articles.php?catId=18

Article (6):

ماذا فعلت بنيا صدام؟
غسان الشهابي . الوقت البحرينية
1412 هـ - 16 محرم 1431 - 2 يناير 2010

Text no.1

مرت الذكرى الثالثة لمقتل الرئيس العراقي السابق صدام حسين كما مرت غيرها من الذكريات والأيام التي تطوف فيها الأحداث التاريخية تستدعيها غيرها من الأيام.¹ (ولكن سيرة حياة الرئيس العراقي السابق تدخل إلى الكثير من التفكير)² (لأنها جملة من التصدعات التي أعثمت هذه الأمة بجراحات لم تندم، وكفها فواتير لا قبل لها بدفعها وسماها، وليتها فواتير مالية وحساب).³

Rhe-rel (1-2 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Justification)

Text no.2

(في حياته وبعد مماته، شكل صدام حسين محور جدل كبير في الساحة العربية والعالمية.)¹ (فقد كان هذا الرئيس فاعلاً لأمة على أكثر من مصاعد.)² (وفي عام 1980 أعل网吧 قتيل الحرب مع إيران تحت دعاءٍ مختلفة.)³ (ليبق حرياً كان الأطول في القرن الماضي، إذ لم تستمر حرب نظامية بين جيشي بلدين لمدة ثمانين سنوات.)⁴ (وشكل مباشرة كانت الخسائر البشرية من هذه الحرب قراءة مليونين إنسان من الطرفين الذين سيقت زهور شبابهما إلى آتون حرب اعتبرت مقدسة من طهران وبغداد.).⁵ (وكانت الخسائر المادية قد

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زادة على 400 مليار دولار (بخلاف ما ضمته دول الخليج من أموال في الترسانة العراقية على أمل الوصول إلى نصر)، ووقف بعض الدول العربية إلى جانب إيران، وبدد التنافر الطائفي على الضفاف العربية من الخليج العربي (إن تحمل الحرب أحمالًا لها أبعادها الطائفية). وتعتز الكثير من مشروعات التنمية في المنطقة التي عانت التوتر الشديد، والحذر الكبير أيضاً من المصلي في الاستثمار.

Rhe-rel (1-2 Justification)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Purpose)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Joint)
Rhe-rel (6-7 Concession)
Rhe-rel (8-9 Joint)
Rhe-rel (9-10 Non-volitional Cause)
Rhe-rel (11-12 Joint)

Text no.3
(انتهى الحرب الطويلة المدمرة إلى لا شيء ما عدا إعلان الطرف الإيراني كلله من طول هذه الحرب، وهذا ما يعد صدام انتصارًا له. (ليعود الجيش من الجهات) (ليواجه وضعًا اقتصادياً واجتماعياً غاية في التعقيد، موشِك على الانهيار والتفتت الداخلي)، (كان لا بد من عدم وقف دوران العجلة) (حتى لا يرتد السلاح إلى مطلقيه)، (وكانت الطامة الكبرى بغزو النظام السابق للكرات)، (الطرف الأضعف جفافياً في المحيط العراقي)، (فالخلاف مع سورية، حتى مع وقوعها مع إيران، وكذلك في شأن مبادئ الحرب الواحدة لم يكن مبرراً للغزو)، (ولن تعود للبنان الفردية)، (ولا تركيا التي كانت تستعد لتثبيت المياه للعراق)، (ولا السعودية بثقلا المعروف عالمياً).

Rhe-rel (1-2 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Sequence)
Rhe-rel (5-6 Justification)
Rhe-rel (7-8 Elaboration, object: attribute)
Rhe-rel (9-10 Contrast)
Rhe-rel (11-12 Contrast)

Text no.4
(أحدث الغزو الانتشار الأكبر في جسم الأمة العربية، صارت هناك دول مع صدام ودول ضد صدام، دول مع الكويت وأخرى ضد صدام)، (أبل اختلفت بعض الدول بين مواقفها الرسمية والشعبية)، (صبت 33 دولة عربية وإسلامية وأجنبيه أكثر من مليون جندي في الأراضي الخليجية، وأحكمت البحر والجو)، (وبدأت الحرب استمرت نحو 40 يوماً تكبدت خسائرها قوى التحالف 377 جندياً و75 طائرة، كان عدد منها بـ "إيران صديقة"، (في الوقت الذي تسافر من جنود العراق ما يقرب من 100 ألف، وأسر في هذه الحرب 30 ألفاً أخرى)، وذروت 4000 دبابة عراقية، ونحو 5000 من القطع العسكرية و240 طائرة، وأعداد من المدنيين تراوح تقديراتها تصل إلى 200 ألف).
ولو عدنا للتساؤل عن الأسباب والأهداف والمرامى (لما وجدنا ما يشفع لكل هذا الخراب والانشطار في الثاني الذي لازم الأمة لعقد من الزمان تقريباً؛ وتخسير المباشرة وغير المباشرة التي وقعت للمنطقة تحديداً؛) (وما جرته بعد ذلك من سلسلة من المؤتمرات التي سالت القضية الفلسطينية إلى دهاليز وأنفاق لا ضوء في نهايتها).

ظل عراق البعث محاصراً، يتفضل عليه العالم بمقايضة نقطة مقابل غداء ودواء مذلين، (وخلت الأمة الأمريكية الجائمة في الخليج تنتهي كرامماً هذا البلد وعرشه وتاريخه وسياسته). (تنتظر الزولات من هذا النظام الآخر الذي يوفر لها الذراع اللازمة) (للتقدم في هذا البلد بشكل نهائي) (حتى حالات الفرصة في 2003 تحت جهن تكشف اليوم وقاحتها وببباتها). (ولكنها قادت في النهاية إلى تنديس هذا البلد العظيم، وسقط عاصمته تحت الضرائب الفاسية والبالغة الوحشية) (عودة الانقسام بين من تناسي جرائمه صدام لبضعه في مصاف الشهداء والصالحين فقط لأنه أعدم بطريقة لا تخلو من التساؤلات واختلاف التفسير) (وبين من هذه مجرماً يجوز فيه ما لا يجوز على غيره من البشر).

انتهى العهد بصدام حسين وبحزبه الذي تزروه الرياح (والذي يتخذ اليوم شمعة للإعلان قبل الحكومة العراقية على ضبط وضع الأمن الداخلي) (انفاق العراق وتفتت وضاعة ثرواته) (وبات متمنياً إلى الدول الفقيرة ذات الأوضاع الاقتصادية البائسة المبوءة بالفساد والمحسوبية والطائفية والمحصصية).

لن تعد الحسرات والأهات والـ "أياً مما ذهب") (ولن يرفق الوضع ما كشفه لجان التحقق في الدول المشاركة في الحرب على العراق ما يجري الآن) (لكن يبقى صدام حسين مؤثراً منذ توليه السلطة قبل عشرين عاماً) (وستظل آثار أفعاله ممتدة بالعراق والأمة بأسرها إلى أمد ليس بالقصير)

http://www.alwaqt.com/blog_art.php?baid=12379
بلير: صدام لم يشكل خطراً عقب هجمات 11 سبتمبر
الأهرام 30/يناير/2010

Text no.1
(برر رئيس الوزراء البريطاني السابق توني بلير قراره بخوض الحرب الـ11 سبتمبر الحادي عشر من سبتمبر 2001.)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Justification)

Text no.2
(حذف عن وقوع عمل إرهابي كبير على عرق هجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر 2001.)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Joint)

Text no.3
(أشار بلير إلى أن مبرر خوض الحرب لدى كل من الولايات المتحدة وبريطانيا لم يكن تنامي قدرات نظام صدام.(1) ولكن تغير مفهوم الخطر لدى البلدان.(2) وقال إنه بعد قيام عدد من المتطرفين بقتل 3 آلاف شخص في هجوم سبتمبر.(3) تولدت قناة لدى كل من واشنطن ولندن ضرورة وضع نهاية للتهديدات التي تمثلها دول كايران، وليبيا وكوريا الشمالية والعراق.(4)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Contrast)

Text no.4
(وأوضح بلير أن المشاركة البريطانية في حرب العراق كان هدفها أن تبعث رسالة إلى الأنظمة التي تملك أسلحة دمار.(1) شامل للتحلي منها.(2) وأشار إلى أن صدام لم يتowan عن استخدام الأسلحة الكيميائية.(3) مما أودي بحياة ما يقرب من مليون شكل.(4) وتسأل عمراً إذا كان من الصواب ترك رجل كصدام ضرب عرض الحائط بقرارات الأمم المتحدة.(5) لإعادة تفعيل برامج أسلحة الدمار الشامل.(6)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Purpose)

Text no.5
(ورد على اتهام سفير لنندن السابق في الولايات المتحدة له بلير اتفاق بالدم مع الرئيس الأمريكي السابق جورج بوش لغزو العراق في مزرعة بكراوفورد.(1) أكد بلير أن ما حدث في كراوفورد كان تأكيداً بأن بريطانيا ستساند الولايات المتحدة في مواجهة خطر نظام صدام حسين.(2)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Background)
ورحو علاقة صدام بالقاعدة. شدد بلير على أن حكومته كانت دائما تفصل بين تنظيم القاعدة والقطاع العراقي السابق (إلا أنها كانت تملك مخاوف من وجود نقاط تلاقى بين الدول التي تملك برنامج أسلحة دمار شامل وبين التنظيمات الإرهابية) (وضرب بلير مثالا بإيران التي تملك علاقات مثل هذه التنظيمات في الوقت الذي تملك فيه برنامجا نوويًا (وهو الخطر الذي لا يزال يؤرق العالم حتى الآن). 

Rhe-rel (1-2 Concession)  
Rhe-rel (3-4 Interpretation)  

كما أوضح بلير أنه في حال تم تحرير صدام من قيود العقوبات الدولية (إنه كان سيستنفف برامج أسلحة الدمار الشامل التي كانت تملكها بلاده) (وأضاف أن شن الحرب على العراق بدلا من إيران) (كان بسبب التجاهل العراقي للقرارات الدولية). 

Rhe-rel (1-2 Condition)  
Rhe-rel (3-4 Volitional Cause)  

وكشف بلير عن أن الكثير من القادة العرب أعربوا عن ارتياحهم لإسقاط نظام صدام) (وأضاف أن صدام الذي وصفه بالسافر كان يمثل خطرًا على عملية السلام (نظرا لمواجهته الرافضة للعملية السلمية والدعم الذي كان يقدمه لأهالي منفذي عمليات الانتهازية. 

Rhe-rel (1-2 Joint)  
Rhe-rel (a-b&c Continued)  
Rhe-rel (2-3 Justification)  

ومن جانب آخر، ذكر تشيلكوت أن انخراط بريطانيا في هذا النزاع الذي لا يحظى بشعبية يظل موضوعًا مثيرًا للانقسام وللتآثر الشديد (خصوصًا بين أهالي الـ179 جنديا بريطانيا الذين قتلوا في العراق). 

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, generalization: specific)  

وأوضح تشيلكوت أن الهدف الرئيسي من التحقيق هو معرفة الأسباب التي دفعت حكومة بلير لخوض المعركة (وتخفيف الدروس المستفادة من الحرب على العراق) (مشيراً إلى أن اللجنة لا تقوم بدور المحكمة وأن هدفها هو تقصي الحقيقة (لمعرفة الأسباب التي أدت لاندلاع الحرب وما أعقابها من أعمال عنف). 

Rhe-rel (1-2 Conjunction)  
Rhe-rel (3-4 Purpose)
وعبد التحقيق الذي يقوم به شيلكوت هو الثالث من نوعه بعد تقارير سابقتين في عام 2004 كانت نتائجهما
تبنيها ساحة الحكومة من ارتكاب أي مخالفات (1) إلا أنه وبعد سبعة أعوام من الغزو الذي قادته الولايات المتحدة للعراق ومن نحو ثلاثة أعوام من تسليم بير رئيس وزراء لجوردون براون مازالت القضية تثير غضبا
عميقا. (2)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Concession)

(وفي الوقت نفسه تظهر المنات من بينهم عدد من أقارب الجنود البريطانيين الذين سقطوا في الحرب امام القاعة) (التي عقدت فيها جلسة الاستماع لبيلير في لندن - حاملين لافتا تصف رئيس الوزراء البريطاني السابق بالكاذب وبأنه مجرم). (3)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)

http://www.shebacss.com/ar/media-center-38598.html

Article (8):
أكاذيب توني بليير
بتلم: مصطفى سميس
الأهرام 9 / 2 /2010

Text no.1
(يواصل رئيس الوزراء البريطاني السابق توني بليير - بلا خجل - أكاذيبه وخداعه للرأي العام البريطاني خلال التحقيقات التي تجريها لجنة شيلكوت المستقلة التي شكلها رئيس الوزراء البريطاني جوردن براون تحت ضغط من الرأي العام في بلاده) (للبحث في أساليب مشاركة بريطانيا في غزو العراق). (4)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Purpose)

Text no.2
(كان قد تجمع من الصباح الباكر المنات من مناهضي حرب العراق وعائلات الجنود القتلى وهم ينتظرون بليير الكاذب أكاذيب توني) (لكن بليير تجنب مواجهة الجمهور الذي ينتظر إدانته) (وحضر في السابعة والنصف صباحا) (ودخل ميري الملكة إليزابيث بلندن) (حيث تجري التحقيقات داخل إحدى قاعاته من باب خلفي قبل ساعتين تقريبا من بدء التحقيق). (5)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Volitional Result)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Sequence)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Circumstance)

Text no.3
(حاول بليير أن يبري نفسه، فقد أن قراره كان صانبا) ( فالعراق الآن أفضل مما كان تحت قيادة صدام حسين، الذي كان يهدد سلام العالم) (وأنا ليس نادما على الإطالة بالديكتاتور العراقي وتغيير نظام الحكم حتى في عدم وجود أسلحة دمار شامل) (فالرئيس العراقي السابق كان ينوي الحصول على هذه الأسلحة لنشر الرعب والأرهاب في العالم). (4)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Justification)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Justification)
١٧-٥-٢٠١٠

١٧-٥-٢٠١٠

١٧-٥-٢٠١٠

١٧-٥-٢٠١٠

١٧-٥-٢٠١٠

١٧-٥-٢٠١٠

١٧-٥-٢٠١٠

١٧-٥-٢٠١٠

١٧-٥-٢٠١٠

١٧-٥-٢٠١٠

١٧-٥-٢٠١٠
العربية

المهندس العراق الأخير على العراق من المحافظين الجدد وحلفائهم ومؤيديهم (العرب على وجه الخصوص) استخدموا ذريعة امتلاك العراق أسلحة الدمار الشامل (العappid عدونهم) (وعندما امتنعت هذه الأكاذيب بالدائنين العملية) (رفعوا شعارات الديمقراطية وحقوق الإنسان لترطيب غزوهم، واحتلال بلد، وقتل مليون من ابنائه، وتعيين اربعة شبان طفل، وتهيج حوالي ثلثي هذا الرقم على الأقل إلى دول الجوار، أو داخل العراق نفسه).

Rhe-rel (1-2 Purpose)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Circumstance)

تعترف بأن العراق الجديد شهد انتخابات شفافية وحرة، مرتين منذ الاحتلال (الأولى عام 2005، والثانية قبل شهر تقريبًا) (وكانت نسبة المشاركة في الثانية أكثر من ثلث ونصف في السنة) (بسبب مشاركة إبناء الطائفة السنة الذين قاطعوا الانتخابات الأولى بصورة شبه جماعية).

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, process: step)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Volitional Cause)

قوى خارجية عديدة تدخلت بشكل مباشر في الانتخابات بالمال أو النفوذ (وكان لا تفاوت الولايات المتحدة وحلفاءها العرب، مثل المملكة العربية السعودية ودول الخليج الأخرى، ساندت قائمة الدكتور إيمان علاوي العلمانية،) (بينما وقفت إيران بقوة خلف القوائم الشيعية الأخرى).

Rhe-rel (a-b & c of 2Continued)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Contrast)

الانتخابات العراقية الأولى سلبت البلاد إلى الأحزاب الطائفية الأصولية (وأحجاري كرست وضعًا قانية أسس لها الإدارة الأمريكية ودعمته) (وعندما انقلب البحر على الساحر، ارتدت الولايات المتحدة إصلاح خطئها من خلال الانتخابات الثانية) (فجأت النتائج أكثر كارثية، أو هكذا نعتقد).

Rhe-rel (1-2 Disjunction)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Non-volitional Result)

الإدارة الأمريكية الديمقراطية الحالية التي وصلت إلى البيت الأبيض على حساب المحافظين الجدد الفائقة في منطقة الشرق الأوسط (العراق وأفغانستان) تجد نفسها حاليا في مأزق أكبر في البلدين (والمنطقة بشكل عام).

Rhe-rel (1-2 Joint)
قبل الغزو الأمريكي للعراق كان المعتمدون وغير المعتمدون، الطائفيون والعلمانيون، الليبراليون والشيوعيون، العرب والأكراد، يولون وجههم صرع الكعبة الأمريكية، يحذرون إليها تبعاً، فرداً وجماعات، ¹(لطلب الود والاستماع إلى التوجيهات.) (وبعد بضع سنوات من الغزو والاحتلال، وخسارة ثمانمائة مليار دولار، وأربعة آلاف قتيل أمريكي، وأربعين ألف جريح، وإحلال الديمقراطية الأمريكية مكان الدكاتورة المحلية، واحتشت البعث ورجاله، وذهب ابناء العراق إلى صناديق الاقتراع مرتين)، ²(بانت طهران هي الوجهة المفضلة للسياسيين أنفسهم، والمعتمدين أنفسهم، ³(حيث حلت واستحقاق، مكان العاصمة الأمريكية.) ⁴

Text no.7
Rhe-rel (1-2 Purpose)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Volitional Cause)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Interpretation)

Text no.8
بنعم فقط وصول وصولاته واحتياطاته، ²c هي الفائز الأكبر حتى هذه اللحظة.

Text no.9
ومن المفارقة ان الدكتور اياد علاوي، ²c الحلفاء القريب لواشنطن بين كل السياسيين العراقيين، والعامل الأكثر تأثيراً في خطة اطاحة النظام السابق، ³b هو الوحيد الذي لم يدع لزيارة طهران، (ربما لأنه العلماني الأبز الذي فاز بالكثير في الانتخابات الأخيرة بأصوات الطائفة السنوية.) ¹c

Text no.10
والان في البلاد بما يهد الطريق لسحب قواتها، ³b (أو بالاحرى هروبها في العام المقبل، ²c (تحويل الى كابوس باعطائها نتائج عكسية تماماً.) مهما يعني ان كل الاستمرار العربي والإسلامي والمعنى، لإنتاجه سعيد هبة. ۳b (السيد نوري المالكي رئيس وزراء العراق الحالي بعد اللجوء إلى العنف، إذا لمز الأمر، ⁴d لمنعه من الحوار ملهمة في سدة الحكم. ⁴b (السيد المالكي يعني ما يقول، ⁵d فهو يمساعدة الحكماء الأمريكي أيضاً، السيطرة الكاملة على القوات الأمنية والعسكرية، والخسائر العامة بأموال العوائد النفطية.)
(نظريةً يملك الدكتور علوي وانصاره من السنة، العرب والإكراد معاً، 20 ألف جندي الموجودة حالياً في العراق)1 (إذا لم الأمر)،2 (ولكن هل ستثور هذه القوات في حال حدوث حرب اهلية نتيجة لهذا الانقسام العراقي الاخطر والاكثر دموية)3 (في حال جلوء طرفيه أو إطرافه إلى السلاح والعنف لحسم الوضع؟)4

Rhe-rel (a-b & c of 1 Continued)
Rhe-rel (1-2 Condition)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Condition)

Text no.13
(العنف أو الإرهاب مثلما يسميه الأمريكيين عاد بقوة الى المنطقة،1 (الانفجارات بانت شبه يومية في العراق، ومرشحة للتصاعد، 2 (حيث حصدت امرؤ العشرات من العراقيين)،3 (ما يؤكد ان تنظيم الفئات الفصائل الأخرى التي تتحالف معه او تتبغ نهجه، وتعارض المشروع السياسي الأمريكي في العراق قد عادت بقوة)،4 (وليس من قبل الصدفة أن يتوازي هذا مع تصعيد مماثل في أفغانستان وباكستان)،5 (ويستهدف السفارات الأجنبية في البلدان الثلاثة)،6

Rhe-rel (1-2 Volitional Cause)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Elaboration, abstraction: instance)
Rhe-rel (1-5 Interpretation)
Rhe-rel (a-b&c Continued)
Rhe-rel (6-7 Purpose)

Text no.14
(المصالحة الوطنية في العراق لم تتم)،1 (وفرض اتمامها المستقبلية بانت أكثر تعقيداً، 2 (والشيء نفسه في أفغانستان)،3 (ولكن المصالحة الاهمن التي وعد الرئيس اوباما بتحقيقها بين أمريكا والعالم الإسلامي في عهد ادارته في التي اجهدت)،4 (بل ظلت ناقة ولم تتطور حتى الى جنين)،5 (ففضل العداء المستحكم للمؤسسة الأمريكية الحاكمة لكل ما هو عربي ومسلم)،6

Rhe-rel (1-2 Conjunction)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Joint)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Concession)
Rhe-rel (4-6 Non-volitional Cause)

http://alquds.com/2010/05/01/articles/2568.html
في ذكرى الحرب على العراق  
2010 جريدة الوسط اليوم  
رشيد شاهين 21-3-2010

Article (10):

(في مثل هذا الأيام قبل سبع سنوات،) أقدمت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية مع من تحالف معها من قوى الشر والعدوان على شن حرب عدوانية دموية مدمرة غير مبررة و وغير شرعية ولا قانونية على أرض العراق،)2

انتهت باحتلال هذا البلد وكانت النتيجة سقوط مئات الآلاف من الضحايا و تشريد ملايين العراقيين في داخل و خارج العراق.3

Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)  
Rhe-rel (2-3 Volitional Result)

Text no.2
(بعد سبع سنوات من الاحتلال البغض،)1 (هناك العديد من التساؤلات التي تبرز إلى الوجهة،)2 (وهي ذات التساؤلات التي سوف تبرز دوما في مثل هذه الذكرى الأليمة،)3 (وهي مستفي السؤال مشروع، خاصة في ظل عملية التأمر على هذا البلد، والتي تورط بها العديد من دول و وقادة العرب،)4 (هذا التأمر الذي دفع العراق و شعبه ولا زال ثما باهذا له،)5

Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)  
Rhe-rel (2-3 Interpolation)  
Rhe-rel (4-5 Interpolation)

Text no.3
(إن من بين تلك التساؤلات أو الأسئلة التي لا بد منها،)1 (كيف أضحت الأوضاع في العراق بعد هذا الاحتلال؟)2 (وهل جاء المحتل الأمريكي ومن معه بما هو أفضل للعراق؟)3 (وهل حققت الشعارات الكاذبة التي تم رفعها قبل عملية الغزو والاحتلال؟)4 (وأين أصبح البلد بعد سبعة أعوام من الاحتلال البغيض قتل خلالها من قتل وشرد و غادر البلاد من غادر؟)5 (وهل حصل أهل العراق على ما وعدوا به من حريه وديمقراطية من قبل بوش الصغير؟)6 (وهل ثمة من الإيجابيات ما يمكن الحديث عنها بعد سنوات الاحتلال تلك؟)7

Rhe-rel (1-2 Elaboration, whole: part)  
Rhe-rel (1-3 Elaboration, whole: part)  
Rhe-rel (1-4 Elaboration, whole: part)  
Rhe-rel (1-5 Elaboration, whole: part)  
Rhe-rel (1-6 Elaboration, whole: part)  
Rhe-rel (1-7 Elaboration, whole: part)

Text no.4
(لقد بات جليا أن الصورة التي رسمها الغزاة لعراق ما بعد الاحتلال أو ما وصفوه بالتحرير لم تكن أبدا بهية ولا وردية ولا زاهية كما دأبوا على الترويج خلال التحضير للحرب على العراق،)1 (أقد بدأ الصورة أكثر "قامة وسودا" مما رسمها وزير الخارجية الأسبق جيمس بيكير في جنيف خلال اجتماعه مع طارق عزيز،)2 

وزير الخارجية العراقي في حينه، قبل الحرب الأولى على العراق (عام 1991).)3
(حتى اللحظة، وبعد سنوات عديدة من حرب العراق على العراق،) 1 (لا يمكن الحديث عن أي تقدم تم إحراره على أي صعيد في البلد بعد الانتلال،) 2 (حيث كل المؤشرات والوقائع تقول بأن به أخذ في التراجع في كل الميدان،) 3 (وان الأمور فيه تزداد سوءا يوما بعد يوم،) 4 (وان كل ما يجري من محاولات لتحييد الوجه الفيقي للانتلال لم تعد مجدية. في ظل غياب الأمن، والأوضاع الاقتصادية الأخرى في الطرد،) 5 (مع ازدياد البطالة، وعدم توفير الحد الأدنى من الخدمات، وغياب القانون، واستثناء الفساد،) 6 (وإن الخطط المستوى الصحي والتعليمي في بلد كان يختر بأنه في رأس قائمة بلدان العالم الثالث من حيث التعليم والصحة.) 7

Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (2-3 Interpretation)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Joint)
Rhe-rel (6-7 List)

Text no.6
(عند الحديث عن الحرب على العراق،) 1 (يصبح من غير الممكن عدم استذكار كل الكذب والخداع والترويج الذي مورس من قبل المحكمة الدعائية الأمريكية بشكل خاص والغربية بشكل عام وخاصة البريطانية،) 2 (كما لا يمكن إغفال كل المبررات التي سبقت من أجل إخضاع هذا البلد وانتلاله،) 3 (والتي ثبت أنها كانت مبررات كاذبة، مخادعة، استندت إلى الفكرة والترويج وقلب الحقائق بشكل غير مسبوق، وقد تورط فيها الكثير من القادة "عربا وغربا"). 4

Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Interpretation)

Text no.7
(لقد كان حجم الترويج والتهويل من خطر عراقي ماحق، أكثر من كل الكذب الذي مورس خلال الاحرار العالمية الثانية،) 1 (عندما كان غول بل وزير الدعاية النازي يقود أيقون الدعاية مستندا إلى مقولة ذكره حتى يصدقك الآخرون،) 2 (وفرد أصيح واضحا بعد هذه السنوات الطويلة من الاحتلال،) 3 (إلى كل ما اتخاذ من قرارات ضد العراق،) 4 (وان كل ما تم ترويجه عن العراق، لم يكن سوى فروكات تورط فيها العديد من أجهزة المخابرات العالمية وعلى رأسها المخابرات الأمريكية،) 5 (كما أن العديد من التقارير بدت تكشف "المستور" في مسلسل الكذب الذي مورس خلال الحرب وما قبل الحرب على العراق.) 5

Rhe-rel (1-2 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (3-4 Circumstance)
Rhe-rel (4-5 Evidence)

Rhe-rel (1-2 Evaluation)  
Rhe-rel (3-4 Elaboration, whole: part)  
Rhe-rel (3-5 Elaboration, whole: part)  
Rhe-rel (3-6 Elaboration, whole: part)  
Rhe-rel (3-7 Elaboration, whole: part)  
Rhe-rel (8-9 Circumstance)  

(ما لا شك فيه أيضاً أن الولايات المتحدة استطاعت أن تنجح في إن تبقي العراق على الأقل في المدى المنظور، ضمن منطقة السيطرة والตนเอง والتبعية لها (1) وذلك من خلال ربطه بالعديد من الاتفاقات، (2) وهذا يجري من خلال من تم استجوابهم من الخارج ليصبحوا القادة الجدد لعراق ما بعد الاحتلال، (3) وقد ارتفعت وفاة القيم بالأدوار التي تم رسمها لهم تاريخيا (4) خلال ووجودهم في صفوف ما كان يدعى بالمعارضة العراقية (5) هذه المعرفة التي تعرت في العواصم الغربية وسانشون ولندن وسوهايم (6) وفي العواصم الشرقية طهران والكويت وغيرها. في أحيان أخرى (7))  

Rhe-rel (1-2 Means)  
Rhe-rel (1-3 Interpretation)  
Rhe-rel (4-5 Circumstance)  
Rhe-rel (6-7 Conjunction)  

(لقد كان جليا أيضاً أن الولايات المتحدة يبرغم كل ما قامت به في العراق (1) فشلت حتى اللحظة وهي لا بد ستفلت مستقبل بقرار العراقيين (2) هذا الهدف الذي كان أيضاً أحد الأهداف الرئيسية للغزو (3) كما فشلت في إشعال حرب أهلية في البلد برغم كل ما قامت به من اجل تأميم مثل هذه الحرب (4) شاركتها في ذلك الجارة اللدودة إيران التي تبناها مع الولايات المتحدة وتتلاقى وأيضاً في الكثير من المصالح والتهديدات والأيديولوجيات والسيطرة على العراق (5))
بعد سنوات سبع من الاحتلال، 
(بات من الواضح أن أميركا قد تورطت في هذا البلد،)
(ويهي تعيش مأزقاً صعبا لمستطيع الخروج منه) 
(بالخروج من هذا البلد ليحكمه ويسوده أبناء العراق النشامي وليس من أتى على ظهور الدبابات الأمريكية،)
(المأزق الذي تعيشه أميركا ناتج عن الضربات التي يتلقاها جيش الاحتلال من قوى المقاومة العراقية بكافة أطيافها،)
(وهي التي ستعمق هذا المأزق ليصل العراق في النهاية إلى هدفه في الحريه والاستقلال.)

http://alwasattoday.com/archivw/6467-2010-03-21-17-21-07
Appendix D: Translation of Arabic Editorials

Article (1): Using Terrorism as a Political Means
Fawzy Al-Asmar
Al-Riyadh Newspaper, 27 August, 2003

Text no.1
All parties opposing the Arabs and Islam, especially in America, use all the possible means to achieve their aggressive goals irrespective of the price everyone pays. The common denominator among these parties is that they pay for the war and killing under the pretext that this manner will lead to peace.

Text no.2
America presided by George Bush leads these parties with all their radicalism and malice. Since Bush has become a leader of America, blood has been shed in different areas of the world, especially in the Middle East. Racism comes and goes freely in America, while the official statements indicate that the aim is to achieve “a world of peace”. At the end of last June, Bush stood in the Garden of Flowers in the White House and announced that “the situations in Iraq develop peacefully” and that “peace knocks at the doors in the Middle East region.”

Text no.3
The official news, then, stopped talking for a long time about what was happening in Afghanistan. They agreed with the official statements that said the situation in that state was heading towards stability. The news about the violence and fighting was overshadowed. The news of the daily killed or wounded or the daily confrontations, “resistance,” “terrorism,” etc, was also overshadowed.

Text no.4
In the months of July and August, 112 people were killed in Afghanistan according to the New York Times of 20/8/2003. Among these, who were killed, a great number of the local police, pro-American Afghani soldiers, civilians, who were killed by the explosions, officials in the Afghani government, some of the Muslim religious men who cooperated with the US occupation, and American soldiers.
Text no.5
These pieces of news mostly passed unnoticed because most of the casualties were Afghans. Bush’s administration succeeded in establishing Afghani army and police so that they could fight Taliban, while Americans keep on occupying their country. This is what the American occupation tries to do in Iraq; establishing an Iraqi army and police to fight Arab and Iraqi terrorism.

Text no.6
Bush’s administration succeeded in turning Iraq into a combat field. While Bush announced end of major combat operations in Iraq on 1/5/2003, fighting went on there. The US President was forced to retreat from that stance and admitted that the wars had not ended yet. The US Department of Defense was forced to admit that the number of the US killed soldiers since the first of last May until the writing of these lines had amounted to 179 (Associated Press, 22/8/2003) and that the number of the US soldiers killed in the last Iraqi war amounted to 273. Naturally, it neither mentioned the number of the American wounded nor the number of the Iraqis killed and wounded.

Text no.7
The best expression that described that situation could be what was written by Professor Jessica Stern in her introduction for an article written in the New York Times on 20/8/2003, “Yesterday's bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad was the latest evidence that America has taken a country that was not a terrorist threat and turned it into one.”

Text no.8
The unserious interference of Bush’s Administration in the actions of Israel, especially during the armistice that was accepted by all the Palestinian fighting organizations, when Ariel Sharon’s government continued to assassinate, arrest, destroy houses, built the segregating wall, etc., had forced the Palestinian organizations to retaliate and, thus, the armistice was put to a stop.

Text no.9
Consequently, the region was drowned in blood while the US Administration was repeating the slogans of peace. It demanded the Palestinian Authority to get into a civil war to achieve the sought American-Israeli peace.
Moreover, we see the US Administration, and especially Bush, decide to officially appoint a super racist, Daniel Pipes, who hates and resents the Arabs and Muslims, as a member of the Board of Trustees of the American Institute for Peace. He ignores the Senate, which is supposed to approve each member in the Board of Trustees. Pipes’ case has been under discussion for months, but no decision has been taken due to his open racism and to Arab, Muslim, non-Arab and non-Muslim popular pressures.

Bush makes use of the Senate’s summer vacation and some of the texts of the law that allow him in such cases to appoint whomever he wants. Bush’s stance is similar to his stance with Sharon, whom he describes as “a man of peace.”

Just as Bush has surrounded himself with a group of radicals in his different departments, who have become the makers of the American military and diplomatic decisions like Paul Wolfowitz, who opposes the Arabs and Islam, Richard Pearl, etc. Bush is trying to plant such persons in the cultural fields and scientific institutions. This is a bad omen that indicates Bush does not seek just peace, but rather he intends to go on using “terrorism to achieve political and personal objectives, and probably rather ideological objectives. But it seems that this will not be easy,” according to a political analysis in the Washington Post on 22/8/2003, “the topic of peace will not be enough for Bush in the elections of 2004.”
Article (2): Iraq’s Occupation of Kuwait in 1990 was a Prelude for US Occupation of Iraq in 2003
Rakan Al-Majali
Al-Rhiyadh Newspaper, 2004

Text no.1
In the modern history of the Arabs, the dark days are countless. The last century has witnessed a series of defeats, disasters, calamities, and setbacks since the West occupied and exploited this area of the world. The control of the foreign factor and the wish of capitalism to monopolize our nation and the other nations were not the only factors that led to the condition of constant broken feelings. The factors of vulnerability, ignorance, dissection of the Arabs, emotions stirred by the political auctions and submissions through the biddings are all factors of internal deterioration that facilitate the defeats directly or indirectly.

Text no.2
It is possible to say that 15 May 1948, the date in which Palestine was occupied, has been the worst day for the plight of the Arabs. Palestine was lost, and it was somewhat like another Andalusia. Yet, it was in the heart of the Arab homeland and not in Europe and Spain. It could also be said that 2 August 1990 was another of the worst days for the Arabs. That day represented the beginning of losing Iraq and its occupation. By occupying Kuwait, Iraq has given the Americans the go-ahead sign to blatantly interfere in the region. It has also provided the rationale for the escalation against Iraq that has eventually led to Iraq’s occupation on 20 March last year. That was achieved through the policies of imposing sanctions, which exhausted Iraq and turned it into an easy prey when the USA decided to seize it. Iraq has become, therefore, a great feast for history while the attacking force pays no price.

Text no.3
When Iraq occupied Kuwait on 2 Aug. 1990, we said that the occupation would be temporary. Without minimizing the sudden and terrible disaster that befell Kuwait, hit the Arab order, tore apart the national conscience, weakened the nation, cleared the way for foreign intervention and created additional
repercussions of the collapse in the region, what is more dangerous than the temporary occupation of Kuwait is this continuous American occupation of Iraq.

**Text no.4**
We used to say that 2 Aug. 1990 was a day that had consequences. Its tragic effects would not be limited to the occupation of Kuwait and the collapse of the Arab order. The mad adventure that led to the disaster of Kuwait was waited for anxiously by the USA because it would provide it with an opportunity to fabricate consequences and conditions that would achieve its craving and dream to occupy Iraq and turn it into an ideal strategic focal point for controlling the region.

**Text no.5**
Many believe that the Iraqi regime followed programmed policies, which were a part of a perfect American scenario that started with the surprise of the 1968 coup. The coup was led by Abdul-Razzaq Al-Nayif and Ibraheem Al-Dawood, as covers and they paved the way for the Baathists to rule. The party was, however, also a cover for an obscure young man, Saddam Hussein, who became the sole leader after less than two weeks after the 17-July coup by the 30-July coup in the same year. There must be shared characteristics between the surprise of the Saddam’s assuming authority in 1978 and his giving it up on 9 April in the spring of last year when Baghdad was handed down to the Americans without resistance.

**Text no.6**
We cannot claim that we know the specific scenario; however, the vagueness and the mysteries that surrounded Iraq for the last 35 years, including the secrets of the beginning and end, invite us to conclude that there is a previously designed plan. If we overlook this, we cannot ignore the clear, open and documented events. The war Iraq waged against Iran in 1980 was one of the most prominent new facts in the region that reflected a prominent and important role of Saddam Hussein in forming an alliance with USA, by hitting on the Iranian Revolution, which was not completely innocent of the consequences of that war.
Text no.7
As it is known, there was a reciprocal insistence by the Iraqi and Iranian regimes to continue that war although the two parties were aware that the war served no one other than the interests of USA. America supported Iran with weapons and intelligence in a certain stage. Through the satellite, it provided Iran with a plan that facilitated occupying Fao. At the same time, it supported Iraq, and then provided it with a precise map that showed the ports that led to the restoration of Fao by the Iraqi Forces. The Iraq-Iran war, which lasted for 8 years, exhausted both Iran and Iraq, and weakened the region, was, therefore, an early start that revealed the initial features of the US scheme. The Iraqi occupation of Kuwait in 1990, however, put that scheme to the direct test, as we all now know very well.

Text no.8
The relation between the Iraqi war against Iran and the Iraqi war against Kuwait was not a secret. Saddam Hussein believed that the expensive eight-year war against Iran could not be other than specially and greatly favored by USA. At the same time, America expressed its deep relief concerning the result of that war and indirectly blessed the role played by the Iraqi regime to curb Iran. That did not mean that America recognized the emergence of Iraq as the only power in the Gulf region. That role had been denied even to America’s closest friend, Shah Iran, who had tried to turn Iran into an influential and powerful force in the region before the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979 ousted him. Obviously, America was satisfied with reaping the fruits of that war by hitting Iran with Iraq, and destroying the force of the two states, depleting oil and their financial resources, which were wasted in that war, in addition to hundreds of thousands of casualties, and creating a state of hostility that was dormant even after the end of the war.

Text no.9
President Saddam Hussein thought that he would be amply rewarded for playing his role in destroying both Iran and Iraq. The American reward, conversely, was limited. America was satisfied with offering a financial aid to Iraq to be allocated for buying food. The aid did not exceed 4 billion, which was said to be increasable. Iraq used the aid to buy some forms of military technology through
banks and mediators who presented invoices and LCs for food materials. America tolerated that, and probably secretly encouraged it.

**Text no.10**
As everybody knows, Iran dug in pursuit of war and refused to stop it after it gained its military balance. After 8 strenuous and tough years and after being convinced that the war was absurd with no chance for any party to inflict decisive and final defeat against the other party, occupy it, or oust its regime, in addition to other considerations, Iran accepted to stop the war. Khomainy considered his acceptance similar to drinking a cup of poison, whereas Saddam Hussein considered the end of the war as a victory though it did not achieve any results. He retreated back his forces inside the Iraqi borders.

**Text no.11**
As mentioned above, the matching attitudes of Iraq and America to strike Iran did not mean that America was concerned with helping Saddam to achieve his ambitions to gain power and superiority, for it was only concerned with achieving its interests by exhausting and weakening everybody. Hussein imagined that America would pass over his occupation to Kuwait as a prelude to an expansion that would allow him control oil in the Gulf region. Saddam’s illusion was magnified when the Gulf states blessed and supported the war against Iran; especially Kuwait that supported him with all its capacities during the war. Saddam did not realize that the Gulf States assumed that position because they had suffered from the greed of the Iranian regime at the time of the Shah, and after that because they rejected the tendencies of Khomainy to export the revolution.

**Text no.12**
With all those interferences in the international and Arab stances, Saddam Hussein believed that it was time to occupy Kuwait. And he believed, especially, that America would not turn 180 degrees against him. He thought the worst that might happen would be that it would reject the occupation politically and that the issue would be solved through negotiations, evasion, and procrastination. Saddam thought that he could occupy Kuwait in return for giving America all the privileges it wanted in the region.
Text no.13
America was well aware of Saddam’s intentions. Iraq’s escalations against Kuwait did not surprise America, which started to give him indications to go on his intention of occupying Kuwait. The minutes of the meeting with the US Ambassador Glaisy in Baghdad represented a clear title for the US stance which gave the impression that America would not interfere militarily in any conflicts or disagreements in the region and that it wanted the peoples of the region to solve their problems by themselves.

Text no.14
If the interpretations disagreed on assessing the reality of the US intentions, and whether they were hidden intentions to lay a trap for the Iraqi regime to fall in the abyss of occupying Kuwait, or that America waited until Saddam fell in the trap by himself, the result would be the same irrespective of the intentions.

Text no.15
The important thing was that America was planning to occupy Iraq by a scenario that had started with the occupation of Kuwait. That was affirmed by the Commander of the US Forces in Iraq, General Schwarzkopf, who said, Gen. Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the time of President Bush sr., was requested to draw a plan in 1988 to take out the Iraqi forces from Kuwait, two years before 2 Aug. 1990. That date represented the greater plan, namely occupying Iraq. The Iraqi regime led by Saddam Hussein failed the hard test on 2 Aug. 1990. It was a dark day when Baghdad practically fell down, although Baghdad’s falling down and the occupation of Iraq came later on 9 April 2003. Because 2 Aug. 1990 gave birth to 9 April 2003, the dark anniversary of the occupation of Kuwait was the dark anniversary of the occupation of Iraq.
Article (3): Iraq’s War and Baghdad’s Massacres
Salam Baroodi
Al-Rai Newspaper, 23 Jan. 2007

Text no.1
Since Bush’s announcement of his new plan in Iraq that depends on increasing the number of soldiers, the attacks have become more severe. Conversely, others depend on a new strategy in Iraq: more attacks and, then, heavy losses in the ranks of the US Army. Another party depends on the military escalation on the streets of Baghdad: more car-bombs. What can Bush and Al-Maliki’s government do in spinning out of political and security conditions. As long as sectarianism, occupation, and vengeance are dominant in this country, it has become impossible to control these conditions.

Text no.2
Today, Iraq is a new Iraq. The factors of unity and solidarity no more unite its people. New Iraq is a hollow body that has no soul and which is torn by militias. All pursue the resistance. This is the only case in history in which the resistance and kicking out the occupier represent a crime, and is described by terrorism. This is the first time in history in which the resisting people are pursued by their own people. In fact, some Iraqi leaders ask America to stay in Iraq for a period. We will hear a lot of bombings, count numerous casualties, and collect hundreds of body parts in Baghdad and other Iraqi cities.

Text no.3
Naturally, we pray to God that this analysis may merely be a mistaken speculation, but the preludes are no more preludes. Now they are real consequences for the policy of extirpation implemented by the sectarian minds. Extirpation, for the Arabs who do not know its meaning, was one of the most widely used terms in Algiers in the last ten years. During that period, the country passed through a dark tunnel of civil wars. Some men, who were part of the government, rejected conducting any dialogue with the Islamists or opponents. They managed their policy on military confrontation. But after years of bloodshed and tens of thousands of casualties, it was realized that the only policy that would save the
country was real conciliation, dialogue and political sharing. The situation, then, calmed down and improved until the dawn break in Algiers.

Text no.4
We hope that the Iraqi politicians pass over the concept of extirpation in their country. The photos of Saddam’s execution have established a serious and sectarian logic that uncovered the extent of the vengeance the supporters of the new Iraq project carry for the Arab national project in the Mesopotamia.

Text no.5
The policy of confrontation and exclusion will not be the best solution for a dissected Iraq in which everyone owns his own army, militia, flag, parliament and region. Today, Iraq is dissected. The sectarian war no more appears to us with the modesty we have noticed when Baghdad fell down.

Article (4): Democracy is the Future of Iraq
Amjad Khalaf
Al-Sabah, 2008

Text no.1
Mesopotamia is the origin of the first civilization. The place witnessed the invention of the first letter, the first wheel, and the first law. It is where politics first started, and man first knew machines, farming, irrigation, and plowing systems. It is here where modern science started, and people learnt chemistry, physics, mathematics, and Astronomy.

Text no.2
Thus, there is nothing wrong, in being learned yesterday, and there is no harm learning a new lesson from our honoured past. Our forefathers said: how could man enslave people, when they were born free? Then the great French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau came afterwards to say: Man is born free but only to be chained with shackles.

Text no.3
There are three dimensions of democracy: the historical and the philosophical dimensions to which we referred briefly. As for the second dimension, it is the legal dimension, which frames democracy with the constitutional law and according to which the authorities are divided into three dimensions: the executive,
legislative and judicial authorities. The division between the three must be clear, as justified by the French philosopher Mentskjo, in order not to allow an authority to impose its demands over other authorities and eventually spread autocracy and enforce an oppressive regime.

**Text no.4**
Perhaps the third and last dimension is the political dimension, which is based on the type of existing political system. There are four types of political systems like: the Presidential system as the system in the USA, the Parliamentary system as the British system, the Mixed system represented by the French system, and the Assembly system as the Ruling system in Swiss, adding to that the Totalitarian system. Iraq was not away from Democratic systems in the modern and contemporary history. In fact, there was Royal Constitutional Democratic system according to 1925 constitution.

**Text no.5**
The regime in Iraq was based on a parliamentary representation until 1958. After 14 July Revolution, there were efforts to restore Iraq to a democratic system, but the political changes that occurred in Iraq prevented that from taking place.

**Text no.6**
In 2005, Iraq turned to be a democratic system through the passing of the 2005 Constitution that is not free of confusion for sectarian allocations. And it is ludicrous that even oil imports are to become democratic!!!

**Text no.7**
Iraq is in dire need for democracy but with secularism, in order to eradicate the religious, national, racial, tribal prejudices and emphasize on the national identity.

**Text no.8**
Reconsideration should be made towards the building of democratic institutions, in determining the responsibility of the three legislative authorities, and in case of dispute, the people are to be the judge.
Article (5): Fears and Apprehensions for Post-America Iraq
Muhammad Hameed Al-Shawwaf
Al-Sharq AL-Qatariya, 14 March 2009

Text no.1
America has made up its mind. It has announced the collection of its exhausted army and pull out of Iraq in no more than 18 months with the exclusion of some non-combatant units that will remain for consultation and training. Six years, therefore, has been folded. These years have cost America dear losses, both human and financial.

Text no.2
According to the US President’s announcement, the announced tendency of the new US politicians of the White House will emphasize the necessity to leave a wide margin for the Iraqis to solve their issues away from the direct American interventions. They have to depend on themselves in promoting their young democracy according to the principles of self-dependence. This applies especially to rearranging the inside of their home, and to limiting the external threats in the form of the feverish attempts of some neighboring states to control the Iraqi political decision.

Text no.3
On the other hand, the Iraqi politicians are divided into supporters and opponents. The viewpoints vary in a manner that invites everybody to think of the seriousness of the alleged announced US pullout and the consequences of this decision on the Iraqi view.

Text no.4
Many people think that the contradictory beliefs and strategies of the recent past coalitions and the comrades in the recent past struggle threaten the relative stability of the country especially after the widening of the gap between the partners of the political process.

Text no.5
Some people find the US Forces pullout as an opportunity for self-defense and for taking Iraq away from depending on the USA. This starts with reconsidering the current political balances and reviewing most of what was agreed upon previously,
such as rehabilitating the constitutional institutions or reforming the system followed in administering the state.

**Text no.6**
Others believe that the tendencies cause mistrust and suspicion. They announce their evident apprehension from a new totalitarian regime in the new political landscape, even when it is to be formed by adopted democratic mechanisms. This is considered a direct threat to what is considered as historical gains that cannot be undone, in addition to undoing the project of federalizing Iraq.

**Text no.7**
Da’wa Party, which controls the most prominent parts of the state, has pushed towards supporting the central regime by restoring the state’s respect for a central government with effective authorities over all the governorates including the northern region. The Kurdish politicians find this as an attempt to take a bite from the legal rights and aborting the idea of annexing the oil-rich government of Kirkuk. The Supreme Islamic Council, however, thinks that this will stifle the project of the center and south region, which has been nipped in the bud according to the recent data and the consequences of the Provincial Council Elections.

**Text no.8**
Irrespective of the electoral rights, the Kurds and the Islamic Supreme Council keep on imposing a reality that is difficult to deny on the ground. They are two of the most prominent founders of the political process in post-9-April Iraq. Moreover, they have militias that have years of experience during the former regime, such as Peshmerga and Badr Organization. They still have joint ties that collectively enable them to easily demolish all achievements if they feel targeted.

**Text no.9**
The weakest point in this equation is represented by the Sunni parties, who have been exhausted by the current violence that has swept their cities since the beginning of changing the last regime. They have become, therefore, the first to go out of the struggle, though indirectly.
In the midst of these details, an important question, which is as important as what has been achieved during the last six years, is posed. The one who is mostly expected to answer it is President Obama. Although Iraqis do not like to compare the decision of the near pullout with the decision of 2003 sweep, they keep on questioning and expecting until things are settled down. Will Obama’s responsible decision be studied in a manner that actually ensures the stability and security of Iraq? Or will it be equal to Bush’s decision when he decided to sweep Iraq with a responsibility nearer to absurdity than organization, a matter that cost Iraq more than can be explained?

Article (6): Saddam: What Did You Do to Us?

Ghassan Al-Shihabi
Al-Waqt Al-Bahreniya, 2 January, 2010

The third anniversary of killing former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein passed by, as other anniversaries and days passed by the historical events to let other days renew. The biography of Hussein, however, invites to think deeply. It was formed of a number of cracks, which did not heal, to this nation. These cracks cost bills, which were not only financial ones; this nation could neither afford nor pay?

In his life and after his death, Saddam Hussein represented a topic of great controversy in the Arab and international world. That president was disruptive for this nation in more than one level. In 1980, he sparked war with Iran under different pretexts to lead a war, which was the longest war in the last century. No other war of order continued between the armies of two states for 8 years. The direct casualties of that war amounted to a million people from both sides; young men were driven to give the flower of their youth to a war that was considered holy by both Tehran and Baghdad. The financial losses exceeded $400 billion irrespective of the funds pumped by the Gulf States in the Iraqi arsenal with the hope to achieve victory. Some of the Arab states sided with Iran. After loading the war with sectarianism, the disharmony started to take place on the western banks
of the Arab Gulf. Many development projects halted in the region that suffered from great tension and wariness instead of continuing investment.

**Text no.3**
The long destructive war ended to nothing other than the announcement of the Iranian party that it was tired of the long war. Saddam considered that a victory for him. The army, then, returned from the fronts to face immensely complicated financial and social conditions that were about to internally collapse and fragment. It was necessary not to stop the wheel of aggression so that the weapons do not backfire. The major disaster was in the invasion of Kuwait, the weakest geographical party in the countries surrounding Iraq. The disagreement with Syria and even its taking sides with Iran or the one-party principle were not enough excuses for the invasion and it was not going to represent an excursion for the Iraqi army. Turkey, moreover, was readying itself to drip water to Iraq; and Saudi Arabia had its well-known international weight.

**Text no.4**
The invasion caused the widest crack in the body of the Arab nation: some states sided with Saddam and others against him; some states sided with Kuwait and others against it. Some state even had differences between the official and popular stances. Thirty-three Arab, Islamic and foreign states poured more than a million troops in the Gulf land, sea and air and launched a war that lasted about 40 days. The Coalition Forces lost 377 soldiers and 75 aircrafts, some of which were lost by friendly fire; whereas nearly 100 thousand Iraqi soldiers were killed, 30 thousand taken as prisoners of war, 4000 tanks were destroyed in addition to nearly 5000 military pieces, 240 aircraft were destroyed, and nearly 200 thousand civilians were killed.

**Text no.5**
If we go back to questioning the causes, objectives and intentions, we would not find satisfactory answers that would justify all that destruction and Arab dissection that accompanied the nation for nearly a decade. They do not justify the direct and indirect losses that afflicted the area specifically and the resultant series of conferences that led the Palestinian Case to tunnels that had no light at their ends.
Baathist Iraq remained under embargo and the world humiliated it by trading its oil for food. The US machine remained in the Gulf to violate the dignity, honor, history and sovereignty of this state. It waited for the gaffes of that clumsy regime, which provided the necessary pretexts, to destroy this country once and for all until the chance was available in 2003. Finally the pretexts, that the impertinence and falsehood of which are unveiled nowadays, led to the desecration of this great country: its capital fell under the severely savage strikes. Dissection returned back: between those who forgot Saddam’s crimes and considered him a righteous and martyr only because he was executed in a questionable manner that had different justifications, and others who considered him a criminal who deserved to be treated in a manner that no other human deserved.

Saddam’s time and party ended and went with the wind. Now, he is considered as a peg to hang on the failure of the Iraqi government to control the internal security. Iraq has been dissected and defragmented; its wealth is lost; and it has become one of the poor states with miserable economic conditions that are inflicted with corruption, despotism, sectarianism and quota.

Heartbreaks, groans and ifs will restore nothing of what has gone. The discoveries of the investigative committees in the states that participated in the war will not patch the situation of what is going on now. Saddam has remained, however, influential since he took office twenty years ago. The effects of his actions will cover Iraq and the nation as a whole for not a short period of time.
Article (7): Saddam did not Represent a Threat after the 11 September Attacks
Al-Ahram, 30 January, 2010

Text no.1
Former Prime Minister Tony Blair justified strongly his decision to go to war alongside the USA by his fear from a great terrorist action similar to the attacks of 11 September 2001.

Text no.2
Mass demonstrations accompanied Blair’s appearance before the British Commission of inquiry on the War of Iraq, which was chaired by John Chilcot. In his witness, Blair admitted that Saddam Hussein’s regime did not represent an increased danger after the events of September.

Text no.3
Blair indicated that the justification to going to war for both USA and Britain was not the increase in the capacities of Saddam’s regime, but the change in the concept of danger for both states. He said that after 3 thousand people were killed by radicals in September’s attacks; both Washington and London were convinced of the necessity to put an end to the threats posed by states like Iran, Libya, North Korea, and Iraq.

Text no.4
Blair clarified that the British participation in Iraq’s war aimed at sending a message to the regimes that had WMD to give them up. He indicated that Saddam did not hesitate to use the chemical weapons, a matter that killed nearly a million people. He wondered whether it was right to let a man like Saddam, who flouted the UN Resolutions, to reactivate the WMD program.

Text no.5
In response to the accusation of the former ambassador of London in the US that he made a blood agreement with the former US President George Bush in his Ranch in Crawford to invade Iraq, Blair emphasized that what happened there was an emphasis that Britain would support the USA in confronting the danger of Saddam Hussein’s regime.
Text no.6
Concerning Saddam’s relation with Al-Qaida, Blair emphasized that his government had always separated between Al-Qaida and the former Iraqi regime. It had, still, apprehensions from meeting points between the states that owned WMD and the terrorist organizations. He gave the instant of Iran, which had relations with such organizations, and at the same time owned a nuclear program. That danger has still worried the world.

Text no.7
Blair explained that in case Saddam was freed from the international sanctions, he would have continued the WMD program used to be owned by his state. He added that the war was launched against Iraq instead of Iran because Iraq flouted the international Resolutions.

Text no.8
Blair uncovered the fact that many Arab leaders expressed their relief for ousting Saddam’s regime. He added that Saddam, who was described as a bloodthirsty, represented a threat to the peace process due to his stances that refused the peaceful process and the support he used to offer to the ones who did suicidal operations.

Text no.9
Chilcot, on the other hand, mentioned that the involvement of Britain in this non-popular conflict remains a topic of divisive and highly emotional nature, especially for the families of the 179 British soldiers who were killed in Iraq.

Text no.10
Chilcot explained that the main objective of the inquiry is to know the causes that made Blair’s government go to war, and to specify the lessons learned from the war against Iraq. He indicated that the Commission did not act as a court. Its aim is to find the true reasons that led to the war and the consequent violent acts.

Text no.11
The inquiry chaired by Chilcot is the third one of its kind. In 2004, there were two reports that acquitted the government from doing any violation. Seven years after the US-led invasion of Iraq and three years after Blair’s handing down the post of prime minister to Jordon Brown, the case does still provoke profound anger.
Text no.12
At the same time, hundreds including the relatives of the soldiers, who were killed in the war, demonstrated in front of the hall where the Blair’s hearing session took place in London. They carried banners that described the former prime minister as a liar and criminal.

Article (8): Tony Blair’s Lies
Mustafa Sami
Al-Ahram, 9 February 2010

Text no.1
Former Prime Minister, Tony Blair, continues shamelessly his lies and deceptions to the public opinion at the inquiry conducted by the Independent Chilcot Commission formed by British Prime Minister Jordon Brown under the pressure of the public opinion of his country. The inquiry investigates the methods with which Britain participated in invading Iraq.

Text no.2
Hundreds of anti-Iraq-war people and families of the killed soldiers gathered in the early morning calling “Liar Blair” and “Tony’s lies”. Blair avoided confronting the masses who wait for his conviction. At 7:30 a.m., he came and entered Queen Elizabeth Building, where the inquiry takes place, in London and entered a hall through the back (rear) door nearly two hours before the inquiry began.

Text no.3
Blair tried to clear himself by emphasizing that his decision was correct for Iraq now was better than it used to be under the reign of Saddam who tried to threaten the international peace. He was not sorry for ousting the Iraqi dictator and changing the regime even though there were no mass destructive weapons. The previous Iraqi president intended to acquire those weapons to spread fear and terror in the world.

Text no.4
Now, Iraq is not better than it used to be during the Saddam Hussein’s reign. The US-British invasion of Iraq caused mass destruction to Iraq. Instead of achieving peace and establishing a democratic, stable and safe regime, as Bush has promised, Iraqis face death and oppression every day on the streets, workplaces and homes.
To confirm his coalition with Washington and the hypocrisy of Israel, Blair warned against the danger that threatened the world represented by Iran and its attempts to develop nuclear weapons. The present Iranian regime is more dangerous than Saddam Hussein’s Iraq. He looks as if he demands Washington and Israel to lounge a military attack against Iran to prevent it from developing its nuclear program. Yet, we did not hear him utter a single word in which he criticizes the horrible nuclear weapons owned by Israel to terrorize the Arabs. He is the envoy of the quartet Committee sent to the Middle East, and thus he is supposed to be impartial to the conflict between the Palestinians and Israelis.

**Text no.5**
The British Commission of Inquiry chaired by Lord Chilcot is a political commission, and not a court of law. Faced by Blair’s effrontery and lies, it has the right to emphasize its credibility by recommending him to a criminal court to end his life behind the bars to be punished for his crimes.

**Article (9): USA: Its Regional Failure**

Abdul-Bari Atwan

Al-Quds Al-Arabiya, 1 May, 2010

**Text no.1**
America launched two wars against Iraq: first in February 1991 under the title “liberating Kuwait” and the other in March 2003 under the slogan “liberating Iraq.” The main objective was, however, changing the governing regime and exchanging it with another pro-American regime that would agree with its domineering projects and that would overly accommodate Israel just like the other Arabs.

**Text no.2**
The engineers of the last war against Iraq, the neo-conservatives and their supporters and affiliate, the Arabs in particular, used the pretext that Iraq owned WMD to justify their aggression. When that lie was made clear with practical evidence, they raised the slogans of democracy and human rights to justify their invasion, occupying a state, killing a million people, orphaning 4 million Iraqi children and displacing nearly two-thirds of that number to the neighboring states or inside Iraq.
Text no.3
We admit that New Iraq has witnessed transparent elections twice since the occupation. The first was in 2005 and the second nearly a month ago with a turnouts of more than 63% because the Sunnis, who boycotted the first elections nearly collectively, turned out in the elections day.

Text no.4
Several external forces interfered directly in the elections with funds or influence. Noticeably, the USA and its Arab allies, such as KSA and the other Gulf states, supported the list of the secular Iyad Allawi. Iran, however, backed the other Shiite lists.

Text no.5
The first Iraqi elections handed the country to the radical sectarian parties; or rather they set up the status quo established and supported by the American Administration. When that backfired, America wanted to correct its mistake in the second elections. The results, however, were more catastrophic, or that is what we think.

Text no.6
The current American Democratic Administration, which arrived at the White House at the expense of the failed neo-conservative wars in the Middle East, Iraq and Afghanistan, finds itself currently in a greater dilemma in the two states, in particular, and in the region, in general.

Text no.7
Before the US invasion of Iraq, those, who wore turbans and those who did not, the secularists, the liberals, the communists, the Arabs and the Kurds used to follow America and go there one after the other to get its approval and directions. Seven years after the invasion and occupation, the loss of US$800 billion, 4000 US killed soldiers, 40000 wounded, the replacement of local dictatorship with the American democracy, debaathification, and Iraqis’ turning out twice at the elections, Iran has become the best followed direction for the same politicians and turbaned men. Tehran has replaced with honors the US capital.
Text no.8
Is it the US stupidity, Iranian cunning, Arab short-sightedness, Israeli slyness, or all these together? All what we know is that Iran, which is the arch-enemy of America and the main rival to its dominance of the oil and its exports and reserves, has been the biggest winner until now.

Text no.9
Ironically, Dr. Iyad Allawi, Washington’s closest ally among the Iraqi politicians and the most effective factor in the plans of ousting the previous regime, is the only one who has not been invited to visit Tehran. This could be attributed to the fact that he is the most prominent secular who has won the majority in the last elections with the votes of the Sunnis.

Text no.10
Iraqi democracy, which Washington wants to establish its dominance, promote the influence of its allies, and achieve stability and security in the country in a manner that paves the road for the pullout (or rather escape) of its forces next year, has turned into a nightmare by giving opposite consequences.

Text no.11
Dr. Allawi’s chances to form the new coming government seem limited. This means that all the Arab and American material and moral investments to grant him success will come to naught. Mr. Noori Al-Maliki, current Prime Minister, has threatened to use violence, when necessary, to prevent him from replacing him in the government. Mr. Al-Maliki means what he says for he posses, thanks to the US stupidity, too, the full control of the security and military forces in addition to the safes that are full of oil revenue funds.

Text no.12
Theoretically, Dr. Allawi and his Sunni, both Arabs and Kurds, has the support of the US Forces, 20000 soldiers present currently in Iraq, when needed. Yet, will these forces get themselves involved in case a civil war takes place due to this Iraqi dissection, which is the most dangerous and bloody, when the two parties resort to arms and violence to settle the conflicts?
Text no.13
Due to the US intervention, violence and terrorism, as they are called by the Americans, have returned violently to the region. The explosions have become nearly daily, and they are escalating. Yesterday, they reaped the lives of tens of Iraqis. This emphasizes that Al-Qaida and the other factions, who ally with or follow it and object to the US political project in Iraq, have returned strongly. It is not by chance that this escalation co-occurs with a similar escalation in Afghanistan and Pakistan and targets the foreign embassies in the three states.

Text no.14
In Iraq, the national reconciliation has not been achieved, and its future achievement has become more complicated. The same thing applies to Afghanistan. The most important reconciliation, which Obama has promised to achieve between America and the Islamic World, is, however, the one which has been aborted. In fact, the reconciliation remained a cell and has never been developed into an embryo. This is due to the long-standing feud between the US administration and everything that is Arab or Muslim.

Article (10): On the Anniversary of the War against Iraq
Rasheed Shaheen
Alwasattoday, 21 March, 2010

Text no.1
In those days seven years ago, the USA along with the forces of evil and aggression that allied with it launched an aggressive, bloody, destructive, unjustified and illegitimate war against Mesopotamia. The war ended by occupying that country and resulted in the death of hundreds of thousands and displacing millions of Iraqis inside and outside Iraq.

Text no.2
After seven years of the vile occupation, several questions emerge. They are the same questions that will emerge in this painful anniversary. They remain legitimate questions, especially under the plotting against this country, in which several Arab states and leaders are involved. Iraq and its people have paid dearly for this plotting.
**Text no.3**
Among these inevitable questions are the following. How have the conditions in Iraq become after the occupation? Have the US occupier and those who accompany him brought what is best for the Iraqi people? Have the false slogans raised before the invasion and, then, the occupation of Iraq been achieved? After seven years of vile occupation, in which people have been killed, displaced or forced to immigrate, where has the country become? Do the Iraqis have what they have been promised by Bush Junior, such as freedom and democracy? After the years of occupation, are there any positive aspects that can be talked about?

**Text no.4**
It has become clear that the image drawn by the invaders to post-occupation Iraq or, what they described as liberation, has never been bright, pink or glorious as they used to promote during the preparation for the war against Iraq. The image seems darker than the image drawn by the Secretary of State James Baker in Geneva during the meeting with Tariq Azeez, the minister of foreign affairs at that time, before the first war against Iraq in 1991.

**Text no.5**
Until this moment and seven years after the crime of the war against Iraq, it is not possible to talk about any progress in the country after the occupation. All the indicators and facts say that the country is deteriorating in all fields. Things are getting worse daily, and all the attempts to beautify the ugly face of the occupation are futile, with the absence of security and the economic crisis, which is getting worse. Adding to that, the increase of unemployment, unavailability of the minimum services, absence of law, spread of corruption, and deterioration of health and education in a state that used to be proud of being on the top of the list of the third world states with regard to education and health.

**Text no.6**
When talking about the war against Iraq, it becomes impossible to remember all the lies, deceptions and forgeries that were made by the propaganda of America, in particular, and the West and especially Britain, in general. It is also impossible to ignore all the justifications that were stated to subdue and occupy this country. Later on, they have proved to be false, deceptive, fabricated and forged. Facts
were turned over in an unprecedented way. Many leaders, both Arab and western, were involved in that.

Text no.7
The amount of falsehood and exaggerations about the Iraqi crushing threat was greater than any falsehood made during World War II when Gobbles, former German minister of propaganda, used to lead the propagandists on the basis of the saying “lie until the others believe you.” After all these years of occupation, it has become clear that all the decisions made against Iraq and what has been promoted against Iraq are no more than fabrications in which several international intelligences have been involved, on the top of which the CIA. Several reports have started to uncover what was hidden in the series of lies made before and during the war against Iraq.

Text no.8
In the seventh anniversary of the occupation, it has become clear that a lot of the American intentions have become far-fetched. They have not come true, and it seems that they are not in their way to become so. This does not prevent us from indicating that there are objectives of the invasions, which have been achieved. For instance, Iraq has been destroyed systematically, which was a main objective of the war. The foundations of the Iraqi state, which have cost the Iraqis dearly a lot of money, time and effort, have been undermined. Iraq has been pulled back tens if not hundreds of years, just as Baker wanted it to be in 1991. The most important causes of the invasion, moreover, could have been to get this state out of the calculations of confrontation with the Israel, for Iraq used to have economic, military and human weight on all levels. Moreover, it must be noted that after seven years of occupation, Iraq has turned into one of the most corrupt states in the world.

Text no.9
Undoubtedly, America has succeeded, at least in the near perspective, to keep Iraq within the area of its control, influence and subordination. This has been done by joining Iraq to several conventions. This is achieved through the ones who have been brought from abroad to become the leaders of new post-occupation Iraq. They agreed to play the roles drawn for them historically when they were part of
what was called the Iraqi opposition, which grew up in the western capitals, Washington, London, etc., and sometimes the eastern capitals, Tehran, Kuwait, etc.

**Text no.10**
In spite of all what it has done in Iraq, it is clear that America has failed and it will surely fail in dividing Iraq in the future. This objective was also one of the main objectives of the invasion. In spite of all their efforts, America and Iran, the arch-enemy neighbor, have also failed in igniting a civil war in the country. Iran shares America with a lot of interests, functions and control over Iraq.

**Text no.11**
After seven years of occupation, it has become clear that America has been stuck in this country. It lives in a difficult dilemma, from which it will not get out unless it gets out of this country so that good Iraqis rule it, and not those who came by the US tanks. The dilemma America lives in results from the hits the US Army receives from the Iraqi resistance of all factions. The resistance will enhance this dilemma until Iraq achieves ultimately its aim of freedom and independence.