

T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES



**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NEWS REPORTS OF RUSSIAN
AND AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS ON LIBYAN CONFLICT**

MASTER'S THESIS

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Department of English Language and Literature
English Language and Literature Program

July 2020

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July 2020

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's thesis is my own work. Also, all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct.

DOAA AREBI



FOREWORD

I would like to express deep gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Akbar Rahimi Alishah who has helped me to meet the research challenges and finalize the present master's thesis. I would not have made it this far without his support and valuable advice.

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July, 2020

DOAA AREBI

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
FOREWORD	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
ABBREVIATIONS	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF TABLES	x
ABSTRACT	xi
ÖZET	xii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).....	2
1.2 Statement of the Significance	5
1.3 Statement of Purpose and Problem	7
1.4 Research Questions	10
1.5 Key Words Definitions.....	10
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	11
2.1 Introduction.....	11
2.2 Discourse Analysis.....	11
2.2.1 DA can be seen from two perspectives.....	12
2.2.1.1 British discourse analysis	12
2.2.1.2 American discourse analysis.....	12
2.2.2 Aims of discourse analysis.....	13
2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).....	14
2.3.1 CDA Approaches.....	16
2.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis's notions.....	18
2.3.3 Ideology	18
2.4 Media Discourse	19
2.4.1 Who rules media?	21
2.4.2 The Role of Media.....	21
2.4.3 News Industry.....	22
2.4.4 The importance of editorials	23
2.5 Related Studies.....	23
2.6 Libya after the Arab Spring Era.....	29
2.6.1 Civil War.....	31
3. METHODOLOGY	33
3.1 Corpus	33
3.1.1 Selection Criteria	33
3.2 Methodology	34
3.2.1 Ideological Square Framework	35
3.2.2 Methods of Analysis	38
3.3 Procedure	39

4. DATA ANALYSIS	41
4.1 Overview.....	41
4.2 The Situation in Libya	41
4.3 The Analysis of Headlines.....	41
4.3.1 Russian headlines.....	41
4.3.1.1 Tass.....	41
4.3.1.2 Russia Today (RT).....	44
4.3.1.3 Russia Insider	46
4.3.1.4 Sputnik.....	48
4.3.2 American headlines.....	50
4.3.2.1 The Wall Street Journal	50
4.3.2.2 The New York Times	52
4.3.2.3 The Washington Post.....	54
4.3.2.4 Bloomberg.....	56
4.4 Second Level of Analysis: The Analysis of Full-Text Stories.....	59
4.4.1 Russian news reports.....	59
4.4.1.1 Tass.....	59
4.4.1.2 Russia Today (RT).....	69
4.4.1.3 Russia Insider	74
4.4.1.4 Sputnik	83
4.4.2 American news reports.....	89
4.4.2.1 The Wall Street Journal	89
4.4.2.2 The New York Times	101
4.4.2.3 The Washington Post.....	111
4.4.2.4 Bloomberg.....	124
4.5 Third level of Analysis: Computer-Assisted Analysis	131
4.5.1 Russian Newspapers.....	132
4.5.1.1 TASS.....	132
4.5.1.2 Russia Today	135
4.5.1.3 Russia Insider	138
4.5.1.4 Sputnik	140
4.5.2 American Newspapers.....	143
4.5.2.1 The Wall Street Journal	143
4.5.2.2 The New York Times	146
4.5.2.3 The Washington Post.....	149
4.5.2.4 Bloomberg.....	152
4.5.3 Full Analysis of Russian and American Newspapers.	155
4.5.3.1 Russian Newspapers	155
4.5.3.2 American Newspapers	158
5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	163
5.1 Overview.....	163
5.2 Discussion	163
5.2.1 Headlines Results.....	163
5.2.1.1 Russian Headlines.....	163
5.2.1.2 American Headlines.....	165
5.2.2 News Reports Results.....	166
5.2.2.1 Russian Newspapers	166
5.2.2.2 American Newspapers	168
5.2.3 Third Level NVivo analysis	170
5.2.3.1 Russian Newspapers	170

5.2.3.2 American Newspapers.....	170
5.3 Limitation	171
5.4 Further Recommendation	172
5.5 Pedagogical Implications.....	172
5.6 Conclusion	174
REFERENCES	177
APPENDIX.....	185
RESUME	237



ABBREVIATIONS

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

DA: Discourse Analysis

LNA: Libyan National Army



LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
Figure 4.1: Most Frequently Used Terms in TASS Newspaper	132
Figure 4.2: Most Frequently Used Terms in TASS Newspaper	132
Figure 4.3: Most Frequently Used Terms in TASS Newspaper	133
Figure 4.4: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in TASS Newspaper	133
Figure 4.5: Most Frequently Used Terms in Russia Today Newspaper	135
Figure 4.6: Most Frequently Used Terms in Russia Today Newspaper	135
Figure 4.7: Most Frequently Used Terms in Russia Today Newspaper	136
Figure 4.8: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in Russia Today Newspaper	136
Figure 4.9: Most Frequently Used Terms in Russia Insider Newspaper	138
Figure 4.10: Most Frequently Used Terms in Russia Insider Newspaper	138
Figure 4.11: Most Frequently Used Terms in Russia Insider Newspaper	138
Figure 4.12: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in Russia Insider Newspaper	139
Figure 4.13: Most Frequently Used Terms in Sputnik Newspaper	140
Figure 4.14: Most Frequently Used Terms in Sputnik Newspaper	141
Figure 4.15: Most Frequently Used Terms in Sputnik Newspaper	141
Figure 4.16: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in Sputnik Newspaper .	142
Figure 4.17: Most Frequently Used Terms in the Wall Street Journal Newspaper	143
Figure 4.18: Most Frequently Used Terms in the Wall Street Journal Newspaper	144
Figure 4.19: Most Frequently Used Terms in the Wall Street Journal Newspaper	144
Figure 4.20: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in the Wall Street Journal Newspaper	145
Figure 4.21: Most Frequently Used Terms in the New York Times Newspaper .	146
Figure 4.22: Most Frequently Used Terms in the New York Times Newspaper .	147
Figure 4.23: Most Frequently Used Terms in the New York Times Newspaper .	147
Figure 4.24: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in the New York Times Newspaper	148
Figure 4.25: Most Frequently Used Terms in the Washington Post Newspaper ..	149
Figure 4.26: Most Frequently Used Terms in the Washington Post Newspaper ..	150
Figure 4.27: Most Frequently Used Terms in the Washington Post Newspaper ..	150
Figure 4.28: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in the Washington Post Newspaper	151
Figure 4.29: Most Frequently Used Terms in Bloomberg Newspaper	152
Figure 4.30: Most Frequently Used Terms in Bloomberg Newspaper	153
Figure 4.31: Most Frequently Used Terms in Bloomberg Newspaper	153

Figure 4.32:	Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in Bloomberg Newspaper	154
Figure 4.33:	Most Frequently Used Terms in Russian Newspapers.....	155
Figure 4.34:	Most Frequently Used Terms in Russian Newspapers.....	155
Figure 4.35:	Most Frequently Used Terms in Russian Newspapers.....	156
Figure 4.36:	Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in Russian Newspapers.....	156
Figure 4.37:	Most Frequently Used Terms in American Newspapers.....	158
Figure 4.38:	Most Frequently Used Terms in American Newspapers.....	158
Figure 4.39:	Most Frequently Used Terms in American Newspapers.....	159
Figure 4.40:	Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in American Newspapers.....	159



LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Table 4.1: The Frequency of Using the Micro-Strategies (25 Discursive Strategies) in Russian and American Headlines.....	58
Table 4.2: The Frequency of Using the Four Aspects of Macro-Strategies in Russian and American Headlines.	59
Table 4.3: The Frequency of Using Micro-Strategies (25 Discursive Strategies) in Russian and American News Reports.....	130
Table 4.4: The Frequency of Using the Four Aspects of Macro-Strategies in Russian and American News Reports.	131
Table 4.5: Most Frequency Query Results of TASS Newspaper.....	134
Table 4.6: Most Frequency Query Results of Russia Today Newspaper	137
Table 4.7: Most Frequency Query Results of Russia Insider Newspaper	139
Table 4.8: Most Frequency Query Results of Sputnik Newspaper	142
Table 4.9: Most Frequency Query Results of the Wall Street Journal Newspaper	145
Table 4.10: Most Frequency Query Results of the New York Times Newspaper .	148
Table 4.11: Most Frequency Query Results of the Washington Post Newspaper .	151
Table 4.12: Most Frequency Query Results of Bloomberg Newspaper.....	154
Table 4.13: Most Frequency Query Results of Russian Newspapers	157
Table 4.14: Most Frequency Query Results of American Newspapers	160

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NEWS REPORTS OF RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS ON LIBYAN CONFLICT

ABSTRACT

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a multidisciplinary approach that seeks to analyse and study the spoken and written discourse. It reveals the hidden ideologies, control, and power that are embedded in texts. The purpose of the present case study is to analyse Russian and American newspapers and their coverage of Libyan conflict 2019, to release the distinctive linguistics features and the buried clashing ideologies applied. With the aim of doing so, 32 news reports were randomly selected from four Russian newspapers (TASS, Russia Today, Russia Insider, and Sputnik) and four American newspapers (The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, The Washington Post, and Bloomberg). The entire data were analysed using Van Dijk's (1998, 2004, 2006) framework for CDA along with the NVivo 12-pro plus software. The findings of this study revealed that both countries reported different news on the same topic during the same period. Also, there were hidden ideologies behind the different selected newspapers and various discursive strategies were used to influence and convince the audience with certain beliefs and political mind-sets. Furthermore, this investigatory research paves the way for a better understanding of what happens beyond the texts. By so doing, the teachers will, in addition, be aware of the fact that sentence relations are not the only binding factors in making discourse and urge the foreign language learners to acquire skills other than lexis and grammatical structures.

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology.*

RUS VE AMERİKAN GAZETELERİNDEKİ LİBYA ÇATIŞMASI İLE İLGİLİ HABERLERİN KRİTİK SÖYLEM ANALİZLERİ

ÖZET

Eleştirel Söylem Analizi (CDA), sözlü ve yazılı söylemi analiz etmeyi ve incelemeyi amaçlayan disiplinler arası bir yaklaşımdır. Metinlere gömülü gizli ideolojileri, kontrolü ve gücü ortaya çıkarır. Bu vaka çalışmasında, Rus ve Amerikan gazetelerinin 2019 yılında Libya çatışmasıyla ilgili kapsadıklarını analiz etmek, ayırt edici dilbilim özelliklerini ve uygulanan gömülü çatışma ideolojilerini ortaya çıkarmak amaçlanmıştır. Bu amaçla, dört Rus gazetesinden (TASS, Russia Today, Russia Insider ve Sputnik) ve dört Amerikan gazetesinden (The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, Washington Post ve Bloomberg) 32 haber rasgele yöntemle seçilmiştir. Verilerin tamamı, NVivo 12-pro plus yazılımı ve Van Dijk'in (1998, 2004, 2006) CDA çerçevesi kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Bu çalışmanın bulguları, her iki ülkenin aynı dönemde aynı konuda farklı haberler yayınladığını ortaya koymuştur. Ayrıca, seçilen gazetelerin gizli ideolojilerinin olduğu ve okuyucularını belirli inanç ve siyasi zihniyetlerle etkilemek ve ikna etmek için çeşitli söylemsel stratejiler kullanıldığı bulunmuştur. Bu araştırma ayrıca, metinlerin ötesinde gerçekte neler olduğunu daha iyi anlamanın yolunu açmaktadır. Böylelikle öğretmenler, cümle ilişkilerinin söylem oluşturmada tek bağlayıcı faktör olmadığını ve yabancı dil öğrenenlerin lexis ve gramer yapıları dışında başka beceriler de edinmeleri konusunda teşvik etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Eleştirel Söylem Analizi, İdeoloji.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Language is an organization of signs and rules that enables human beings to interact and communicate with each other and make sense of the world. It is a vehicle that holds expressions, ideas, concepts, and used as a tool to transmit experiences, knowledge, and culture. According to Hodge and Kress (1988), “language is a form of social practice, and it is linked with how human beings behave, perform, build and preserve their societies”. Human beings started acquiring language from the early stages of their lives when they used to name things with not the exact words until they learn how to do so correctly. As they grow up, they gradually learn how to use language accurately in various settings to convey different and meaningful messages in certain contexts.

In our daily lives, we face many situations that make us choose from various expressions and concepts that would be appropriate to use and say according to certain contexts. From this point, some questions would arise; why do we choose specific structures and utterances? How do language users convey effectively meaningful messages and make the other participants understand and interpret these messages successfully? These questions lead us to take a deep look at Discourse and Discourse Analysis.

The term “discourse’ refers to any spoken and written piece of language that accomplishes the mission of encoding and decoding clear messages. The surface meanings are usually different from the actual meaning and the purposes of the discourse here are to put forward how the speech patterns take place in particular frameworks and how they might be used in societies. “Utilizing language consists more than the normal use of it, it goes beyond the idea of acquiring linguistic structures and the ability to make appropriate choices to reach the language’s functions” (Yaldan, 1987, p. 39).

Hence, further research in this paradigm is needed to unfold the characteristics of the texts along with the most efficient variables persisting in the knowledge area.

1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis, as it can be understood from its name, is a critical means that is used to examine, study, and analyse both modes of discourse (spoken and written). It is one of the fundamental models of Discourse Analysis (DA) that became predominant in research studies as well as got great attention from new researchers to dive deeply into this field of study. CDA is an interdisciplinary approach that is founded in the early 1990s by a group of scholars, such as Theo van Leeuwen, Gunther Kress, Teun van Dijk, and Norman Fairclough (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). It is an approach that aims to evaluate and analyse relationships of power, dominance, and control in written texts and talks. Also, it aims to bring forth a different perspective of theorizing and analysis, and application throughout the whole field. According to Van Dijk, it is a type of discourse analytical research that essentially focuses on studying how social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are interacted, resisted, and reproduced by the written text and talk in the political and social context. For Kazemain and Hashemi (2014), CDA is a multidisciplinary critical viewpoint that mainly looks deeply into the correlation between discourse and power, and concentrates on how dominance, authority, and social inequality are sustained, constructed, resisted and reproduced in the spoken words and written texts.

Additionally, Fairclough (1995) defines CDA as analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events, and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

There are many approaches to do CDA. However, this study utilized Van Dijk's framework (1998, 2004, 2006) since it focuses on ideologies and political issues. It is a very detailed framework that concentrates on the essential theme structures of the texts, as well as the political issues and ideological stances. The analysis was done on three levels (headlines, full-text stories. and NVivo software). Firstly, the headlines were analysed from two levels (macro-analysis and micro-analysis). Secondly, the news reports were analysed according to the same models.

1. Macro-analysis which consists of four basic aspects:
 - a) Emphasizing the positive things about “us or in-group”.
 - b) Emphasizing the negative things about “them or out-group”.
 - c) De-emphasizing the negative things about “us or in-group”.
 - d) De-emphasizing the positive things about “them or out-group”.
2. Micro-analysis which consists of 25 rhetorical discursive strategies.

“Actor description, authority, burden, categorization, comparison, consensus, counterfactual, disclaimer, euphemism, evidentiality, argumentation, illustration/example, generalization, hyperbole, implication, irony, lexicalization, metaphor, national self-glorification, norm expression, number game, polarization (us-them), populism, presupposition, vagueness, and victimization”. (Van Dijk 2006).

The last step was utilizing the entire data through NVivo 12-Plus Software.

Many researchers showed their interests in CDA and conducted various case studies that proved how CDA is a multidisciplinary approach and can be used in different fields, and there is a consensus that CDA purposes are to uncover the buried and implicit meanings and ideologies in spoken and written texts, and to bring to the light the social context to embrace the socio-political conditions that form discourse in order to analyze how the power structures are examined and constructed.

Lots of researchers have conducted case studies about analysing political speeches by using different models of CDA, Pu (2007), carried out a research about George W. Bush’s speech at a university of Tsinghua in 2002, Pu emphasized on some significant element in the speech. Also, the linguistics aspects and persuasive tactics were highlighted which were utilized by the president to convince and influence as much as he can from the audience with his ideas and points of view. Dlugan (2009), analysed a speech which was delivered by Martin Luther King "I have a dream", Dlugan drew attention to four crucial reasons that made the king’s speech one of the most memorable and significant speeches everlasting. Rahimi and Sharififar (2015) investigated Obama’s and Rouhani’s speeches at the UN to highlight the art of employing linguistic items in political speeches. Dwivedi (2015) analysed Nelson

Mandela's speech to uncover the linguistic strategies which were utilized to convince the audience for persuasion purposes.

Similarly, experimental studies have been done by some other researchers on educational contexts, Hashimi (2012), proved that using CDA has significant effects on EFL learner's critical thinking abilities. Amari shed the light on the impact of CDA in EFL setting in helping learners not just to focus on vocabulary and phonology, but also to focus on the actual meaning of discourse and socio-cultural aspects of the target language. Abbasian and Malaee (2016) employed CDA as a tool to examine the changes that happen in students' perspectives toward learning a foreign language by revealing the real meaning of texts. Majdedin, Taghinezhad, and Nabizadeh (2014) analysed English textbooks which are used in some cities in Iran, their study showed that the textbooks were in line with the western culture and ideology.

Furthermore, some other studies were carried out to investigate the media outlets of a leading power. Amer selected two American newspapers and two British newspaper to study their news reports on Gaza war, his findings proved that both countries reflected their ideological positions in their news in favor of Israel and leaving almost no room to Palestine to present their voice. Koosha and Shams (2005) analysed some editorials on Iran's nuclear program from several British newspapers, the findings of their study proved that the newspapers were ideologically driven and the presented the image of Iran in a context of "in-group and out-group", and they left a negative impression of Iran on the newspapers' reader. Chen (2013) chose to study news from two national media (China and America) about the Libyan war in 2011, the analysis released that the Chinese newspaper constructed neutral and positive images of the Libyan leader Muammar Al-Ghaddafi whereas the American newspaper presents him negatively. Hadi and Mohammad (2015) study news articles from three main Iranian newspapers that are published in English, the results showed that there was slight distinction regarding the content of the news besides the ideological positions behind certain news. Also, Knox made a comparative analysis between a Russian and American newspapers' news report of the Russian airstrikes on Syria, the researcher reported that the news was issued according to the governments' ideological views.

1.2 Statement of the Significance

CDA is a critical approach which aims to analyse and study the different modes of discourse, and its main focus is on discursive circumstances and the results of abusing power by dominant groups, and it can be utilized as a theoretical and systematic model to study and be compatible of the techniques that the discourse uses to convey different meanings and intentions. The fundamental element which gives significance to carry out this study is that CDA is a broad field that contributes to various areas, such as social studies, politics, education, law, media, etc. And it has a significant impact on all fields.

Discourse in general with its both modes do not just carry the forms, it also carries certain functions, that is, there is no one to one relationship between the form and the function, and they could be examined separately to explain the actual meaning of a given discourse. Form refers to grammatical rules and words classes, and the role of DA here is to investigate and connect the word classes and forms with their real function within a certain discourse, and it highlights the significant role of creating and producing sentences that transmit several messages.

One of the important effects of CDA is on the Educational setting, Rodgers (2004) believes that CDA gives a better understanding of learning process, by examining the spoken and written discourse from a critical point of view which enables the learner to discover the learning process by his/her own. Rymes (2008) argues that discourse can be defined as a language in use, and discourse analysis is the study of language in use that is affected by the setting of its use. In the classroom, the discourse varies from the conversation within the classroom and the students' and teachers' talk, which both talks should be examined to provide a better understanding of how talk and setting can affect each other in order to achieve better learning outcomes.

CDA is a concern for many foreign language teachers who want to teach languages effectively and make their students competent users of the target language. Also, teachers who want to make use of activities and materials and design syllabus that match appropriately with students' needs. Therefore, teachers use CDA as a medium to study the spoken discourse which is divided into talk as social action and conversation inside and outside the classrooms, and written discourse; written texts for everyday life and written text for academic purposes. CDA is also vital for teachers

generally to improve their own understanding of how the teaching process should be, and the quality of education that students must receive. Within CDA teachers would probably have better interpretations of the selected teaching materials, textbooks, and activities, and how to use them efficiently. In most instances, teaching takes place in classrooms where authentic teaching is hardly provided, the role of teachers here by using CDA is to guide their students to understand that the form and function don't always correspond, and teachers should enable their students to use functional language in their everyday life by paying more attention to students' abilities to interact and communicate. Moreover, students can benefit from using CDA to discover what the language is and how to use it rather than learning about the language.

It was noticed that CDA has a significant impact on the educational system, especially on EFL learners as stated by Erton (2000), Hazaea, and Alzubi (2017). Also, utilizing CDA as a tool for teaching and learning contributed to foster learners' critical thinking skills and enable them to think beneath the given texts and not to show loyalty to the materials without giving the learners chances to draw their own conclusion and express their personal ideas and beliefs, by grasping these skills the learners' intellectual and linguistics properties will be improved. Furthermore, some studies proved that applying CDA in classrooms help learners to shift from being passive recipients to be more active and independent learners who rely on their own abilities to learn. As well learners will acquire lifelong critical abilities. Consequently, enhancing critical skills would empower learners to develop the ability to communicate in English very well, either verbal or nonverbal. More importantly, it helps EFL instructors to provide their learners with support and guidance in order to become better learners of foreign languages.

Media plays a vital role in our lives nowadays, it contributes to producing and building beliefs, thoughts, prejudice over different affairs related to what goes on the world. It was found that CDA has increased in the field of discourse studies, and many studies employed CDA as a means to examine the discursivity of text, social setting, and interaction, to discover the relationship between language and ideology. Bilal (2012), Behnam and Mahmoudy (2013), and Tahmasbi and Kalkhajeh (2013). Therefore, it is plain that CDA is a powerful approach to uncover hegemony, power, ideological stance, and stereotypes.

During the 2011 Arab Spring, most Arabs audiences, regardless of their educational and social status, were motivated to read newspapers and watch TV. (Campbell and Hawk, 2012). In addition, as stated by Khouri 2011, most Arab audiences read international newspapers at the time of crises over and above their national media channels and local newspapers. This is because most of their national media generally lack credibility in reporting local as well as international news mainly because they have long loyalty to the existing regimes (Rugh, 2007), and are supervised, censored, operated, and owned, in most cases, by the governments or those who have loyalty to them (Khuori, 2011).

For an early moment, the Arab Spring was linguistically interesting for the importance attribution of the regional and international media in the intense reporting, sustaining, and inspiring the various Arab uprising (Eskar, 2012). Moreover, the media plays a critical role in representing the events during and revolutions. It has been claimed that the media has a significant role in provoking conflicts and exploit ideologies (Romero-Trillo, 2011). Additionally, in the case of the “Arab Spring”, it was claimed that media had a vital role in fueling the frustrations of the population.

Consequently, the language which is used in media is crucial due to its interface with the political discourse and its role in changing and shaping realities and ideologies. Hallin (1994) demonstrated how modern American journalism turns to manifest political authority in times of protests and conflicts (Bruce 2014). In this sense, the Arab Spring, which started in 2011 in North Africa, has become a salient subject for all news reports in the world.

1.3 Statement of Purpose and Problem

CDA has grown speedily recently as a subfield of linguistics, yet it was noticeable that CDA has been given little attention in some contexts, and it is not used that much as it should be, due to many reasons, it might be that the concept of “critical” is not accepted yet in those societies, where the dominant parties prefer to take control of everything and draw the conclusion they want to spread to normal citizens.

Media is a means of communication that widely reaches people, which plays a crucial role in our world today. Therefore, it acts as an influential tool to build confidence, promote mistrust, convince people with issues related to political events, and shapes

and shaped by the societies. Media through news can affect a wide range of people with certain beliefs and thoughts that match up with the ideologies they want to insert into people's minds. Also, it is considered to be an important role in fueling conflict, dividing society, and causing tensions. Ramanathan and Tan (2015). Also, according to Van Dijk (1996) "Media is one of the most powerful tools which are used by the elite and authorities in order to control the masses and influence their attitudes".

The year 2011 witnessed the uprising of some Arab countries against their governments, it was provoked at the end of 2010 in Tunisia and spread to many other Arab countries in North Africa and Asia. No doubt Libyan revolution was the most eye-catching news among other uprisings, because of its Leader Muammar Al-Ghaddafi and the bloody war between the protesters and Al-Ghaddafi's militias. Since then Libya has witnessed many civil wars most notably were in 2019. Therefore, this study is focusing on the Libyan conflict which was carried out in April 2019 between the UN-recognized government headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj which is based in Tripoli and the Libyan renegade general Khalifa Haftar who leads the Libyan National Army that is located in the East of Libya.

The rationale behind choosing international news agencies, not national ones, as a result of losing confidence and the raise of suspicions towards what national presses produce. Bebawi (2015) states out that the majority of the Arabic mass media are state monitored. Moreover that kind of media work as a platform for the ruling party which has the full authority over all types of mass media in which they use the media as a medium to impact and guide the Arab audience, promote the achievements of the governments and to praise the elites and the state's official.

In the same manner, according to Bebawi 2015, in the Arab world, there are many challenges that journalist faces when they do their work, those challenges can be: no easy access to information and how to collect them, no obvious policy concerning the freedom of information in the Arab region, media space is limited, and sometimes newspapers are forced to be the mouthpiece of the regime and social pressure where newspapers might find themselves controlled not only by the government but with the society that sometimes accuses and criticizes them of being foreign-funded to destroy the country.

Furthermore, the ruling party takes a great part in the media production process, they guide and order the writers “to ignore the sensitive issue rather than employ particular matters for the propaganda value” (Rugh, 2004, p.194). As a consequence, Arab audiences lost trust and doubt the major news they see, read or hear in their national media, which they only release news according to their ideologies, ignoring what really matters to the audience. Also, they hardly ever criticize or investigate what presidents or politicians of their countries do and say (Miles, 2006).

However, it was observed that since the Arab Spring era, the space of communication was more open, and more Arab audiences had the opportunity to be exposed to many international media with different perspectives than what they were exposed to before. Media played a crucial role after the Arab spring, it worked as a promoting and publicizing instrument, starting from the first protests in the Arab world which were in Tunisia at the end of 2010, and promoted in spreading these protests to different Arabic countries (Lynch, 2015).

Lynch (2013) emphasized the critical role that the media played in the years of Arab spring, highlighting that the protests were driven by various media outlets. Along the same vein, it was notable that during the era of Arab spring, several types of media brought “critical opinion and news to the vast amount of audience, provided voice voiceless people, built bonds between ordinary citizen and activists, and interrelated local protests into a powerful master narrative of the regional uprising”

The present thesis has been fostered by many motives to be conducted. First, the researcher believes that language in use is essential and we have to learn the language and how to use it rather than learning about the language and its structures. A simple sentence could be analysed and interpreted differently according to the context it is said in. Secondly, it could embed various messages according to the senders’ attitude. Meaning is a sophisticated, slippery, and multidimensional conception. To understand the hidden meanings of a spoken or written text and for which purposes they were stated is a highly required skill in the modern period. The best way of knowing how to comprehend and read beyond the sentences and get the real meaning is to do critical discourse analysis, which will enable the doer to broaden his/her horizon and acquire a long life skill, as well as drawing his/her own conclusion about different aspects of life.

The third factor that has influenced the choice of the present area of study is the effect of media in the modern era in shaping ideologies, manipulate minds, and control the audience. When the war broke out in Libya in 2011, many international governments declared different statements with and against the Libyan regime, also many newspapers and websites reported massive amount of news differently on the Libyan war from 2011 till the recent conflict in 2019. This case study aimed to analyze some news reports from Russian and American newspapers on the Libyan conflict which arose in 2019 (which shacked the stability of the Arab world and the western policies). The utilized method is Van Dijk's framework (1998, 2004, 2006) of CDA to investigate the media functions and how this function plays its role as an influential instrument. Furthermore, to unveil the hidden ideologies between lines, and to show how linguistic structures could give different meanings.

1.4 Research Questions

The following questions would be addressed throughout this study.

- Are there any differences in terms of lexical items that were used in American and Russian Newspapers about Libyan conflict which were published between April and September 2019?
- Is there any significant difference in terms of ideologies used in American and Russian Newspapers about Libyan conflict which were published between April and September 2019?

1.5 Key Words Definitions

- *Critical Discourse Analysis*: it was defined by Wodak as a tool to “analyse as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language” (Wodak and Meyer, 2001).
- *Ideology*: “shared ideas or beliefs which serve to justify the interests of dominant groups”. (Giddens, 1997).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Throughout this chapter, the researcher tried to review the literature related to the topic (Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis) and the following sub-topics are discussed in this chapter.

2.2 Discourse Analysis

In the last few decades, while some attempts were there to understand what exactly constitutes knowledge of language structure, a significant shift of interests in the sentence and its component as an ultimate linguistic unit to the language stretches that go beyond the boundaries of the sentence. This field was new, grew rapidly, and occupied a huge place of literature, which its nature, scope, methods, and application have probed a great number of fields.

Discourse Analysis has built a strong foundation of itself in Applied and descriptive linguistics. It was arisen out from other various disciplines, such as, semiotic, linguistics, semantics, sociology, psychology, anthropology and philosophy in the late of 1960s and early 1970s, these fields that feed into discourse analysis in a way or another have lots of mutual interests in language use, in which their attention is on how exactly real people use the actual language in different contexts, more than studying created and accurate sentences.

Discourse Analysis is concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the setting where the language used in it. Discourse analysts put all their attention on explaining and studying the verbal interactions of individuals from basic and natural daily conversations to the highest institutional speeches, as well as all kinds of written texts.

Analyzing single sentences was having the whole concern of linguists at a time when the single sentence was believed as the ultimate linguistic unit. As the time people's attention went to the text to be the ultimate linguistic unit, later, linguists and language

teachers stated that texts only aren't sufficient to achieve effective communication, and it has been claimed that context should be the ultimate linguistic unit.

As It was mentioned above, DA has been created after many attempts and scholars influential that made this interdisciplinary of the study came up to the surface and catch the attention, Zellig Harris who has proposed a research paper entitled Discourse analysis Harris (1952), even though his research paper was sort of far from the concept of DA nowadays, yet his interest was about the fact of distribution of linguistic items in larger texts, and the association between language and the social context.

The emergence of Discourse Analysis is a result of many influential, such as the work of the French structuralism approach to study the narrative and semiotics. Similarly, Dell Hymes brought forth a sociological outlook with the study of speech in its social situation, (Hymes, 1964) as well as some linguistic philosophers, Austin (1962), Searle (1969) and Grice (1975) who were considered as prominent elements of the study of language as a social form, reflected in the form of conversational maxims, and speech act theory, at the same time of pragmatics emergence, the field which studies the meanings in the context. (Levinson, 1983; Leech, 1983).

2.2.1 DA can be seen from two perspectives

2.2.1.1 British discourse analysis

British discourse analysis was greatly affected by the work of M.A.K Halliday and his functional approach to language (Halliday, 1973), which in turn has a great association with the Prague school of linguistic. Halliday's framework focused on the social purposes of the language and the informational systematic and thematic of speaking and writing. Other important figures in Britain were Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) at the University of Birmingham, who created a framework to describe the talk between teacher-pupil, based on a pecking order of discourse components, likewise works which have dealt with other interactions, like doctor-patient talk, interviews, debates, business agreements, service encounters, and monologs.

2.2.1.2 American discourse analysis

American discourse analysis was strongly affected by the work of ethno-mythological research which is a method of sociological analysis that it mainly concerns with a close observation on individuals' daily communication in a natural and social setting, to

build a sense view of the world. It studies different types of speech, for instance, greetings, storytelling, and verbal dispute in different social and cultural contexts (e.g. Gumperz and Hymes, 1972).

What is known as conversation analysis under the American tradition is also goes under the umbrella of Discourse Analysis. In conversation analysis, the main concentration is on the deep study of social communication between individuals, including both verbal and non-verbal behavior in various natural situations of daily life.

The work of some scholars, such as Goffman (1976; 1979), and Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) was certainly significant and influential in the study of the conversational standards, turn-taking, opening and ending a conversation, repairing and some other sides of verbal interactions. Conversational analysts work along with the sociolinguistics convention. Labov's analysis of oral storytelling has made a great contribution to increase the interest in narrative discourse. It is worth mentioning that the American work has created a great number of clarification of the different types of discourses, as well as a close observation on the social constraints of the face preserving, politeness, and overlapping with the British works in pragmatics.

Furthermore, Text grammarians' work was also part of the development of DA. Texts can be seen according to text grammarians as language units that are bonded together linked with each other. Some prominent scholars such as, Van Dijk (1972), De Beaugrande (1980), Halliday and Hasan (1976) have made a great influence in this field of study, as well as The Prague school of linguists, which its concern is about the structure of the information with the discourse.

Consequently, DA has increased broadly and in the diverse discipline of studies which its main concern is explaining the language beyond the level of sentences and studying how the setting and culture can impact the language in use. Also, it paved the way to conduct more case studies in applied linguistics and second language learning and teaching.

2.2.2 Aims of discourse analysis

One of the most significant characteristics of language as many scholars agreed on that is it has numerous of underlying meanings and functions that cannot be explicit sometimes Here the role of Discourse Analysis is to release those underlying meanings

and functions and make the invisible visible in any form of texts or any situation. In addition to one of its main purposes is to show how particular linguistics items help to increase the productivity and effectiveness of users of languages in their daily interactions.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The origin of CDA was from Critical Linguistic, which appeared to the surface at East Anglia University in the UK in the late of 1970s, in the work of Tony Trew, Robert Hodge Gunter Kress, Roger Fowler, who distributed a paper entitled “Language and Control” (Fowler et al., 1979).

Critical Linguistics (CL) aimed to bring to light how discourse and grammar might be applied as an ideological device. Ways of classifying people, actions, places, and events will be revealed by studying texts. A related point to consider is diverse sorts of selection might affect the meaning of given texts, and by applying a rigorous analysis of texts, buried ideologies and beliefs of certain texts will be uncovered.

When CL got some vital criticism due to the deficiency of adapting the relationship between the language, power, and ideology (Fairclough, 1992) CDA sprang up by some scholars in the 1990s, Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak. CDA has attempted to develop the correlation between methods and theories, and to clarify the notions of those correlations and to apprehend the relations between language, ideology, and power. In addition, to explain the practices and conventions inside the texts and how to release the hidden ideologies and politics.

Frankfurt School, Theory of Marxist and Neo-Marxist and some of their figures like, Marx, Hall, Foucault, and Habermas (Stubbe et al, 2003; Van Dijk, 2001; Beaugrande, 2006; McKenna, 2004) have made a great impact on the emergence of CDA, which its origins arose from The Frankfurt School and Halliday’s’ systematic functional grammar framework and the theories behind them, that is determined as the first form of DA featured in some works conducted by Fowler, Kress, and Hodge (Sheyholislami, 2001; Fowler et al., 1979).

CDA is a paradigm that attracted many scholars who are interested in conducting studies on the relationship between language, power, society, and ideology (Van Dijk,

1998). CDA scholars make deep observations on small or extended texts, as well as taking into consideration the social, cultural, historical, and political settings most relevant to the text's comprehension and production (Wodak 2001). It has established a great foundation and has dominated the research in discourse studies, and it was considered as an approach built on the integration of social theory and language studies (Fairclough, 1992).

CDA studies the ways of how social power is misused, and how the talks and texts procreate, represent, and resist inequality and dominance in the political and social contexts. Similarly, it concerns to analyse and investigate spoken and written discourses to uncover presence and inequality, power, and dominance. It investigates how the presence reproduced and maintenance in political, historical, and social settings. Moreover, it intends to make a relation between language, social structure, and social practices more explicit than it used to be for some people (Fowler, 1991).

At the same vein, CDA looks into social situations to adopt the socio-political circumstances that form the discourse as a means to examine the ways of how the power patterns could be analysed and build up. To put it in other words, it also can be used as a tool to analyze, critique, interpret, and describe the social life that is mirrored in speech. For Fairclough "CDA studies correlation between texts, digressive practices, and events as well as wider relations, processes, social and cultural structures" (Fairclough, 1992).

CDA can be defined as "analyzing different modes of discourse with critical attitudes" which focuses on "actual and extended social interaction that take a linguistic form". (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Based on Mautner (2009) CDA has no less than three main principles:

- Culture and society are constituted by discourse.
- Relations of power are digressive
- CDA has dedicated itself to study discourse surrounding crucial social matters.
- In precise, CDA seeks to provide explanation and interpretation of social phenomena from a discourse perception.

According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), CDA is an area of study language that has developed rapidly in the linguistics discipline. It defines discourse as an action of social practices and takes into account the setting of language in use as a crucial

element to the discourse (Wodak, 2001, cited in Wang, 2006). Besides, it is mainly interested in the correlation between language and power. Likewise, CDA can be seen as neo-Marxist, emphasizing that economic and cultural aspects can be regarded as vital in maintaining and generating power relations. It mostly acknowledged that CDA cannot be classified as one method, but it is considered as an approach that consists of diverse methods and perceptions to study the relation between social setting and language in use (Wang, 2006).

2.3.1 CDA Approaches

There are several frameworks to do CDA, mainly the socio-cultural approach, discourse-historical approach, socio-cognitive approaches to discourse, and Van Dijk's Ideological square.

1. Fairclough's Socio-Cultural Approach

Discourse is perceived as a) a spoken and written text, b) a discourse practice production and the distribution of the text, and c) a socio-cultural practice. Therefore, Fairclough proposed a three-dimensional framework to investigate the discourse in its both modes, 1) the linguistic description of the text, 2) the interpretation of the link between the discursive process and the text, 3) the clarification of the relation between discourse and culture and social aspects. His approach introduces a middle-range theory that concentrates on social tensions and their linguistic expressions in the discourse, such as difference, dominance, and resistance (Meyer, 2001: 22). This approach focuses on structure and actions as well. It is considered as a problem-oriented framework that highlights the problems facing particular non- privileged categories within specific forms of social forms (Fairclough, 2001: 123).

2. Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach

This approach views discourse as a set of forms of social practices, Wodak (2002) emphasized on nature and interdisciplinary of the CDA, as the problems in the society are sort of sophisticated to be examined from one angle. Within this approach, the context is historically understood (Meyer, 2001). Wodak's approach is based on observing discourse as many complexes, simultaneous, and interconnected linguistic items (Meyer, 2001). She is "strongly committed to a pragmatic approach, as she highlights the challenge to explain the contradictions and tensions between nations and supranational entities at several levels, such as economy, technology, communication,

science, etc” (Wodak, 2001). This approach is also problem-oriented and inter-disciplinary like other approaches of CDA, and what is meant by Inter-discursivity is “a hybrid mixture of different discourses and genres in a given text and can be established through lexical traces” (Koller, 2009).

3. Socio-Cognitive Approach

The original source of this approach is the socio-cognitive theory proposed by Moscovici in the 1970s. Van Dijk (1988) set forth a theoretical framework that is the triangle of the discourse- cognitive- society, as he stressed on the great role of studying cognition in the critical analysis of communication and discourse. Also, he investigates the link between cognitive phenomena, social structure, and discourse structure. Likewise, Van Dijk (2009) sheds light on the significant role of examining the “semantic macro-structures”, that is “global meanings, topics, and themes”, which helps to release the real intention of the speaker. Therefore, the relation between the structure of discourse and the structure of society should be strongly viewed in order to uncover the social attitudes, representations, and ideologies of social groups.

4. Van Dijk’s Ideological Square

The Ideological Square by Van Dijk was influenced by the theory of Ideology that is perceived as an inter-disciplinary approach, and it is a fundamental element is to organize multiple ideological concepts. Ideology affects the thoughts of social groups which later represent their basic characteristics, norms, goals, values, and identities (Van Dijk, 1995). This approach that is known as Van Dijk’s ideological square is articulated in four aspects that enable to express various ideological stances. The four aspects are as follows:

- “Emphasize positive things about Us”.
- “Emphasize negative things about Them”.
- “De-emphasize negative things about Us”.
- “De-emphasize positive things about Them”.

These four elements play a fundamental role in formulating a wider contextual strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Positive self-presentation highlights the positive things about “Us” and exposes the negative things about “Them”. Whereas the negative other-presentation overlooks the negative actions about “Us” as well as the positive things about “Them” (Van Dijk, 2000). Therefore, this

indicates that the term “Us” always refers to positive things and attitudes in a social context while, the term “Them” refers to condemnation, criticism, and other negative stances.

2.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis’s notions

The main notions of CDA can be in these words; “ideology,” “power,” “dominance,” “hegemony,” “gender,” “class,” “race,” “discrimination,” “social structure,” “social order,” “institution,” “interests,” and “reproduction.”

2.3.3 Ideology

Ideology is a multidisciplinary term that has not a fixed internationally definition for it that is agreed-on (Cassels, 1996), and according to the sociological and philosophical genre, ideology is one the most and sophisticated notion. (Kress, 1985; Van Dijk, 1998; Wodak, 2007). However, there were several attempts by scholars to define it in more simple and practical ways. Based on Calzada-Perez (2003) the latest attempts of defining ideology are mainly related to the idea behind domination and power relations, according to on what she quoted from Eaglton “Ideology is a set of beliefs and ideas that support to make the interests and thoughts of the ruling class legal by dissimulation or misrepresentation" (p. 4). As for Van Dijk (2006), ideology is “some kind of ‘ideas”, or “belief systems”. A different definition is “an action-oriented line of ideas and beliefs” (Seliger, as cited in Ireland, 1989, p. 131), those beliefs which might be regarded as poetic, religious or even aesthetic, can be assumed to be political in a way that their employment determines the relation of dominance, as for Fawcett who said, throughout the centuries "individuals and institutions have applied their particular beliefs to the production of certain effects in translation" (Baker, 1998, p. 107).

Similarly, Fairclough (1995) language can be invested by ideology “in constructing or clarifying a text and how they are expressed in orders of discourse” language through equally lexical meanings and “metaphor, coherence, implicature, presupposition and all features of meaning”. Investing ideology by applying these different ways yield to “construct reliable, definite, and decisive image rather than providing straightforward information”. Irvine (1989) defined ideology as “the cultural set of beliefs and ideas towards linguistics and social relations, along with political and ethical interests.” (p.255).

Van Dijk (1998) explains ideology as follows “ideologies portray who we are, reflect our values and show what we stand for and reveal how our relationships with our groups are within the same or different societies. Those who have clashing ideas against what we stand for, stop us from access to human rights (residence, citizenship, employment, respect, status, and so on) and social properties”.

Based on Eagleton (1991, p. 1) the term “ideology” is text made of a whole tissue of diverse theoretical stances”. Hence, he has made a list of definitions of ideology:

- The progression of creating signs, meanings, and values in social life.
- A set of ideas that are typical of a specific social class or group.
- Concepts that help to make a dominant political power legitimate.
- False concepts that legitimize a dominant political power.

By the same token, ideologies from Van Dijk’s point of view can be perceived as “political, or social, systems of ideas, values, or prescriptions of groups, or other collectivizes” (1998, p.3). Correspondingly, Simpson (1993, p, 5) defines ideology as "conventions, beliefs, value- systems that are commonly shared by certain social groups." This productive definition by Simpson opens the eyes towards the notion of ideology as a milestone in any community or any social group.

2.4 Media Discourse

People in recent decades and modern societies are more enthusiastic about knowing more information from all over the world and keep themselves aware of what happens around them. Therefore, they turn on different sources such as printed and electronic media to receive various information about diverse aspects of life, especially foreign policies, national and international affairs, security, economy, peace, and war. Hence, the need of having vibrant media has expanded to enable people to be updated on social and political activities in the world.

Media became an essential part of human life, as people keen on understanding everything around them, it plays a great role to transfer information to a large degree of people. Also, Hjarvard (2008) claims that “media has increasingly become a fundamental part of some institutions, such as family, religion, work, economy, and politics, and these institutional affairs are achieved through interactive and mass media”. (p.105) Furthermore, it is considered as a tool to produce and reproduce

perceptions and behaviors, and “they direct the readers’ ideological stances, not merely a medium to transfer information” (Reath, 1998, p.50).

News discourse is a type of media discourse and a means for mass communication that became a crucial part of everyday life, for Fowler (1991) news is seen as a process, a result of the social and political values it focuses on. News is a summary of the construction; it is not a feature of "reality" without context. Van Dijk (1995) points out that “Foreign news items are selected based on political, military and business class preferences. However, the majority of foreign news is about the economic, military, and political events, not about cultural and social issues.” (p. 248). As Geis (1987) states “news media has the ultimate right to report what it thinks it is important to be reported at a certain time and choose which voice that has to be heard about a specific issue”, perhaps these variables are the most influential power of news media. (p. 10). For Bell (1991), media discourse has gained great attention as a research field to be conducted to explore the role of media in masking their ideological stances, bury their opinions and beliefs, in the way how issues are presented. Media discussion is therefore not only the provider of knowledge about what is happening around the world but also the carrier of particular beliefs that deal with media reporting.

Different kinds of media have a significant role in affecting our perspectives and understanding of the environment that surrounds us. They use particular language to accomplish this mission and to reach a large amount of audience. Therefore, media language is not authentic, it is dictated in advance by the dominant ideologies and worldviews. As Fowler (1991.p.11) stated, “the media world is not a real world, it is judged and skewed”. Besides, the communities and powerful parties have the greatest contribution to form and spread their own beliefs and ideas. By the same token, many scholars and studies revealed that mass media can shape public opinions and interleave hidden ideologies in the name of producing information to the audience. Fairclough (2006a) claims that “media discourse should be viewed as includes complex and conflicting ideologies stances, which differ in their structures and never fixed.”.

2.4.1 Who rules media?

According to Van Dijk (1998), the ruling class in societies have the authority on important institutes such as literature, politics, and media. This way helps these classes to shape and spread their own ideology, makes it more or less visible, also concedes the information presented is indisputable and natural. Consequently, News is somehow one-dimensional and biased, this means that communities can easily be attracted and supportive in one direction over the others. The decisions which are made on to choose which contents to be reported on media are one of the factors that leads the society, as well as news contents, have the power to manipulate the society and shape it as they want. In this process, Mora (2011) emphasizes an important element that is choosing news to be reported, she points out to the fact that non-objective features to be taken into consideration when choosing events taking place in the society as news are including in the production process work, in order to create particular knowledge and opinions in public, related to the events to be reported depicting a constructed society far from the concern about reflecting the world as it is. Likewise, what makes news valuable is the type of events to be reported, more tension and violence they contain, more valuable they become.

2.4.2 The Role of Media

Media texts help to show support to the social changes in many different ways that allow them to be examined from various angles (Fairclough, 1995). Certainly, media discourse is served as the prime contributor which shapes the public perspectives. (Van Dijk, 2000). In Fairclough's book Media Discourse, he claims that "the media maintains its power by setting predetermined agenda for its prospective audience. The power of media certainly lies in forming people's opinions, ideas, and beliefs. He added that media has a significant power which is displayed in how media can shape the news stories and manipulate the used language.

Media also have some negative roles in their audience, one of these negatives roles as (Wilfred, 1993) stated is that the west and US media are always criticized by the third world citizens for giving them little attention and less coverage, and they only cover negative news, related to conflicts, wars, and crisis. The third-world citizens are so concerned about how international media represent them, and these practices play a negative role in those countries in many aspects, such as national pride, strengthening

social constructions, and economic development. These kinds of news that are reported by international media might let those countries suffer by different means.

Another negative role that media can play is proven in fuelling the conflicts. Johan Galtung thinks that one of the possible reasons behind the continuation of wars and conflicts in some regions is media because when war erupts between two parties from the same societies or between different societies, media chooses to separate the two sides of the war, and supports one side over the other one, by fuel the war and violence and engage the opposite side in. Media forms its own side, fuels the violence by engaging in an attitude to support the war, it makes an effect to legitimate the party it chose for the public and highlights the wrongdoings and mistakes by the other side. Johan (2006) also thinks that media can achieve peace by emphasizing the negative situations that society is experiencing it approaches communities which suffer from war, rather than reporting on the winning side. It also considered as a tool to heal the wounds of communities from conflicts.

2.4.3 News Industry

According to Galtung and Ruge (1965), making news has some factors to be followed to make this news important, such as magnitude and frequency of incident as well as how much it has violence. News will gain more importance when it has more negative outcomes. They emphasize that the news must have both negative features and meaningful events and being meaningful means that the news stories should build a cultural relation with the audience.

It is evident that different international newspapers report differently the same news, and to explore why they do so, it has to investigate what, why and who sets the media's agenda (Reese, 1991). According to Gittin (1978) media sociology or as Daniel Bell has called the "received knowledge" of "personal influence", concentrates on how media has the power to define the normal and abnormal political and social affairs, identify precisely what to legitimate as a real politics and what is not, to construct certain political stances and to contain, channel and exclude others and to form specific images of the opposite movements."

2.4.4 The importance of editorials

Newspapers Editorials are considered to be one type of media discourses that concentrate on different aspects, such as people's social problems, issues, and opportunities (McCombs, 1997). Editorials that report wars and social problems refer to the importance of the socio-politics of certain events that are assigned by a particular newspaper (Van Dijk, 1989). Editorial texts are seen to be subjective, persuasive, and represent public opinions officially which attract the researchers and readers to reflect their attitudes and ideologies on argumentative issues (Vaughan, 1994; Lee & Lin, 2006; Hornby, 2000). For Van Dijk (1996) the editorials are perceived as significant textual evaluation of the ideological stances that dominate in particular societies. The importance of editorials that they summarize the news events and the institutional's views of the newspaper, also they form expectations, present advice, and recommendation and warning and alert. For Meltzer (2006) the importance of editorials of newspapers, in which helps to maintain the publisher's autonomy and his impact on reporting news and events.

2.5 Related Studies

As was reported earlier, CDA is a multidisciplinary approach that can be used in different disciplines such as, media and its all kinds, politics, education, advertisements, etc.

- Some researchers chose printed media and used CDA as a tool to investigate editorials:

Teo (2000) examined in the Australian newspaper ideology and its racism towards the Vietnamese who are based in Australia. In this analysis, two newspapers based in Sydney were selected, the finding proved that both newspapers reinforced and mirrored the downgrading of Vietnamese migrants by using two ideological means. Asianization of the Vietnamese and militarization of the police who guided the image of Asians and the power of the police.

KhosraviNik selected British newspapers to investigate how they presented immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees from 1996 to 2006. The researcher decreased the amount of the articles to be analysed corresponding with the ideological stances of the selected newspapers, their types, and the various world activities which

took a place during the time of the investigation. The results showed that all the selected newspapers presented asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants with the same negative macro-structures.

Oktar (2001) worked on two newspapers with different ideologies and concentrated on the analysis of the portrayal of secularists and anti-secularists in those selected newspapers, the findings proved that “The political tension between secularists and radical Islamists expressed in the media discussion, a struggle between progressiveness and reactionaries, between modernism and conventionalism”,

Fang (2001) worked on news from two newspapers which have clashing ideologies in China, the researcher concentrated on discourse strategies which were used in news reports, the findings released that the lexical choices and syntactic options were used to downgrade and highlight the agent.

By the application of CDA, Izadi and Saghaye-Biria (2007) have examined Iran’s nuclear program issue from an American ideological point of view, three leading American newspapers were selected for this study which was published between 1984 and 2004. The results showed that the three newspapers have not challenged the assumption that Iran had a clandestine nuclear weapons program, and it should not be trusted due to its possession of such a sensitive technology, besides, Islam was showed as a threat to the Iranian government. I have also released some differences in using linguistic, stylistic, and argumentative strategies in the three elite newspapers.

Atawneh (2009) examined the relation between politics, power, and language in the conflict between Palestine and Israel. He focused on the headlines of some news reports to explore how the language used by Palestinian and Israeli reflects the weakness and strengths during the second Palestinian Intifada (2001-2004). The investigation made a comparison of the use of “appeal” by Palestinian and “threat” by Israel, and to which extend they were effective.

Pasha (2011) investigated the Islamic ideologies using Van Dijk’s ideological square, in an Egyptian newspaper. Ideologies are perceived to emphasize on the good and bad to present positive beliefs and de-emphasis the good and bad to present negative beliefs. An example was highlighted in this study that was described negatively is the portrayal of the “unofficial Brotherhood relationship”. The affirmation de-emphasized

their good by simply using “unofficial” this guides the reader to believe that the Muslim Brotherhood is not accepted as an official group.

Romero-Trillo (2011) conducted a case study on the escalation of conflict in the Pakistani and Indian English press during December 2008. The findings of the study showed the significant role of the language in managing and formulating the ideology of the recipients as well as its ability to increase and decrease the conflict between Pakistan and India.

Poorebrahim and Reza (2012) conducted the relationship between ideology and language by studying the portrayal of Islam and Muslims in the western discourse. The researchers focused on the printed media and selected some headlines to analyze in the Independent, the New York Times, the Herald Tribune, and The Times. Van Dijk’s ideological square which consisted of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation was used in this study. Within the investigation of linguistic choices, the results of the study released that Islam was repeatedly stereotyped with a negative portrayal of Muslims.

Atai and Mozaheb (2013) have researched to analyze the portrayal of Iran’s nuclear program in some editorial which was published by selected British News Agencies. The researchers applied Van Dijk’s framework to do CDA and they covered headlines, editorial texts, and the linguistic features of lexical choices, nominalization, passivation, over completeness, and voice. The research showed that the media prejudice in the two selected newspapers presenting the issue of Iran’s nuclear program was built through the ideological circle of “us” (the West) and “them” (Iran).

Tahir (2013) has examined the portrayal of Muslims in one of the published articles in the Washington Post that covered the protests by Muslims against the profane cartoon publications of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The researcher used Van Dijk’s “us-and-them ideologies” to explore the buried beliefs and thought of the text related to in-group and out-group presentations. Tahir proved within the analysis of discursive strategies and lexical representations, that the article presented Muslims and their actions in a negative way by treating them as “other.”

Youssefi, Kanani, and Shojaei (2013) have studied the media coverage of the Iranian sanction in the western media, the study put emphasis on the ideological bias and discursive strategies such as grammatical and lexical choices as well as the binary

opposition of “us” vs “them”. The results released a significant ideological orientation in the western press that covered certain events.

Galander (2013) has conducted a case study to investigate the news coverage of the Arab spring in Al-Jazeera Arabic newscasts and news reports. The researcher studied how Al-Jazeera was fully present in the uprising in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria, etc. and examined the objectives behind its presence. He stated that “Al_Jazeera was not only present in every battle to report, it also tried attempted to produce a platform for the protesters and revolutionaries, to transmit, to raise morale in various cases to guide rebels” (Galander, 2013: 6). The result of this study revealed that the coverage of the Arab spring by Al-Jazeera was unconventionality, although of keeping the basics of journalism objectives. It was also noticed that Al-Jazeera concentrated on religious aspects by showing huge crowds of people praying, pages of Quran, some shots of mosques, which was totally the opposite of the western journalism norms.

Ahmadian and Farahani (2014) have carried out a case study to prove how public opinions can be affected and formulated by the power of language. Both of the researchers selected editorials from The Los Angeles Times and Tehran Times and investigated the differences in Ideology between the two newspapers about Iran’s nuclear program. By utilizing Van Dijk’s positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation framework, the study showed that the two newspapers represented the exact issue in different ways. The study focused on some particular strategies such as presupposition, lexicalization.

Costelloe (2014) conducted a case study that investigated the representation of urban violence in the year 2005 in one of the French newspapers. His study concentrated on the sense of rioting and violent events that prompted media discussion related to the French national identity. The result of the study showed that the expression of nationalism and national identity were depicted in an exclusionary way. Besides, the sameness discourse has built boundaries between “us” and “them”, as well as the news used strategies in which the minority of immigration were represented as “other”.

Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti have investigated how British, German, and Greek press described the issue of refugees in Europe between 20 March and 31 May 2016. They chose about 1340 articles to analyze by using a couple of methods, corpus linguistics, and discourse analysis. The findings of this analysis showed that the newspapers

mainly represented the crisis of refugees in numbers, and the concentration was on the managerial issues related to the crisis of refugees and child refugees.

- Some other researchers have carried out cases studied on online media:

Saggaf (2006) has studied Al-Arabia websites on civic engagement in the Arab world, the findings showed the users challenged Al-Arabia's point of views on the coverage of the Iraqi war, later they show their way of finding the truth.

Barkho (2006) examined the differences between the Arabic version websites of Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN. The headlines, the first two paragraphs of the main stories related to the middle east section which were published in the first weeks of September 2004 were analysed. He found out that Al-Jazeera pays more attention to culture, tradition, and religion, unlike BBC and CNN.

Abdulmageed and Herring (2008) compared Al-Jazeera English website and Al-Jazeera Arabic website, they used both CDA and Content Analysis to uncover the differences between the two websites. A significant number of differences were found, such as the sources, the frequency of images, layout, and the structural features, as well as a slightly different in CDA of the headlines and regional and thematic coverage.

Fahmy and Emad (2011), have concentrated on the online coverage of the conflict between the US and Al-Qaeda, they did not find many differences between the two versions of Al-Jazeera (Arabic and English). According to the Content Analysis, the placement of new stories was different, the rest of the findings were almost similar in respect of sources to report wars, and both of them used a negative tone to describe the conflict, wars, and terrorism. Lastly, the finding showed a similar perspective of the US/Al-Qaeda war on the two websites. Also, they shed light on how escalating conflicts can be influenced by the crucial role of media. According to the researchers “, lots of research explored how the internet can be used as a means to cover military conflicts and war, due to the increase of people who rely on the internet as a central source for getting information” (Fahmy and Emad, 2011: 221).

Eissa (2014) has carried out a study on the websites of Egypt Independent and Ikhwanweb, the purpose of the study to examine the ideological structures of a polarized discourse within the use of CDA, the researcher concentrated on the related events such as when the Egyptian president declared the constitution issuing, the clashes that were carried out of the presidential palace, and the draft of issuing the

constitution. The findings showed both websites constructed a dichotomy of “us” versus “them” in their ideological representation of certain events. Media discourse has always presented conflicts within the binary opposition of “us” and “them” in most of the related studies.

Abid et al. studied the use of metaphor in the online media news reports representing the Syrian refugees of host and host countries. The findings showed discrimination of the immigrants, describing them as a threat to the economy and security, also the host and non-host counties used identical metaphors of immigration, except showing the refugees as a burden by the host countries rather than the non-host countries.

- Other case studies were conducted on Advertisement:

Vahid and Esmāe’li (2012) have studied the product companies’ power and ideas throughout advertisements which have an indirect impact on customers. It is evident that some certain types of ideologies are presented to allow customers to fully believe and trust the brand. An example presented in this study is a beauty product by Nivea depicting the word ‘Goodbye Cellulite’. The ideology here that is the product has the power and the ability to conceal any marks of cellulite and it can be trusted. These ideologies carry the power needed to attract appeal to women who suffer from cellulite, the words which were used had a great impact to change someone’s ideas. Hence, it is shown that the printed word on the product has the ability to vigorously influence the costumers.

Arumugam and Yunus (2013) have also investigated the enacted ideologies in the beauty products’ advertisements. Discourse is served as a social practice in beauty products since language turns to be a part of the social process. The used language in the advertisement echoes a women’s social class and ideology, thus, women who have fair skin, attractive and slim appearance own more power than ordinary women in the same community. Throughout these superiorities of women, an ideology is shaped presenting the image of being ‘in-group’ rather than being old-school. Phrases that are used to describe the sense of fashion are ‘Big is Beautiful’, ‘Plump Your Lips’, and ‘Shimmering Rouge’ which are linked with women of higher social class.

Iqbal, Danish, and Tahir (2014a) have studied the language used in cosmetic products and the applied strategies in using women. This study observed that the language used in the cosmetic products creates the needed power to control women’s minds by

conveying a positive ideology stance, while most of the customers were not able to notice the negativity behind such a language. For instance, ‘face polish’, and ‘daily fairness’ to create attractive ideologies to the customers. Throughout these words, women embrace the belief that fairness lasts a lifetime. Hence, the ideology beneath the language possesses the power to control women while transmitting negative beliefs.

2.6 Libya after the Arab Spring Era

Libya is an Arab- Amazigh country in North Africa, the current population of Libya is 6,806,305 as of Tuesday, October 22, 2019, based on World meters elaboration of the latest United Nations data. It is an oily rich country that had an ancient history from Greeks. Libya suffered from foreign rules for centuries from till the Italian colonization for about years, until it gained its independence in 1951 headed by King Idris after the oil was discovered and the country immense in wealth. In 1969 Colonel Muammar Al-Ghaddafi, the leader of the revolution which is called “Al-Fatih” planned for years to his coup with help of some of his fellows, finally, he took the power from King Idris in a bloodless coup, dissolving the monarchy and announced the republic of Libya in 1st of September 1969, and ruled Libya for more than 42 years (Pargeter, 2012).

Libya is one of the wealthiest countries in the world, yet the internal situation is one of the poorest countries. The colonel, his family, and his fellows have gathered the wealth of Libya, while ordinary Libyans suffered for long times from poor living conditions, infrastructure, educational system, health care, and unequal distribution of the oil proceeds. Colonel Ghaddafi promised several times to distribute oil revenues to Libyan people as a kind of political development and to eradicate corruption in the country, but in fact, little happened and Libyan could not see the changes that they were asking for (Hagger, 2009). These aspects were the reasons behind the increase of people’s anger, and who were ready to explode at any moment.

The Arab spring or “the Arab uprising, revolutions, or the Arab awakening” as it can be called differently by different people, it presented massive protests in most of the Arab world starting from Tunisia 2010 and till nowadays in Algeria, Sudan and Lebanon 2019. The Arab spring was discussed by many commentators and scholars

from different perspectives, linguistically, socially, economically, and politically. And these movements are stated as the most significant events in the modern era.

The beginning of the Arab spring was in Tunisia in 2010 when a poor vegetable seller set himself on fire due to deterioration of the social and economic conditions, that poor man was the spark that lit the flame of Arabs anger and awakened them after a long time of being into a deep slumber sleeping. One thing just led to another, and these protests spread to most of the Arab countries, the main focus of this study is the uprising in Libya, because Libyan case was different than what happened in the other countries. On February 17th 2011, the Libyan movement started in Benghazi, a city in the east of Libya, the protests were led by young people who asked for social, political, economical reforms. The peaceful demonstrations were faced by all kinds of weapons by Al-Ghaddafi's militias to put down the protests. But the events took a sudden turn, protests didn't stop, they were spread all over Libya, some people who were with the regime declared their defection and joined the anti-regime party, who were called the revolutionaries. Libya witnessed the bloodiest war in that era, caused a military intervention by a multi-state coalition based on the United Nations Resolution 1973 authorizing a no-fly zone over Libya, called an immediate cease-fire, and taking all necessary measures to protect the civilians. Britain and France led the international coalition, in cooperation with the United States and that was before NATO taking the responsibility of applying the no-fly zone and launching airstrikes against Al-Ghaddafi's regime.

Libya took the attention of the whole international media due to many reasons, one of the reasons that Libya and Al-Ghaddafi were indeterminate objects in the Arab and western Ideologies, and Libya considered to be a special case due to the long period of rolling by Ghaddafi, during that time he committed mass atrocities in and outside Libya (Oakes, 2011). Libya was kept in isolation and under the media blackout for several years as a result of his violence against the west and Libyan peoples themselves (Chorin, 2012). Last, of all, it was the first armed war, and its duration was not too short like Tunisia and Egypt nor too long like Syria. The war ended by the death of the Colonel in Sirte city on October 20th, his last stronghold, and on 23rd October Libya was declared to be officially liberated after more than 40 years from dictatorship, and the plan to hold elections was announced.

2.6.1 Civil War

Libyan people thought that after the nightmare which lasted for years, they can finally build the country that they were dreaming to have, but things took completely different ways. In May 2014, the warlord Khalifa Haftar launched military which conducted airstrikes against the militias of an Islamic group in Benghazi, and Ansar Al-sharia seized control of most of Benghazi. In July Tripoli airport was destroyed and the UN staff pull out, embassies shut, and many foreigners evacuated because of the security situation. Since then Libya has not been at peace. In April 2019 Haftar, who leads the Libyan National Army, advanced on Tripoli and launched an offensive, to control Tripoli and overthrow the internationally recognised Government of National Accord, which is headed by the Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj.



3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter illustrates the corpus of this study and provides information about the data collection and the rationale behind choosing particular data to be used in this study. Besides, the framework which was utilized in this study is described as well as the process the researcher followed to investigate the case at hand.

3.1 Corpus

In order to find out the different ideologies and lexical choices between the Russian and American news on the conflict, which was provoked in Libya, the researcher selected four newspapers from each country, 32 news reports were chosen from both Russian and American newspapers, four from each newspaper. The Russian newspapers are (TASS, Russian Today, Russia Insider, and Sputnik). American newspapers are (The Wall Street Journals, The New York Times, The Washington Post, and Bloomberg). The news reports were Approximately 18000 words, and the time frame was from April to September 2019.

3.1.1 Selection Criteria

The rationale behind choosing Russia and America to study some of their newspapers that are the media coverage of these countries has a great impact on the decision making, raising awareness and shaping public opinions as they are the most powerful countries in the world. Also, they normally have opposing ideologies, and what they release in their news will globally draw significant attention.

There are some reasons behind choosing The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, and The Washington Post. First, all three newspapers are regarded as prominent and ranked second, third, and fifth, respectively, in terms of circulation size. Also, they are among the largest media outlets in the United States. Second, they are leading newspapers with regard to the coverage of international news and visions, drawing readers from every state and around the world (Audit Bureau of Circulation, 2006). Bloomberg was added to the selected newspapers because it is leading in

economic, and economic can always affect political affairs and public views. Third, they also can be used as authentic materials for English learners.

In the same context, the Russian newspapers were selected due to some reasons, first, there are not many Russian English newspapers, and the selected ones are the most popular not just in Russia but international. Second, these newspapers are concerned about releasing international news about different issues and more readers would be more interested in reading news from other parts of the world.

All the selected news reports were downloaded from the official sites of the news agencies. American agencies were not free to access, while the Russian agencies were free.

3.2 Methodology

The literature review in the aforementioned chapter clarified that CDA is an approach to methodology rather than the methodology itself, and there are not any specific techniques that are recognized as the standard to collect and analyse the data in CDA (Meyer, 2007; Buckingham, 2013). This study is qualitative research as according to McEnery “in qualitative research the data are used to provide real-life examples related to certain phenomena as well as to describe and pinpoint features related to language in use also qualitative analysis forms provide detailed and rich conceptions of data.”. Consequently, this study at hand aims to analyse news reports in detail in order to cover specific affairs rather than offer general statements.

The researcher persistently used qualitative research, since it does not merely concentrate on what, when, and where. However, it also concentrates on how and why the problems occur. It is worth noting that in discourse studies, the analysts are not primarily interested in the sample size of the corpus of the study, because large samples might cause unmanageable data size without providing more valuable outcomes of the study. Therefore, discourse study can be based on the small size of the corpus (Waikar, 2018). For Paul and Baker (2006), the analysts in discourse studies are more discerning when it comes to choosing the extracts from speeches, interviews, statements, and editorials. He also added, in the process of selecting the data, it is significant to focus on the quality, not the quantity.

3.2.1 Ideological Square Framework

This study focuses on different ideologies toward the Libyan conflict by Russian and American media. The most significant facet of this investigation is the *self-versus other* dichotomies, which was reflected in most of the news reports in both Russian and American newspapers. The model of Ideological Square was presented by Teun A. Van Dijk is a suitable approach for this investigation to reveal the hidden ideologies, since this model concentrates particularly on the polarization strategy of “positive self-representation and negative other-representation” (Van Dijk, 1998, 2004, 2006). Some of latest studies (Rashidi and Souzanderfar, 2010; Gadalla, 2012; Tahir, 2013; Ahmadian and Farahani, 2014; Reynolds, 2018; Khan, 2019) recommend this framework as the most relevant and adequate to be employed in studies where the main purpose is to uncover the buried ideologies that can be perceived in self-versus other dichotomies, namely in media and political realm. Consequently, Van Dijk (1998, 2004, 2006) affirm that this analytical approach is appropriate for emphasizing and discovering the polarization of *us* and *them*. The speaker and his/her allies are regarded to present “us” or “in-group”, on the other hand, the opposite side is considered as “them” or “out-group”.

The ideological square highlights the opponent of the self-versus other schemas. The self or “in-group” is always presented positively, and their positive features are always emphasized. Besides the negative features of the others or “out-group”. Similarly, the other or “out-group” is always presented negatively, and their negative features are always underscored. Moreover, the negative deeds of self are mitigated along with the positive things of the other. Therefore, the researcher employed this critical tool as she believes this is a suitable framework to achieve the study’s objectives.

Van Dijk’s proposes that there are two phases of the analysis: macro-analysis, micro-analysis. For the macro-analysis. Four basics strategies have been classified by Van Dijk (1998, 2004, 2006) that are utilized in the purpose of legitimizing the self or “in-group” and de-legitimize the others or “out-group”.

1. Emphasizing good acts about *self, us, or “in-group”*.
2. Emphasizing bad acts about *others, them, or “out-group”*.
3. De-emphasizing bad acts about *self, us, or “in-group”*.
4. De-emphasizing good acts about *others, them, or “out-group”*.

Therefore, in the light of macro-analysis, the researcher concentrated on emphasizing the self-other binary opposition in Russian and American newspapers' ideology as it is illustrated below.

- Russian newspapers:
 1. Self, we, us “in-group” Haftar and his allies.
 2. Other, they, them “out-group” the UN-recognized government and its allies.
- America newspapers:
 1. Self, we, us “in-group” the UN-recognized government and its allies.
 2. Other, they, them, “out-group” Haftar and his allies.

In accordance with micro-analysis, this framework suggests 25 aspects which can be regarded as rhetorical discursive strategies.

1. *Actor Description*: this strategy depicts an entity, such as members of a particular group, as well as the role that these members play in a political or social context either positively or negatively. Normally the “in-group” is presented neutrally or positively and their bad acts are mitigated, whereas the “out-group” is presented negatively with an emphasis on their bad acts.
2. *Authority*: speakers in arguments and politics and media field generally mention organization or politician to supports their claims on certain affairs, those politicians, organizations, and party politics can be regarded as authorities that give credibility to the claim.
3. *Burden (Topos)*: it indicates to the financial and human loss relates to a particular community to victimize this community or touch the audience's feelings.
4. *Categorization*: to associate people with diverse groups regarding their opinions, such as religious and political ones.
5. *Comparison*: to determine the difference and similarities between two entities, such as places, events, and people.
6. *Consensus*: it can be regarded as one of the important political strategies, which is a “cross-party or national” device used when a country is threatened by the “out-group”.
7. *Counterfactual*: it is a persuasive technique, that is used to gain sympathy, or stating a declaration to emphasize what someone or something meant would likely to be if circumstances were provided.

8. *Disclaimer*: it is an ideological-driven technique used to state something positive and the characteristics of an entity first, then presenting the negative features by using terms, such as yet and, however.
9. *Euphemism*: it is a technique used by a speaker when he/she attempts to use less cruel words instead of the direct term of it.
10. *Evidentiality*: utilizing facts to support the speaker's claims.
11. *Generalization*: this technique used to assign positive or negative features of a certain person to a small or large population.
12. *Hyperbole*: it is a linguistic tactic used to exaggerate and give extra emphasis on something in particular.
13. *Illustration/Example*: it is a tactic used by the speaker to give suitable, realistic, or fictional examples.
14. *Implication*: it means a brief and simple message to be conveyed. The speaker normally uses this technique to deduct information.
15. *Irony*: one of the most important political tactics, refers to saying something but in fact, means something different.
16. *Lexicalization*: it refers to the use of certain semantic aspects to present someone or something positively or negatively.
17. *Metaphor*: it is a figure of speech, used to say something by referring to something else.
18. *National self-glorification*: it refers to the creation of a positive presentation of a certain country by providing particular positive references, such as culture, history, traditions, and principles.
19. *Norm expression*: it refers to deliver the norms of how things should or should not be done in certain ways.
20. *Number game*: use numbers and statics to support the claims.
21. *Polarization*: categorizing self or "in-group" positively and categorizing others or "out-group" negatively.
22. *Populism*: it is one of the political tactics used by political leaders or normal speakers who want to win more popularity by stating his own policies.
23. *Presupposition*: a common political strategy used by applying implicit assumptions about the world.
24. *Vagueness*: uncertainty and ambiguity in meaning.

25. *Victimization*: it is a tactic used to present the *others* or “*out-group*” negatively and present *self* or “*in-group*” as the victims of the unfair treatment by the “*out-group*”.

The researcher, who has been living abroad since 2015 is Libyan and she was not in Libya when the last conflict broke out. To avoid prejudice in analysing the news reports which are about the researcher’s country, other researchers from different nationalities were also asked to analyse the news reports with the aim of giving valid and credible results and to stay away from bias.

3.2.2 Methods of Analysis

The analysis is divided into three levels to obtain an in-depth analysis. The first level is the headlines, the second is full-text stories, the last level is using NVivo 12-pro plus to analyse the complete data.

1. Headlines

News reports headlines play a vital role in media discourse, they are the main and first elements that gain the readers’ attention and make them whether to continue reading or not, as they hold the important items and provide the gist about certain events, as well as they are responsible to maintain the public interest, if the readers find the story compelling enough, they can read the news below. Van Dijk (1991) states that as long as the headlines refer to the most recurrent information about the new issues, they might prejudice the comprehending progression, they provide the summery according to what the author sees as the most important element to be focused on, they provide summary mostly implies particular opinions or perspectives on specific events. (P.51)

2. Full-Texts stories

The full-text stories of news provide the readers with the entire story about certain news, they are more descriptive to depict the actual events from different angles as the editor’s claim. Here, the ideologies are buried through lines, and the lines might yield different meanings. The editor selects lexis to demonstrate the news according to how he/she does perceive the topics, the diver of lexical choices is regarded as a significant element in news texts that may release hidden ideologies and beliefs. Van Dijk claims “the limitations of topics and possible lexical variance are set in advance, even when there is personal and newspaper variation in the description of the same things”

(1988b, p.75). Therefore, choosing lexis in writing news stories is an essential tool to shape the reader's intellectual image, and gives the ability to the writer to direct the reader's reaction towards the news content.

3. *NVivo 12-Pro plus*

NVivo is computer software used to analyse non-numerical and unstructured data which helps the qualitative researchers to analyse, organize and find insights in qualitative or unstructured data, such as, interviews, survey responses, videos, audios, images, social media and journal articles, where very deep analysis levels on small or large size of data are vital. Also, it helps the users to arrange and categorize information and data. Therefore, the researcher utilized this program to analyse the entire data of 32 news reports for linguistics inquires.

3.3 Procedure

The researcher chose to work on Russian and American newspapers to investigate and release the clashing ideologies in both countries. Moreover, how the two countries presented the Libyan conflicts in their news texts in terms of lexical choices and unmask the hidden meanings and ideologies in both sides of agencies. The researcher selected four Russian news agencies that are issued in English (TASS, Russia Today, Russia Insider, and Sputnik). Besides, four news agencies from America (The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, The Washington Post, and Bloomberg) were selected. The researcher chose these agencies according to their international popularity and widely releasing news about diverse aspects of life. The news reports were downloaded from the official page from each news agencies and the news reports were from different sections (Politics, Africa, and the Middle East), the total number is 32 news reports, published from April to September 2019. Four news reports from each newspaper were selected based on the important events that happened during the long-term Libyan conflict in 2019.

Consequently, in order to make an in-depth analysis, the researcher utilized Van Dijk's framework (1998, 2004, 2006) to analyse the selected data through two types of analysis (headlines, full-text stories). In addition, NVivo 12-pro plus software. Firstly, news texts were selected and then the headlines were analysed as the first step of analysis according to the 25 strategies of micro-analysis and the four aspects of macro-

analysis. Secondly, the same analysis of the headlines was applied to the full-text stories.

Lastly, Computer-Assisted Analysis was done through NVivo, which is a software program used for qualitative and mixed-methods research. Specifically, it is used for the analysis of unstructured text, audio, video, and image data, including (but not limited to) interviews, focus groups, surveys, social media, news stories, and journal articles. It is produced by QSR International. Moreover, when it comes to the current study, firstly, for data collection, we have used NVivo 12 Plus by giving specific keywords and collected desired news stories purposively. Secondly, we have used NVivo 12 Plus to identify word clouds, word trees, and tree-maps of every single newspaper. The purpose of this computer-assisted analysis is to investigate and triangulate the ‘self-other’ binaries from the data set. The following are the features of NVivo 12 Plus which have been used in the analysis.

- *Word Cloud*

“Word Cloud” refers to the size of different words based on their frequencies and repetition within the textual form of data. Words having more frequency and repetition show their big size in the Cloud. In this step of the analysis, the funneling approach has also been taken into account where all unrelated words have been removed and added into the ‘stop word list’ from the Word Cloud.

- *Tree-Map*

It is a diagram that shows a hierarchical data as a set of nested rectangles in different sizes. This feature has been used only to highlight the consequences of the most occurring concept. More specifically, word cloud, word tree, and Tree-Map have used in order to identify the way of talk and lexical choices within the news stories regarding the creation of polarization of the *Self-Other* binary towards the phenomenon.

- *Tables*

Tables are used to arrange data that is too complex or difficult to be properly explained in the text, enabling the reader to display results easily. They are used to illustrate the most frequent items utilized in each news report. In order to shed light on the rationale behind using certain items and the hidden ideologies.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Overview

In this chapter, the researcher provides the qualitative analysis of 32 news reports, 16 news reports from four Russian newspapers and 16 news reports from four American newspapers utilizing Van Dijk's framework (1998, 2004, 2006) as a research tool under the umbrella of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to reveal the hidden ideologies presented in the selected Russian and American newspapers about the Libyan conflict in 2019. The analysis is divided into three levels of analysis: firstly, 32 headlines have been analysed; 16 from four Russian newspapers and 16 headlines from four American newspapers. Secondly, 32 full texts have been analysed and lastly, the entire sampled data has been analysed using NVivo 12 Plus.

4.2 The Situation in Libya

In 2011 the Arab spring provoked and spread to many Arab countries, and Libya was one of those countries that revolted against the dictatorship. Since that time, Libya entered a civil war backed up with great nations, and the most significant war the one that has been erupted in April 2019 between the UN-recognized government which is based in Tripoli and headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj (supported by US and NATO) and commander Khalifa Haftar and his groups which are based in eastern Libya (supported by Russia, France, UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt).

4.3 The Analysis of Headlines

4.3.1 Russian headlines

4.3.1.1 Tass

1. *"UN security council begins discussing Libya behind closed doors. World April.5"*

The reporter stated that “UN Security Council begins Discussing Libya behind closed doors” after “*Haftar*” announced an offensive on Tripoli, to establish control over the capital of Libya which is under the control of the UN-recognized government. The headline demonstrated the discussion was taken place secretly by the UN Security Council, and it mentioned “*Libya*” only without referring to the precise case behind holding this urgent meeting or any other detail about what exactly they discussed or why it was hidden from the public. The statement did not refer to any kind of violence that occurred in Libya, specifically in Tripoli a day before the UN discussion.

According to Van Dijk terminology, the editor described the UN Security Council as an *actor* for the event, he also employed *vagueness or making-ambiguous technique*, by not clarifying the actual case there, it appeared as if the discussion was normally held to discuss the Libyan chaos. Consequently, the reader will think at first glance the meeting was held to discuss the mess in Libya without referring to the recent event, that “*Khalifa Haftar*” announced an offensive towards the capital, as Russia backs up *Haftar’s militias*. The topic had to be about the latest offensive by “*Khalifa Haftar*” to establish control over Tripoli, but the headline presented something totally different. Another strategy that was employed is the *authority* by mentioning the UN Security Council at the beginning of the headline determining the future of Libya. The headline is supported by the macro analysis of de-emphasizing the negative things about ‘us’, by not referring to the assault that was committed by “*Khalifa Haftar*”.

2. “*Libyan national army’s air force strikes Tripoli international airport. April.9*”

Libyan national army which is headed by “*Khalifa Haftar*”, was regarded as an *actor* and the agent of the statement, and by mentioning “force strike” an *authority* strategy was used to give the doer a sense of power to force strikes on the international airport in Tripoli. Moreover, the sentence started with “the Libyan national army” to topicalize and legitimize this army which presents one of the warring sides headed by “*Khalifa Haftar*”. The other two strategies were *implication* and *vagueness*, by using these strategies the editor stated the event briefly, simply and deducted the information, besides, he did not mention which airport exactly was struck by the LNA. Tripoli has two airports, the central airport which is called Tripoli international airport stopped functioning since 2014, and the second airport, which is the only functioning airport in Tripoli. This headlined supports the macro-analysis of emphasizing the stable things

done by *Haftar* “us” and highlighting the positive role was played by his army in the conflict.

3. “*Russia’s foreign ministry urges Libya’s warring sides to stop fighting for power. 11 April.*”

The editor employed the *actor description* strategy by starting the event with “*Russia’s foreign ministry*” as the agent of the statement who urges the warring parties to stop fighting each other for power. The editor also used *authority* strategy by mentioning the “Russian foreign ministry urges” as the one who has the power to induce the two parties to stop fighting for the sake of power. Also, it was revealed that Russia does not support any sides of the conflict by equalizing the two warring parties. Additionally, mentioning fighting for power was ambiguous, who are fighting for power? Why are they fighting? The editor here used *vagueness* strategy to avoid clarifying the actual case, as the precise situation in Libya was the UN-recognized government which is based in Tripoli, defending the capital from the offensive by “*Khalifa Haftar*” and his militias that are based in the east of Libya, to take control of Tripoli. However, the headline revealed that two equal parties were fighting for power, not mentioning the clear violation.

Two aspects of macro-analysis were employed here: the first aspect was by emphasizing the positive things about “us” which is Russia, by mentioning that “Russia urges warring sides to stop fighting” as a signal that Russia refuses the military solution in Libya. The second aspect of macro-analysis was de-emphasizing the negative things about “us” which is *Haftar*, by avoid giving precise information about the offensive that was carried out by Haftar against the Libyan capital.

4. “*Russian involvement in Libyan conflict regulation does not serve any purpose — US diplomat WORLD 16 APR*”

The headline topicalized Russian, as it started with it, to receive the whole attention. *Authority* strategy reflected in stressing on the Russian involvement in Libya, as a significant element to make vast differences and shifts in foreign policies. *Vagueness* and *implication* strategies were also employed by mentioning “involvement in Libyan conflict” without clarifying how Russia is involved in the Libyan conflict and what its aims behind this involvement. The *categorization* technique was reflected in demonstrating that the Russian involvement in the recent conflict in Libya is not driven

by any particular purposes nor agenda according to US diplomat. The headline supports the macro-analysis of emphasizing the positive things about “us” Russia by mentioning that “Russian involvement in Libya does not serve any purposes” nor driven by specific agenda.

4.3.1.2 Russia Today (RT)

1. “*Libyan strongman Haftar orders troops to move on Tripoli. 4 April.*”

The topic was about the announcement that was made by *Khalifa Haftar*, who leads one of the parties in the Libyan conflict. In his announcement, he declared to advance to Tripoli to make it under his control. His declaration was clear and explicit to announce a war on Tripoli. According to Van Dijk’s terminology, “*Libyan strongman Haftar*” can be regarded as the *actor* of the event, who has the *authority* to give instructions to his groups to launch an offensive on Tripoli, and to topicalize him as the main focus of the event.

Some other strategies were also used in the above headline: such as, *lexicalization*, by depicting “*Haftar*” as a “strongman” to provide him with sovereignty, who can make a significant political change in Libya and create the wanted peace. Also using “*orders*” to make the reader feels that he is in a dominant position that enables him to give instructions. “*Troops*” is a *hyperbole* technique, refers to soldiers who are in military duty. “*move on*” is a *euphemism* strategy used as a less harsh phrase instead of “*launch offensive*”. Additionally, *vagueness* strategy was used by not mentioning exactly why “*Haftar*” gave orders to move on Tripoli. The headline reflects the macro strategy of de-emphasizing the negative things about “us” that is “*Haftar*” by using less harsh words to describe Haftar’s offensive and avoid providing precise details about the offensive on Tripoli and the reasons behind it.

2. “*Only functioning airport in Libya’s Tripoli hit by air raid – reports. 8 April.*”

The headline topicalized “only functioning airport in Tripoli” and it was regarded as the *actor* of the news that has the emphasis on, also the editor employed *lexicalization* technique by mentioning “only functioning airport” referring to the merely working airport that Tripoli has, and not Tripoli international airport which was stopped functioning since 2014 after the Libyan civil war. *Vagueness* and *implication* strategies also were reflecting in the headline, by not providing enough information about the actual situation or what precisely happened there nor revealing the identity

of the doer who was the responsible for the air raid, the editor kept the incident vague and the doer “Haftar’s militias” hidden. The headline supports the macro-analysis of de-emphasizing the negative things about “us”, by not revealing the real doer of the air raid nor providing the readers with enough information about the incident.

3. *“Libyan national army jet shot down over Tripoli as Haftar visits Egypt. 14 April”*

The headline consists of two important events related to “LNA led by Haftar” which is supported by Russia. The headline depicted Libyan national army as the *actor*, that has the central focus of the news, *authority* strategy was employed by mentioning two things: “LNA jet” to make the readers feel this is the real Libyan army of Libya and will gain the control of Tripoli in a matter of time. The second thing is “Haftar visits Egypt” which demonstrates Haftar fulfilling his political role as a legitimate political figure. In addition, it reveals that Egypt supports Haftar against the legitimate government headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj and based in Tripoli, and this is how the *categorization* technique was reflected. The headline supports the macro-analysis of emphasizing the positive things about “us”, by stating “Haftar visits Egypt” to describe him as a strong and legitimate political figure who meets other presidents.

4. *“Oil is everything’: Why Western allies like US & France swing weight in favor of Libya’s Haftar 20 April 2019.”*

The editor started with “oil is everything” as the *actor* of the statement and to put more emphasis on it as the main topic of the news. Libya is an oil-rich country, which is suffering from war since 2011 when Libyans overthrew Colonel Moammar Al-Ghaddafi. The presupposed idea is that many countries are aiding to escalating the war in Libya to gain some benefits from the Libyan oil. Here, Russia attempted to shed light on the unstable attitude of the US and France towards the Libyan conflict, whether they support the UN-recognized government or LNA headed by Haftar. The headline presents the macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about “them” the US and France, by referring to the swing positions of those countries towards the Libyan conflict and Haftar’s offensive in favor of Haftar who controls most of the Libyan oil.

4.3.1.3 Russia Insider

1. *“US and NATO will always share blame for Libya’s Re-Descent into chaos. April 11”*

The editor started with (US and NATO) as the *actor* of the event, to gain the readers’ attention as they are significant elements of decision-making and have the authority to determine the future of third world countries. Also, it was an attempt by the editor to thematize the US and NATO as the agent of the action and emphasize their negative role and evil deeds towards Libya back to 2011.

US and NATO are perceived as the “out-group” for Russia. The *lexicalization* was employed by applying “blame, re-decent, chaos” to illustrate a negative connotation towards the role of the US and NATO in Libya since 2011 and aiding Libyans for overthrowing Colonel Al-Ghaddafi. In this process, the *polarization* technique was emphasized by mentioning the negative actions and decisions that were taken by the US and NATO towards Libya back in 2011, and its consequences that caused the latest conflict and entered Libya in chaos. The headline supports the second aspect of the macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about “them” the US, and NATO, by blaming them for the Libyan chaos.

2. *“American policy on Libya is totally incoherent. Wed, May 8.”*

American policy was described as the *actor* of the news that has the *authority* to make decisions to determine the Libyan future. Mentioning “totally, incoherent” to put more emphasis on the role of the US policy towards the ongoing conflict in Libya, which is between two parties, the UN-recognized government headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj and Haftar’s militias. The *lexical choices* demonstrated the negative connotation of the American attitudes towards the Libyan conflict, which is against Russian policy. In this regard, the *polarization* technique was employed by categorizing US policies in negative manners. The headline reflects the macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about “them” by describing the American policy as “incoherent” towards the Libyan conflicts.

3. *“Portuguese Pilot Shot Down in Libya Is Covered in Kabbalistic Tattoos - An Israeli Link? May 8, 2019”*

In terms of micro-analysis of the headline, based on Van Dijk's Ideological Square, the Portuguese Pilot was represented as the *actor* of the statement, who was also topicalized as the central element of the news. Similarly, the headline employed *vagueness* and *implication* strategies by not providing enough information about how the pilot was shot down, the place of the incident nor who was responsible for the incident. Utilizing a religious symbol in the headline aims to gain more attention to the news, and also to categorize one of the warring parties with a religious connotation, to insert the idea in the readers' minds that this party, which is the legitimate government based in Tripoli, is driven by religious purposes regardless of what the religion is. The *over-completeness* strategy was applied by mentioning “an Israeli link” which is far away from the ongoing conflict in Libya and has no close relation to the jet which was shot down. The headline supports the second aspect of macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about “them”, by stating that the UN-recognized government uses foreign mercenaries to fight with them against Haftar.

4. *“Trump's support for general Haftar in Libya is a good thing – he will probably take Tripoli in a bloodless transition and the search for ISIS's Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi in Libya intensifies. May.15”.*

Since the death of the Libyan Colonel Moammar Al-Ghaddafi in 2011, Libya has been suffering from the civil war between different militias for power. However, the most significant war is the one which was broke out in 2019 between the UN-recognized government and Haftar, who was trying to take control of Tripoli and overthrow the legitimate government in a bloody war. Some countries are backing up Haftar in his offensive on Tripoli, such as UAE, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Russia. The headline started with Trump, who was perceived as the *actor* of the news that also has the ultimate *authority* to shift policies, determine states' strategies, and make changes in public opinions. The world perceives that Trump's call for Haftar might change the route of Libyan situation, by supporting one side against the legitimate government which is based in Tripoli and headed by Fayez Al-Sarraj.

The *lexicalization* strategy was employed by mentioning “support, a good thing, take Tripoli, bloodless transition” to provide readers with positive connotations about how Trump shifted to support Haftar for fighting terrorism, as a signal to present Haftar,

who leads the LNA, as the only solution to end the ongoing conflict in Libya with least losses and end the presence of ISIS in the middle east. The editor used *populism* technique by mentioning Trump's position towards the Libyan case, and whom he supports to gain more attention on the surprisingly shifting policy, as well as to persuade more readers to think of "Haftar" as the legitimate leader to be, who has the ability to establish peace not just in Libya but in the middle east. In this process, the editor employed *polarization* strategy by categorizing "Haftar" with positive things after he received another significant support for his role in Libya.

The editor attempted to show that Trump supports Haftar, and this step might be a good thing for Libyan future, also he shed light on an essential element which is the ISIS and its leader who might be hidden in Libya, and the only way to dispose of this dangerous organization is by supporting Haftar to control Tripoli and whole Libya in a bloodless conflict. The headline reflects the macro-analysis of emphasizing the positive things about "us" Haftar, by stating that even president Trump supports Haftar to eradicate ISIS.

4.3.1.4 Sputnik

1. *"Haftar's LNA Has Taken Control over Tripoli's International Airport. April.5"*

According to Van Dijk's terminology, Haftar was illustrated as the *actor* of the news, who has the authority of leading the Libyan National Army, which is based in eastern Libya and advancing on Tripoli to take control of it. The *authority* technique was reflecting by mentioning that Haftar possess LNA and he was succeeded to take control over Tripoli's international airport. The editor did not mention which airport precisely who has been taken by LNA, he kept it vague, and here we see how the editor employed the *vagueness* strategies, by not clarifying that the airport which Haftar took control of it, has stopped functioning since 2014, and it is not the main airport anymore. So with overall discussion based on micro-analysis, we can claim that this headline supports the macro-strategy of emphasizing the positive things about "us", as we have seen when it was mentioned that the "LNA has taken control over Tripoli's International Airport".

2. *“Haftar’s Forces Reportedly Sent Warship to Secure Oil Export Port. April.28.”*

The editor demonstrated Haftar as the *actor* of the news and started with him to be topicalized. *Authority* strategy has been seen by emphasizing that Haftar’s forces were able to protect the Libyan oil by sending a warship to the oil export ports. In this process, the headline aimed to depict Haftar as the strongman who has the sovereignty to control the country and secure the Libyan oil. That is the matter for the international nations not only for Libyans. The headline supports the macro-analysis of emphasizing the positive things about “us” by demonstrating how Haftar secures the oil export port.

3. *“Libyan National Army Claims It Possesses Evidence of Turkey Supporting Daesh. April.29.”*

Libyan National Army was demonstrated as the *actor* of the news, who has the authority to rule a country as a legitimate political party that is also able to claim and accuse other countries of their negative positing towards some political policies. Here, the LNA that is headed by Haftar presents one of the warring parties of the Libyan conflict, who attempted to overthrow the legitimate government headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj, by announcing an offensive on Tripoli to establish control over the capital. Each warring party is supported by some countries, for instance, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Russia support LNA. Whereas Turkey and Qatar support the UN-recognized government. Consequently, Haftar perceives Turkey as an obstacle in the path of gaining control of Libya, by the same token, Haftar claims that he has strong evidence about Turkey supporting terrorist organizations “Daesh” or ISIS, and this is how the editor employed the *evidentiality* technique. In addition, the editor utilized *polarization* strategy by categorizing Turkey and the Libyan UN-recognized government with negative attitudes of supporting terrorist organizations. In this process, the headline supports the macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about “them” Turkey for supporting terrorist organizations like Daesh “ISIS. It is important to note that Turkey supports the UN-recognized government against Haftar.

4. *“Haftar’s Forces Say Hit Hangar with Turkish Drones in Western Libya. August 16.”*

The headline started with Haftar’s forces to be topicalized, also to be depicted as the *actor* of the main event. *Authority* technique was employed by emphasizing that Haftar

is followed by a significant number of Libyans who constituted military forces. Haftar claimed that his forces hit a hangar in western Libya, which was filled by Turkish drones, and this hangar belonged to the UN-recognized government's forces. By doing so, the *Evidentiality* was employed by displaying how Haftar accusing Turkey of aiding the UN-recognized government that is headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj. The editor attempted to categorize Turkey with negative actions of sending Turkish drones to aid one of the warring parties of the conflict. The macro-analysis was employed by emphasizing the negative things about "them", by proving that the UN-recognized government is receiving support from Turkey.

4.3.2 American headlines

4.3.2.1 The Wall Street Journal

1. *"Trump Backed Libyan Warlord after Saudi Arabia and Egypt Lobbied Him May 12, 2019, MIDDLE EAST."*

The latest conflict in Libya was between the UN-recognized government that is based in Tripoli and Haftar and his fellows that are based in the east of Libya. From the beginning of the war, some countries had explicit positions towards the situation in Libya. However, after some weeks, Trump made a call to Haftar expressing his support to fight terrorism.

The editor presented Trump as an *actor* who has the authority to support one of the warring sides, also the editor used authority strategy according to Van Dijk's terminology, by demonstrating that the decision was made after two high countries in the middle east (Saudi Arabia and Egypt) which back up Haftar, have pressured Trump to take a severe step to express his support to Haftar, not to the UN-recognized government. Saudi Arabia and Egypt were the real factors which had the authority to make Trump taking a particular step by choosing Haftar to support, that is already backed up by Saudi Arabia, UAE, Egypt, and Russia. The *disclaimer* technique was reflected by indicating less responsibility for the action that was taken by Trump and focused on who the real doer was. The *implication* strategy was used when the editor deducted information about how Trump supported Haftar and why Saudi Arabia and Egypt lobbied him to do so. The headline presents the macro strategy of de-emphasizing negative things about "us" The USA by focusing on who lobbied Trump to call and support Haftar.

2. “*Inside Libya’s Brutal Battle for Control of Tripoli June 28, 2019, MIDDLE EAST*”

The headline emphasized the ongoing conflict inside Libya by using the *lexicalization* technique and depicted it as a “brutal” conflict for control of Tripoli. What it is recognized that the internationally recognized government in Libya is based in Tripoli, and it does control Tripoli and some of the western parts of Libya. Haftar and his militias who are based in the east of Libya attacked Tripoli to take control of it, and by establishing the needed control, the whole country will be under his power. The editor did not indicate the warring sides of the battle, he merely described the battle and the reason for this battle which is to control Tripoli, and this is how the *vagueness* strategy was used. Therefore, when it comes to the macro-level of analysis as proposed by Van Dijk, we have seen that this headline emphasized negative things about “them” Haftar’s militias who are trying to control Tripoli and overthrow the legitimate government.

3. “*In Libyan War, Turkey Takes Sides Against Mideast Rivals July 2, 2019, WORLD*”

The headline emphasizes some discursive techniques according to Van Dijk’s terminology, such as *actor description*, *authority*, *categorization*, and *evidentiality*. The editor started with “in Libyan war” to be topicalized as the main focus of the event. Also, it was regarded as the *actor* where the event took place. *Authority* strategy was applied by mentioning “Turkey takes sides” referring to the great role of Turkey in decision making and its impact on the ongoing Libyan situation as it supports the UN-recognized government headed by “*Fayez Al-Sarraj*” which is based in Tripoli. The *categorization* technique was presented by indicting Turkey supports the UN-recognized government which is against the party who is backed up by Mideast rivals (UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt). The *evidentiality* was highlighted by the fact that Turkey is explicitly supporting one of the warring sides. The headline is supported by the macro-strategy of emphasizing the positive things about “us” by stating that Turkey is against the LNA led by Haftar and backed up by Russia.

4. *“Libya’s Tripoli Government Blames U.A.E. for Deadly Airstrike. July 4, 2019, MIDDLE EAST”*

The headline gives emphasis to *actor description*, *authority*, *lexicalization*, and *evidentiality* strategies. “Libya’s Tripoli government” was depicted as an *actor* of the event who has the authority to blame one of the great Mideast countries, such as the United Arab Emirates, and accuse it of the deadly attacks on Tripoli and ignoring the civilians, as well as for backing up Haftar and his militias for trying to control Tripoli. The editor used “deadly” as referring to the savage attacks on the civilians of Tripoli by militias of Haftar with the help of the UAE. The *evidentiality* strategy was applied by mentioning the accusation of the UAE for fatal airstrikes on Tripoli by the UN-recognized government of Libya that presents one of the warring sides of the conflict. The headline reflects the macro-strategy of emphasizing the negative things about “them” by stressing on evil deeds by the UAE for carrying out attacks on Tripoli and backing up Haftar.

4.3.2.2 The New York Times

1. *“In Libya, Militia Advances on Capital, Raising Prospect of Renewed Civil War. April 4, 2019.”*

Libya was regarded as the *actor* and topicalized as the main focus of the news. Further, *lexicalization* technique was used by mentioning “militias, advances on” referring to a military force whose members are not permeant army’s soldiers, as a sign to the offensive which was launched on Tripoli by Haftar and his militias, that are based in the east of Libya, as an attempt from him to control the country and overthrow the legitimate government. *Polarization* strategy was reflected in “*Haftar and his militias*” by illustrating them with negative manners and emphasizing on their harmful actions. *Evidentiality* strategy was employed by depicting the prospects of raising a new civil war in Libya after the announcement of “*Haftar*” to advance on Tripoli.

Moreover, based on macro-analysis, the headline reflects the aspect to Van Dijk’s terminology of emphasizing the negative things about “them” by describing Haftar’s forces as militias trying to advance on Tripoli and overthrow the legitimate government that based in Tripoli.

2. “*American Missiles Found in Libyan Rebel Compound June 28, 2019*”

The headline started with “American missiles” to topicalize it as the main element of the news, and to indicate it as the *actor* of the event. The *Evidentiality* strategy was depicted when the headline referred to finding American-made missiles in Libya in the time of the conflict, although Libya is still under the UN arms embargo. It indicated a great role of one of the countries that is a close ally to America and have those kinds of missiles, which were found in rebel compound related to Haftar’s militias in Libya, to fuel the war and giving no importance to the UN-arms embargo on Libya. The editor utilized *vagueness* technique by not mentioning which country is responsible for providing rebels with weapons, and by using “rebel compound” the writer depicted the negative attitude towards Haftar and his militias by selecting those *lexicons*. The whole event *categorizes* one of the countries which is an ally to America of its negative acts of providing weapons to the rebels. The headline reflects the second aspect of emphasizing the harmful deeds of “them” Haftar and his allies by using missiles in Haftar’s offensive on the Libyan capital.

3. “*United Arab Emirates Denies sending American Missiles to Libya. July 2, 2019.*”

The headline started by one of the most influential countries in the Arab world, which supports one of the warring sides in the Libyan conflict, to topicalize it as the main emphasis of the news. The UAE was depicted as the *actor* of the statement, that also has the *authority* to fuel the war in Libya by sending American-made missiles, as a definite sign of backing up “*Haftar and his militias*” for his offensive on Tripoli. Note of the fact that Libya is under the UN-arms embargo since the Libyan revolution 2011. *Lexicalization* technique was applied by using “deny” illustrating the UAE accusation of fuel the war and violation of the UN arms embargo, also the editor *categorized* UAE with the “out-group” by emphasizing its evil deeds.

The above headline is supported by the macro-strategy of emphasizing the negative things about “them” the UAE, by referring to the American-made missiles which were found with Haftar’s forces and sent by UAE, ignoring that Libya is under UN-arm embargo since 2011.

4. “U.S. Missiles found in Libyan Rebel camp were first sold to France. July 9, 2019.”

In the same week, the newspaper published similar news relevant to the American-made missiles which were found in Libya with Haftar’s militias. The editor topicalized the U.S missiles as the focus of the event, also the *lexical choice* of “rebel camp” describes one of the warring parties (Haftar’s militias) as rebels who are fighting against their legitimate government to change the political system. Here, the news tells that those missiles were firstly sent to France, and then from France to Haftar’s militias, which were used for the attacks on Tripoli against the UN-recognized government, as a sign of France’s support for “*Haftar*” against the UN-recognized government. The editor employed *polarization* strategy by categorizing France “out-group” with negative features, by sending U.S missiles to the rebels to escalate the war in Libya and aiding them to overthrow the legitimate government. The *evidentiality* was employed by proving the fact of finding missiles in Libya with Haftar’s militias that were sold to France then France sent them to the rebels, thus, France violated the UN arms embargo on Libya. This was a clear indication of France’s support for rebels. The headline supports the macro-strategy of emphasizing the negative things about “them” France by proving that the American-made missiles were first sold to France, then France sent them to Haftar to support him to fight the UN-recognized government.

4.3.2.3 The Washington Post

1. “In Libya, fears of full-blown civil war as fighting nears capital Tripoli. April 6.”

Libya was regarded as the *actor* of this event, it showed where the event took place. Also, the editor started with it to be the central topic of the news. *Lexicalization* was employed by mentioning these terms “fears, full-blown, civil war” as a clear identification of the negative attitudes towards the escalation of the war in Libya between Haftar’s militias which is based in the east of Libya and headed by Khalifa Haftar, and the UN-recognized government which is based in Tripoli and headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj. Haftar announced an offensive against the capital to establish control over Tripoli. The *polarization* strategy was applied by categorizing Haftar’s militias “out-group” with negative characteristics by entering Libya in a civil war. The headline reflects the second aspect of macro-analysis according to Van Dijk’s

terminology that is emphasizing the negative things about “them” by depicting Haftar as the reason behind the full-blown civil war in Libya.

2. *“Trump’s call renegade Libyan general could signal a shift in U.S. policy. April 19.”*

Trump was depicted as the *actor* of the statement, who has the authority to make changes in the U.S policy of their attitudes towards the Libyan situation. Some countries revealed their support to Haftar’s militias, such as Russia, France, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt, against the UN-recognized government, after Haftar attacked Tripoli to control it. The *lexicalization* technique was employed by using these lexical items “renegade Libyan general” without referring to his name “Haftar” to give him less attention. The *vagueness* strategy was employed by not providing certain facts about the reality behind Trump’s call to Haftar, and as it was known that Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said that the United States was “deeply concerned” and that “we have made clear that we oppose the military offensive” by Haftar’s forces. The headline presents the third aspect of the macro-analysis by de-emphasizing the negative things about “us” by not providing the readers with enough information about Trump’s call, as it was unexpected action from Trump since the US supports the UN-recognized government. Consequently, the editor attempted to maintain the news vague and avoid stressing on more details.

3. *“Turkey accuses Libyan commander of detaining Turkish citizens, threatens retaliation. The Middle East. June.30.”*

Turkey was portrayed as the *actor* in which the main focus of this event was on it. The editor employed the *lexicalization* technique by utilizing “accuse, detaining, threatens” referring to the Turkish government situation towards “Haftar” and what he did to the Turkish citizens who lived in the east of Libya, which is under his control. Haftar’s militias detained Turkish citizens as a sign of rejection of Turkish intervention in Libyan affairs. Subsequently, the Turkish government responded with threatened retaliation in the case of Turkish citizens are not released. Here, the headline indicated the strategy of *authority* by mentioning Turkey accusing and threatening Haftar and his militias. The headline reflects the second aspect of the macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about “them” by stating that Haftar is detaining Turkish citizens who live in the east of Libya where LNA is based.

4. “US missiles found in Libya compound belonged to France. July 10”

The headline started by topicalizing US missiles and illustrating them as the *actor* of the news. The topic was about the American-made missiles which were found in Libya, the investigation revealed that those missiles were first sold to France. Consequently, France sent them to Libya to support Haftar’s militias in their attacks against the UN-recognized government which is headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj. Furthermore, France, in the headline was *categorized* by their negative actions of providing weapons and fuel the war as well as violating the UN arms embargo on Libya since 2011. The *evidentiality* technique was employed by presenting the proof of finding missiles that were sent by France to escalate the conflict in Libya. Therefore, the macro-analysis was presented by emphasizing the negative things about “them” France, by stating that the American-made missiles belonged to France, and France sent them to back up Haftar in his war on Tripoli.

4.3.2.4 Bloomberg

1. “Libya showdown looms as Haftar orders advance on Tripoli. April 4”

Libya in the headline was topicalized and depicted as the *actor* of the event that illustrated where the event took place, also the *lexical choices* of “showdown loom, orders, advanced on” displayed negative sense and vagueness of the offensive that was launched by “Haftar” and the consequences of it that might enter Libya into a civil war. Also, the editor used Haftar without referring him to any position. The news *categorized* “Haftar” with his negative actions when he announced an attack on Tripoli to take control of it. The macro-analysis was reflected in the headline by emphasizing the negative things about “them” Haftar, that was displayed in “Haftar orders advance on Tripoli” to establish control over Tripoli and overthrow the legitimate government that headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj.

2. “Pompeo Warns Libyan Warlord's Forces to Halt Advance on Tripoli. April.8.”

The Secretary of the United States Michael Pompeo was depicted in the headline as the *actor* of the news, who expressed his deep concern about the warlord Haftar’s threat to the internationally recognized government. The *authority* technique was employed by mentioning Pompeo warns Haftar’s forces to halt the advance on the capital, where the internationally recognized government is based and headed by the Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj. *Lexical choices* that were used in the headline “warns,

halt” expressed Pompeo’s negative attitude towards Haftar’s military attack on Tripoli. The headline *categorized* “Haftar” with negative actions of launching an offensive on Tripoli to control it. Therefore, the macro-analysis reflects in this headline by emphasizing the negative things about “them” Haftar and his advancing on Tripoli to overthrow the UN-recognized government and take control of Tripoli.

3. *“Libya says missile find shows France is Backing Haftar offensive. July 14.”*

Libya was the *actor* of the news that accused France of sending weapons to Haftar’s militias after missiles were found with the militias who are loyal to “Haftar”. *Lexicalization* technique was employed by mention “missiles, backing up, offensive”, the lexical choices gave negative connotations towards the news and categorized “France” with negative acts for fuelling the war in Libya and choosing to back up one side against the internationally recognized government which is headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj and based in Tripoli. The *evidentiality strategy* was employed by revealing this serious accusation from Libya against France of sending missiles to Libya although Libya is under the UN arms embargo since 2011. The headline supports the second aspect of the macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about “them” France by mentioning that Libya accuses France of sending missiles to Haftar and backing his offensive.

4. *“Putin-linked mercenaries are fighting on Libya’s front lines. September 25.”*

Russian President Putin was depicted as the *actor* of the news, who has the *authority* to send mercenaries to fight in Libya. The editor described the fighters who were sent to Libya as “mercenaries”, those who fight for any group or country that pays them, as a definite sign of Russian involvement in the Libyan conflict. Similarly, the editor demonstrated how Russian mercenaries who are allied to Putin, are involved in fighting by mentioning “in front lines” as referring to the great role that Russia plays in escalating the war and backing up Haftar’s militias, who fight to overthrow the legitimate government headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj, to take the control over the country. The news *categorized* Russia with negative actions for sending mercenaries to Libya to support one group against the UN-recognized government, which depicted Russia as a significant factor in fuelling the war in Libya.

The headline presents the second phase of the macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about “them” Russia, by mentioning that Russia is backing up Haftar in his offensive against Tripoli by sending mercenaries to fight with Haftar’s forces.

Table 4.1: The Frequency of Using the Micro-Strategies (25 Discursive Strategies) in Russian and American Headlines.

Discursive Strategies	TASS	Russia Today	Russia Insider	Sputnik	The Wall Street Journal	The New York times	The Washington Post	Bloomberg
Actor Description	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3
Authority	4	2	1	4	3	1	1	2
Burden (Topos)							1	
Categorization	1	1			1	1		3
Comparison								
Consensus								
Counterfactual								
Disclaimer					1			
Euphemism								
Evidentiality				2	2	3	1	2
Generalization								
Hyperbole		1						
Illustration/Example								
Implication	2	1	1		1			
Irony								
Lexicalization		2	3		2	4	3	3
Metaphor								
National Self-Glorification								
Norm Expression								
Number Game								
Polarization			3	1		2	1	
Populism			1					
Presupposition		1						
Vagueness	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	
Victimization								

All headlines of the selected newspapers almost utilized the same discursive strategies. However, Russian used those strategies to support Haftar and his allies at all levels and demonstrate “Haftar” as a strong political figure who will secure Libya from terrorists’ grips. On the other hand, American newspapers used the discursive strategies to introduce their policies to the entire world as well as support the legitimate Libyan government headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj against Haftar and his allies (Russia, France, UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt).

Table 4.2: The Frequency of Using the Four Aspects of Macro-Strategies in Russian and American Headlines.

Newspapers	Emphasize Positive Things About ‘Us’	Emphasize Negative Things About ‘Them’	De-Emphasize Negative Things About ‘Us’	De-Emphasize Positive Things About ‘Them’
TASS	3		2	
Russia Today	1	1	2	
Russia Insider	1	3		
Sputnik	2	2		
The Wall Street Journal	1	2	1	
The New York Times		4		
The Washington Post		3	1	
Bloomberg		4		

Russian headlines tended to highlight the positive actions by “Us” the party they support “Haftar”, by emphasizing on how he moved on Tripoli to liberate the Libyan capital from terrorists and ISIS. Whereas the American headlines depicted how the “Other” Haftar, his fighters, and supporters are crucially fighting and launching an offensive on Tripoli.

4.4 Second Level of Analysis: The Analysis of Full-Text Stories

4.4.1 Russian news reports

4.4.1.1 Tass

- “UN Security Council begins discussing Libya behind closed doors. World 5 April.”
- 1. “An emergency session of the UN Security Council, which convened on the United Kingdom’s initiative, began behind closed doors at the organization’s headquarters in New York on Friday evening. A spokesperson for the UN Secretariat earlier said that the UN special envoy to Libya, Ghassan Salame, will make a report to Security Council members via a video linkup.”

According to Van Dijk’s terminology, UN Security Council can be regarded as an *actor*, which has the authority to organize an emergency session on the UK’s initiative in New York and keep it secret from the public view. Nevertheless, the editor employed *implication* and *vagueness* strategies by not providing the readers with

enough information about the UN session which was taken place in New York secretly, such as, why the UK asked for this emergency session, why it was emergency, and why they kept it behind the closed doors. In addition, a spokesperson stated that Mr. Ghassan Salame, the UN special envoy to Libya will deliver a report via a video linkup to the Security Council members. Similarly, here the editor utilized the *vagueness* strategies once again by not clarifying what the UN envoy to Libya Ghassan Salame wanted to release by providing a report to the members of the security council and avoiding to rationalize the reasons for holding an emergency session about Libya. This news was released on the 5th of April a day after Haftar's announcing an offensive on Tripoli to establish control over it and overthrow the legitimate government which is based in Tripoli and headed by Fayez Al-Sarraj. However, the story was ambiguous and did not indicate the actual situation in Libya nor the violence that was committed against Tripoli.

2. *"Russia's stance on the problem was reflected in an earlier statement by the Russian Foreign Ministry, in which Moscow expressed its support to the UN Secretary General's efforts to de-escalate tensions and urged the sides to avoid the use of force."*

The second paragraph illustrated the Russian's stance towards the Libyan situation which was reflected in an earlier declaration by the Russian foreign ministry, the *lexicalization* strategy was employed when the editor used "problem" instead of referring to the precise situation in Libya and accusing one of the warring parties of the offensive on Tripoli. In addition, the Russian foreign ministry expressed the Russian support to the UN Secretary General's efforts to reduce tensions and urge the warring sides not to use force. Nevertheless, the *vagueness* strategy was also utilized by keeping the news vague and not providing extra information about the real situation in Libya, and why the Russian foreign minister agrees with the UN Secretary-General to urge the sides to avoid using force and decrease the tension.

3. *"We are joining this appeal. We think that all Libyan sides involved should exercise calmness and restraint. It is evident that a military scenario might knock down the already extremely complicated situation in the country and to end up in new casualties and destruction," the Russian Foreign Ministry said in a statement."*

4. *"This scenario will delay the prospect for a balanced, inclusive political process under the auspices of the United Nations with a final goal of establishing unified, efficient governmental institutions through general elections, the statement said."*

The third and fourth paragraphs expressed the statement of the Russian foreign ministry, which he stressed on all sides who are involved in the Libyan debacle to remain calm and avoid the military scenario in Libya, which is already suffering from a complicated situation. The *vagueness* technique was reflected by not mentioning the Libyan parties who are involved that should remain calm and de-escalate tension, the Russian minister did not refer to that side Russia backs up, that is "Haftar and his militias" who launched an offensive on Tripoli to take control of it. He intended to make the situation as if Libyan parties are fighting for power, not that one party announced explicitly a war on Tripoli and wants to overthrow the UN-recognized government which is headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj and based in Tripoli.

5. *"We confirm that there is no other option but a political solution in Libya and so we urge Libya's leading military and political forces to show a necessary sense of responsibility for the country's fate, to refrain from military means in the power struggle and to embark on a path of joint decision-making to solve priority tasks of Libyan statehood's restoration, including the war on terror, the foreign ministry stressed."*

In this paragraph, the Russian foreign minister stressed on the fact that there is no military solution to end the unstable situation in Libya, but a political one. The *presupposition* strategy was employed when the minister stated that "Russia confirms that there is no other option but a political solution in Libya" to insert into the readers' minds that Russia is against any military solutions from any sides that are involved in the Libyan conflict, while the actual case is that Russia is backing up "Haftar's militias" on their attack against the Libyan capital, Tripoli.

6. *"Situation in Libya escalated during the visit of UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres. Currently, the country has two governments: Tripoli's Government of National Accord, led by Prime Minister Fayeze al-Sarraj and recognized by the international community, and the interim Cabinet of Abdullah Al-Thani, who is acting in the country's east together with the elected parliament and supported by the Libyan National Army of Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar."*

7. *“On Thursday, Haftar announced the launch of an offensive on Tripoli to retake the capital from terrorists and armed groups. The army is advancing to the capital now and, as some media reported, has already approached the city’s outskirts. Meanwhile, al-Sarraj ordered all military units subordinate to him to be on alert and to use force if necessary “to defend the civilian population and critical facilities.”*

In the sixth paragraph, the editor attempted to provide the readers with some information about the Libyan situation and who rules the country. The *lexicalization* and *authority* techniques were reflected when the editor stated that one of the Libyan governments is “Tripoli’s Government of National Accord” to signify that this government which is led by Fayez Al-Sarraj does merely control Tripoli, and referred to the other government that is based in the east of Libya acting cooperatively with an elected parliament and supported by the “Libyan National Army of Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar.” to give this government sense of *authority* that can establish control over Libya, and to put more emphasis on “Haftar” as a field marshal who runs the Libya national army.

Similarly, *actor description*, *authority* strategies were employed in the seventh paragraph, Haftar can be regarded as an *actor* who has the *authority* who launched an offensive on Tripoli, to rescue the Libyan civilians from the terrorists as he and the newspaper claimed. By mentioning these actions of Haftar, *categorization* and *polarization* techniques were used to demonstrate Haftar as the strongman who can save the county from terrorism, and to *polarize* the other government which is the UN-recognized and based in Tripoli, as terrorists who support armed groups and control the country by force.

8. *“In the meantime, Al-Hadath television channel said that at a meeting with Antonio Guterres in Benghazi on Friday, Haftar notified the UN Secretary-General that he would not negotiate with terrorists but would liberate Libya’s capital from them. According to the sources cited by the TV channel, Guterres asked Haftar to abide by generally recognized rules for military operations and by the international laws.” “Later, the UN Secretary-General wrote on his Twitter page that he was leaving Libya with a heavy heart and deeply concerned.”.*

In the last paragraph of the news report, the editor used the “Al-Hadath TV channel” as a source to report what Haftar reported to the UN Secretary-General. It is worth noting that “Al-Hadath TV Channel” is an Arabic TV channel that is funded by Saudi Arabia, and Saudi Arabia is one of the countries that back up Haftar. Moreover, in this sentence “*Haftar would not negotiate with terrorists but would liberate Libya’s capital from them*” Haftar was depicted as an *actor* who has the ultimate *authority* to liberate Libyan capital from terrorists and he had no intention to negotiate with them, referring to the UN-recognized government. According to Van Dijk’s framework, the *polarization* strategy was employed by describing the UN-recognized government as terrorists who control Tripoli.

In terms of macro-analysis of the news reports, based on Van Dijk’s Ideological Square, the first aspect was reflected by emphasizing the positive things about “us” Russia by stating that Russia urges warring sides to stop fighting for power and there is no military solution to end the conflict in Libya. Similarly, the third aspect was highlighted by de-emphasizing the negative things about “us” Haftar, when the situation in Libya was not illustrated precisely and the offensive that was launched by Haftar was avoided to be stated.

- “*Libyan National Army’s air force strikes Tripoli international airport.9 April.*”
- 1. “*A fighter jet of the Libyan National Army (LNA) under the command of Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar has carried out a strike on Tripoli’s international airport on Tuesday, Sky News Arabia TV channel reports.*”
- 2. “*According to the TV channel, the air raid targeted the positions of armed units loyal to Tripoli’s Government of National Accord (GNA) headed by Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj. No reports on the aftermath of the air raid have emerged yet.*”

According to Van Dijk’s terminology, “Khalifa Haftar” was regarded as an *actor* in the first part, who has the *authority* to lead the Libyan National Army and to carry out strikes on Tripoli’s international airport. The news cited from “Sky News Arabia TV channel” which is funded by one of the Emirate ruling family members, and it is important to point out that UAE is backing up Haftar on his offensive on Tripoli. Similarly, the *vagueness* strategy was utilized by mentioning Tripoli international

airport which stopped functioning since the Libyan civil war in 2014, instead of stating “Mitiga airport” which has been functioning as the main airport since 2014.

3. *“On Monday, the LNA air force struck the Mitiga airport, which has been acting as an international airport since 2014 when the main national airport was almost fully destroyed during ongoing battles between the opposing factions in Tripoli. Yesterday, following the raid the airport's operation was fully suspended, while all passengers and staff were evacuated. Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) Ghassan Salame condemned the strike on the civilian facility, branding it as a brazen violation of international law. LNA Spokesperson Brigadier General Ahmed Al-Mesmari clarified that the raid targeted the GNA's fighter jets. By the evening, the Mitiga airport had resumed its operation.”*

In the above paragraph, the editor attempted to give an explanation about the incident happened in Tripoli, according to Van Dijk's framework, LNA was depicted as an actor that has the *authority* to strike the main airport in Tripoli, which has been functioning since 2014 instead of the international airport that was mostly destroyed in the civil war. The use of *evidentiality* technique was reflected by mentioning the “ongoing battles between the opposing factions in Tripoli” to prove that Tripoli has been suffering from battles for so long, and LNA's mission is to set Tripoli free. In addition, the *implication* strategy was highlighted when the LNA spokesperson clarified that “the raid targeted the GNA's fighter jets” he did not state enough information to help the reader comprehend why LNA targeted the GNA's jets, and whether there were victims or not, he attempted to provide brief and deduct information and keep it vague.

4. *“In 2011, during the course of the civil war, Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi was killed by insurgents which led to devastating consequences for the country both politically and economically. Currently, Libya has two supreme executive authorities, namely Tripoli's Government of National Accord recognized by the international community and headed by Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj and the interim government headed by Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thani, which operates in the country's east along with the elected parliament and is supported by the Libyan National Army.”*

In this part, the editor attempted to provide the readers with brief information about the situation in Libya since 2011 until the latest ongoing conflict. The *lexicalization* strategy was reflected by mentioning “Tripoli’s government of National accord” as a signal that this government merely controls Tripoli, to give the reader negative connotations towards the UN-recognized government headed by the Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj, as a weak political figure. Moreover, *presupposition* technique was employed by repeating that Libya has two governments: one in Tripoli and the other government is headed by Abdulla Al-Thani that controls the east part of Libya, working cooperatively with the elected parliament and supported by the Libyan National Army that led by Haftar, as an attempt to insert this situation as a fact into readers’ minds and to legitimize Haftar as a legitimate political figure in Libya. It is important to take into account that the elected parliament tenure has expired but they extended their work.

The news reports reflected the first aspect of the macro-analysis of emphasizing the positive things about “us” Haftar who leads the LNA, by demonstrating him as a powerful political player in Libyan affairs who is successfully advancing on Tripoli and striking the only functioning airport in Tripoli.

- *“Russia’s Foreign Ministry urges Libya’s warring sides to stop fighting for power. WORLD.April.11.”*
- 1. *“Moscow calls on the conflicting sides in Libya not to use military methods in the power struggle, but to return to the UN-brokered peace plan, Russian Foreign Ministry Spokeswoman Maria Zakharova said at a briefing on Thursday.”*

According to Van Dijk’s terminology, Moscow can be depicted as an *actor* in the first paragraph that has *authority* over the fighting sides and urges them to stop fighting for power.

- 2. *“With any determination and persistence possible, Russia points out that there are no other options but a political settlement based on the action plan drafted by UN Special Envoy for Libya [Ghassan Salom·]. It is necessary to refuse from military methods while struggling for power and that it is crucial for all responsible Libyan military and political forces to team up in order to revive national unity and to form viable governmental institutions, which will be*

capable of grappling with priorities, of course, including the war on terror, she stressed.”

3. *“The Russian diplomat recalled that since the recent flare-up in Libya, the international community had been urging the warring sides to halt fighting and to sit at the negotiating table. She added that the recent escalation was on the table of the United Nations Security Council’s session.”*

Similarly, in the second paragraph, the Russian Foreign Minister can be regarded as an *actor* who has the authority to make statements about the Libyan conflict and stressed on the conflict parties to halt fighting for power and urge them to sit at the negotiation table as soon as possible, the *vagueness* technique was also employed by mentioning “military methods and political forces” avoiding naming the warring parties nor clarifying the precise situation in Libya that made the Russian Foreign Ministry make such statement. The two parties are the UN-recognized government based in Tripoli and headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj, and LNA headed by Haftar and based in eastern Libya. In addition, mentioning “recent flare-up” and not telling the offensive on Tripoli that was launched by Haftar to gain control of Tripoli.

4. *“In 2011, rebels killed Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi during the civil war. Currently, Libya has two cabinets, which are Tripoli’s world-recognized government of National Accord headed by Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj and the interim government headed by Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thani, which operates alongside the elected parliament in the country’s east and is supported by the Libyan National Army (LNA).”*
5. *“On April 4, LNA Commander Khalifa Haftar announced the launch of an offensive on Tripoli. Meanwhile, Fayez al-Sarraj ordered all military units subordinate to him to be put on alert. Now, the fighting is raging on the capital’s outskirts.”*

Lexicalization technique was utilized by describing Libyans who were against the Libyan regime as “rebels” who killed the Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi in the Libyan revolution in 2011, the editor depicted the revolution as a “civil war” as a signal that Russia refused the Libyan revolution in 2011 and overthrowing of the Libyan leader. Moreover, the *presupposition* strategy was reflected by repeating in more than one news report that Libya has two governments, the first one is the UN-recognized government based in Tripoli, and the second is led by Haftar. However, the

new report attempted to depict the legitimate government as the government which controls Tripoli only by stating “Tripoli’s world-recognized government”, and the interim government headed by Abdullah Al-Thani that controls the eastern parts of Libya cooperatively with the LNA led by Haftar. By repeating the two governments the editor attempted to legitimize Haftar as a strong political figure who can govern Libya. Similarly, in the fifth paragraph, LNA commander Khalifa Haftar was demonstrated as an *actor* of the event who has the *authority* to launch an offensive on Libyan capital, also the *implication* strategy was utilized by not providing the readers with enough information about the offensive and the reasons behind it.

According to Van Dijk’s macro-analysis, the news reports employed the first aspect by emphasizing the positive things about “us” Russia and demonstrating how Russia refused any kinds of military solutions to end the Libyan debacle.

- *“Russian involvement in Libyan conflict regulation does not serve any purpose — US diplomat WORLD 16 APR.”*
- 1. *“The US is against Russia’s involvement in Libyan conflict regulation, US Acting Assistant Secretary of State David M. Satterfield stated on Monday during a briefing in Brussels.”*
- 2. *“We do not believe that Russian involvement in this conflict serves any useful purpose,” he said. “It is external meddling which we hope comes to a close as rapidly as possible. It is opportunistic. It attempts to capitalize upon gray areas, conflict areas, and little good is served by it.”*

According to Van Dijk’s terminology, the US can be regarded as an *actor* of the news that has the *authority* to claim that the Russian involvement in Libyan conflict was a wrong decision. Furthermore, in the second part, the US secretary highlighted that the Russian involvement in Libya does not operate any useful aim, by stating this, the *categorization* strategy was employed by highlighting the US as a supportive of the UN-recognized government and against the LNA which is headed by Haftar. Additionally, the *vagueness* strategy was explicitly highlighted, by not mentioning which kind of involvement that Russia was engaged in nor which of the warring sides Russia was backing up, the news was ambiguous and not to the point.

3. *“Currently, Libya has two supreme executive authorities, namely Tripoli’s government of National Accord recognized by the international community and headed by Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj, and the interim government headed by Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thani, which operates in the country’s east along with the elected parliament and is supported by the Libyan National Army.”*

In the third part, the *presupposition* discursive strategy was employed by retelling in most of the news reports in this newspapers that Libya has two governments, referring to the UN-recognized government as the government which merely controls Tripoli, and emphasizing on the LNA which is headed by Haftar as a strong political competitive.

4. *“On April 4, Field Marshal of the Libyan National Army Khalifa Haftar announced the launch of an offensive against Tripoli. Sarraj ordered all military units loyal to him to gear up to defend the capital. The warring factions are currently involved in battles along the outskirts of Tripoli.”*
5. *“Russia’s Permanent Representative to the UN Vasily Nebenzya stated earlier that Russia does not support any side of the conflict and calls for national reconciliation in Libya.”*

Lexicalization strategy was reflected in this part, by mentioning Haftar’s military position when he was depicted as Field Marshal of the Libya National Army, to give him a sense of sovereignty, likewise, *actor* and *authority* strategies were employed by demonstrating Haftar as the Field Marshal who has the *authority* to lead the Libyan National Army and launch an offensive on the Libyan capital. In the fifth part, the *counterfactual* strategy was employed by stating that the Russian representative to the UN claimed that Russia does not support any of the warring parties, by doing so, Russia attempts to persuade the world that they do not have any purpose to be involved in the Libyan conflict and they do not back up any of the conflicting sides, while the fact is Russia backs up Haftar on his offensive on Tripoli to establish control over it.

The first aspect of the macro-strategy according to Van Dijk’s Ideological Square was employed in this news reports, by emphasizing the positive things about “us” Russia and stressing on what the US diplomat has stated that Russian involvement does not serve any purpose.

4.4.1.2 Russia Today (RT)

- *“Libyan strongman Haftar orders troops to move on Tripoli. April.4”*
- 1. *“Eastern Libyan commander Khalifa Haftar has ordered his troops to move on the capital Tripoli, the seat of the UN-backed government of Prime Minister Fayeze al-Sarraj.”*
- 2. *“In an audio address broadcast to his troops and published on Facebook, Haftar ordered all army units to “advance to Tripoli,” and free the capital from “militias and terrorists.” The Thursday address came hours after Haftar’s forces captured the town of Gharyan, 100km south of the capital.”*

Following Van Dijk’s terminology, “Eastern Libyan commander Khalifa Haftar” was regarded as an actor with an absolute authority to give instructions to his forces to advance on Tripoli and overthrow the UN-recognized government that headed by the Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj. Moreover, the *counterfactual* discursive strategy was employed by stating that Haftar and his forces are advancing on Tripoli to liberate it from terrorists and militia. In addition, it was mentioned that Haftar’s forces seized the town of Gharyan which is 100km south far from Tripoli, to persuade the readers that Haftar is approaching to control Tripoli to dissipate all illegal militias.

- 3. *“Haftar also vowed to protect foreigners, civilians, and those surrendering to his troops, promising to ensure their “safety and security.”*

The *counterfactual* technique was reflected in stating that “Haftar vowed to protect and promising to ensure safety and security to all foreigners and civilians” to let the readers believe that Haftar’s purpose is to bring back peace to Libya and provide Libyans with good standards of living.

- 4. *“Libya has descended into chaos since NATO began bombing the country in March 2011, in support of Islamist rebels. After former leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi was murdered in October of that year, Libya spiraled into full-blown civil war and humanitarian catastrophe, marked by the prevalence of open-air slave markets trafficking migrants from sub-Saharan Africa and the surge of terrorism, including actions by Islamic State (IS, formerly ISIS/ISIL).”*

In the light of Van Dijk's framework, the *presupposition* discursive strategy was applied by referring to the Libyan debacle and blaming NATO for turning Libya into chaos and enter the country into full-blown civil war. Russia refused NATO intervention into Libya in 2011, although Russia did not veto. By blaming NATO for supporting rebels and Islamists as Russia claims, here, a *counterfactual* strategy was employed by referring to "humanitarian catastrophe, slave markets and terrorism" to shape the minds of readers and lead them to think of the legitimate government as a terrorist organization that governs Libya by force and wasting its oil fields. Not to be forgotten that the legitimate Libyan government which is based in Tripoli and headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj is supported by NATO.

5. *"Power was eventually split between al-Sarraj's government in Tripoli and Haftar's LNA in Tobruk, with lawless patches of the desert to the south controlled by nomadic tribes, militias, and criminals. The LNA subsequently expanded its influence on Benghazi and beyond, and now controls around two-thirds of the country. The Tripoli government controls roughly seven percent of Libyan territory."*

In like manner, a *counterfactual* discursive strategy was reflected in stating the political figures who control Libya besides the UN-recognized government, to influence the readers and lead them to believe that the UN-recognized government is not the only legitimate government in Libya. Further, *number game* technique was highlighted by emphasizing that Haftar controls about two-thirds of Libya while the legitimate government controls almost seven percent of the country, by doing so, the editor attempted to convince the readers that Haftar is a powerful player who has the absolute authority to shift Libyan affairs into Libyans favor as well as dissipate all kinds of militias of Tripoli. Therefore, the first aspect of the macro-analysis of emphasizing the positive things about "us" Haftar was reflected by depicting Haftar as the strongman who ordered his troops to advance on Tripoli and liberate the capital from extremist militias.

- *"Only functioning airport in Libya's Tripoli hit by an air raid. 8. April."*
- 1. *"A military aircraft belonging to the Libyan National Army forces have reportedly targeted Mitiga airport, located in the Libyan capital's eastern suburb. Commanded by Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar the group challenged the government in Tripoli for power"*

A military aircraft can be regarded as an *actor*, and the *authority* strategy was reflected in the Libyan National army who has the vast ability and absolute authority to target the only functioning airport in Tripoli.

2. *“Earlier Haftar vowed to seize Tripoli and “liberate” it from those he called “militias and terrorists.” In response, the UN-backed government launched a counteroffensive dubbed ‘Volcano of Rage’ to stop Haftar’s approaching troops.”*

Lexicalization technique was employed by using “vowed to seize, liberate, militias and terrorists” to influence the readers and lead them to believe that Haftar came from the east of Libya and determined to set Tripoli free from terrorists who govern the capital by force, describing the UN-recognized government as militias and terrorists.

3. *“Now, most of the country is controlled by Haftar’s forces. So far, at least 25 people have allegedly been killed since clashes broke out on the outskirts of Tripoli”*

Presupposition discursive technique was employed by mentioning that Haftar controls most of Libya, to persuade the reader that Haftar is the legitimate leader to be. Consequently, according to Van Dijk’s terminology, the first aspect of macro-analysis was presented as emphasizing the positive things about “us” Haftar, by presenting Haftar as the only solution that can liberate the country from extremists and religious militias that control Libya.

- *“Libyan National Army jet shot down over Tripoli as Haftar visits Egypt. 14. April.”*
- 1. *“A warplane belonging to General Khalifa Haftar’s troops has been shot down by forces loyal to the UN-backed government, its military spokesperson has claimed. It comes as Haftar is visiting the Egyptian president in Cairo.”*

According to van Dijk’s terminology, General Khalifa Haftar can be regarded as an *actor*, who has the *authority* to lead troops and carry out strikes on Tripoli to control it and overthrow the UN-recognized government headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj. Further, *evidentiality* reflected by mentioning that Haftar is visiting Egypt to meet the Egyptian president, to prove that Haftar is a powerful player in Libyan affairs.

2. *“The incident took place as Haftar, who supports a Tobruk-based rival Libyan government and claims to control some 80 percent of the country’s territory, met with the Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi to discuss the developments in Libya.”*

Number game discursive strategy was employed by stating that Haftar controls about 80 percent of Libya, subsequently, he is perceived as a powerful political figure, who has the absolute *authority* to meet presidents of other countries and discuss the latest Libyan issues.

3. *“Haftar’s forces last week launched an offensive against militias supporting the GNA in the west of the country, calling them “illegal armed groups.” Clashes have resulted in the cancellation of an UN-sponsored peace conference, which sought to negotiate a power-sharing arrangement between Haftar and the internationally recognized government of Prime Minister Fayeze al-Sarraj, which controlled less than 8 percent of Libya’s territory at the start of Haftar’s offensive.”*

Haftar’s forces were depicted as *actors* of the news that have the *authority* to launch an offensive against Tripoli to overthrow the legitimate government headed by the Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj. Similarly, the *counterfactual* discursive technique was used by depicting the UN-recognized government as “illegal armed groups” to lead the readers to believe that the legitimate government is constituted by extremist illegal militias who govern Tripoli by force, and the only solution to dissipate those militias is Haftar. Moreover, the *number game* strategy was used by stating “internationally recognized government controls less than 8 percent of Libya” consequently, Haftar controls the rest.

4. *“Libya has been gripped by civil war chaos since 2011 when NATO-backed Islamist rebels overthrew and brutally killed the nation’s long-time strongman Muammar Gaddafi. In wake of the new armed standoff, the remaining US forces in Libya pulled out from Tripoli.”*

Presupposition discursive strategy was highlighted by mentioning that the NATO supported Islamist rebels in Libya in 2011 to overthrow the leader Muammar Al-Ghaddafi. When the Libyan revolution broke out in 2011, Russia refused the NATO intervention, since that time Russia does not waste any opportunity to blame NATO

for the Libyan debacle and supporting extremists. Not to be forgotten that the legitimate government headed by Fayez Al-Sarraj is supported by NATO. The first aspect of the macro-analysis of emphasizing the positive things about “us” Haftar was reflected in this news reports by reporting that Haftar visits Egypt to meet the president, who backs up Haftar in his offensive on Tripoli, and to present Haftar as a legitimate political figure.

- *“Oil is everything’: Why Western allies like US & France swing weight in favor of Libya's Haftar. 20. April.”*
- 1. *“Forces loyal to General Khalifa Haftar are steadily advancing towards Tripoli, where the UN-recognized Government of National Accord (GNA) calls for help and hastily prepares to defend the troubled Libyan capital. But Western powers, who established formal ties to GNA, are also keeping in touch with their arch-rival – just because he controls an asset that decides almost everything in the war-torn country.”*

According to Van Dijk’s terminology, General Khalifa Haftar was regarded as an *actor* who has the power to lead forces and advance towards Tripoli steadily, while the editor attempted to describe the UN-recognized government as a weak government and needs help to defend Tripoli. However, the western community is still swinging between the legitimate government and Haftar’s forces, for the reason that Haftar controls most of Libya’s oil fields, and this is what is going to determine everything in Libya. In this process, *vagueness* strategy was employed by mention “Western powers, who establish formal ties to GNA, are also keeping in touch with their arch-rival”, so the West is going to support the strongest in the battleground who will control the oil.

- 2. *“Unsurprisingly, natural resources dominate much of the discussions between Haftar and major powers. This week, President Donald Trump hailed the Libyan strongman's "significant role in fighting terrorism and securing Libya's oil resources" in a phone call.”*
- 3. *“The move seems to signal that the US is swinging its weight in favor of Haftar, Bruno believes.”*

In this part, *evidentiality* discursive strategy was reflected by mentioning the call between President Trump and Haftar, when the former called the latter and supported

him for fighting terrorism and protecting Libyan oil, this will influence the readers to think that Haftar is the legitimate political figure since Trump supported him.

4. *"It certainly suggests that Trump will not be obstructing Haftar's push into Tripoli as [GNA's] Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj was hoping," he said. Sarraj is seen as weak, "and Trump does not like the weak ... also he is backed by the UN, and Trump doesn't like the UN."*

The *counterfactual* strategy was applied by stating that Trump will not prevent Haftar to advance towards Tripoli, and he will support Haftar since he is perceived as a powerful player in the Libyan political scene.

5. *"Meanwhile, France, which has long-standing interests in former African colonies, wants him to become the one who may influence things in Tripoli."*

The *evidentiality* strategy was employed by mentioning that France wants Haftar to establish control over Tripoli, so France can achieve its interest in Africa.

6. *"Politics aside, France has also been aiding Haftar's Libyan National Army (LNA). Likewise, Paris hopes that Haftar will advance French interests in the region, be it arms sales or drilling for oil."*
7. *"French military advisers helped run the LNA staff, provided it with intelligence, and trained its troops inside Libya."*

The *evidentiality* discursive strategy was used by emphasizing that France aids Haftar and supplies him with arms as well as has the *authority* to train Haftar's troops. However, it is important to mention that Libya is under the UN-arms embargo since 2011. Therefore, per Van's Dijk's terminology, the second aspect of the macro-analysis was presented in this news reports by emphasizing the negative things about "them" the US and France, which was reflecting in demonstrating how the US and France are swinging between the two warring sides of Libya, in the interests of the oil and who controls most of the oil fields.

4.4.1.3 Russia Insider

- *"The US and NATO Will Always Share Blame for Libya's Re-Descent into Chaos. April.11."*
- 1. *"In early March, Middle East Monitor (MEMO) reported that during January and February of this year, Haftar had managed to take control of two-thirds of*

Libya with an eye for taking Tripoli, the country's capital. By that stage, he had already seized most of Libya's oil fields and major population centers. By early 2017, Haftar had already emerged as a major leader in eastern Libya, giving him control of about 60 percent of Libya's oil supply."

According to Van Dijk's terminology, the editor employed *authority* and *evidentiality* discursive strategies by using "Middle East Monitor (MEMO) to persuade the readers that a non-for press monitoring organization reported Haftar's achievements in two months only by managing to establish control over two-thirds of Libya with an intention to take control of Tripoli.

Similarly, the *presupposition* strategy was also used by claiming that Haftar already held most of Libyan's oil field, leading the reader to believe that Haftar is the one who controls most of the critical areas and oil fields in Libya. Consequently, he is supposed to be the legitimate political figure. Further, the *number game* strategy was used by mentioning that Haftar controls "two-thirds of Libya and 60 percent of Libya oil supply".

2. *"While the US and other notable powers have blamed the fighting squarely on Haftar and his forces, Russia appears to have disagreed, blocking a Security Council statement initiated by the UK to condemn Haftar."*

The *categorization* strategy was reflected when the US and other prominent countries were against Haftar by blaming him directly for his offensive on Tripoli, as a signal of supporting the UN-recognized government, while Russia was considered with Haftar and his offensive on the capital by stating that Russia disagreed and blocked the security council statement to condemn Haftar.

3. *"He also allegedly receives support from Egypt, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and even France, who has quietly been carrying out airstrikes on Haftar's opponents (Chadian opposition fighters)".*

The *evidentiality* discursive strategy was employed by mentioning the notable countries that support Haftar, such as Egypt, the UAE, and France. Moreover, the second aspect of the macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about "them" the USA and NATO, by blaming them for the Libya chaos since their intervention into Libya in 2011.

- *“American Policy on Libya Is Totally Incoherent. May.8.”*
- 1. *“The catalyst that sent the overall situation into an uncontrolled spiral was the phone call made on April 15 by US President Donald Trump to Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar declaring his support for Haftar. The Trump call was clearly unknown to the US State Department and probably other US agencies and departments, and even some of Trump’s closest advisors”.*

According to Van Dijk’s terminology, the US President Donald Trump can be regarded as an *actor* of the news who has the ultimate *authority* to make changes in public opinions and shift policies by making a call to Haftar who leads the Libyan National Army, supporting him for fighting terrorism and secure Libyan oil. Similarly, *lexicalization* strategy was employed when the editor used “catalyst” to refer to the significant changes that happened in the Libya case after Trump’s call to Haftar, to provide the readers with a mental image that this call means even the US supports Haftar, and he is the legitimate political figure to be. As well depicting him with a military position “Field Marshal”

- 2. *“A few days after Haftar’s offensive on April 4, France, Italy, the UAE, the UK, and the US released a joint statement calling for an end to the offensive. While other players like Egypt, Russia, and Saudi Arabia worked their back channels to Field Marshall Haftar. Total disunity quickly emerged between all these international players that have subsequently destroyed UN efforts to get a resolution on the situation.”*

France, Italy, the UAE, the UK, and the US can be regarded as *actors* of this news who have the *authority* to contribute to Libyan affairs and determine Libyan future by declaring statements calling to halt the offensive. The *vagueness* strategy was employed by merely mentioning “calling for an end to the offensive” without naming the warring sides nor telling who launched the offensive, in this way, the editor attempted to make the readers feel confused towards their vague declarations, the readers will not know whether those countries support the UN-recognized government or the LNA. Furthermore, the *lexicalization* technique was reflected by using the word “players” as referring to the countries they have a significant role in determining political affairs. Similarly, describing Haftar as “Field Marshall” to provide the readers with a positive connotation towards him. *Evidentiality* can be perceived by mentioning “Egypt, Russia, and Saudi Arabia worked their back channels to Field Marshall

Haftar” as a clear sign for their support to Haftar against the legitimate government headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj.

3. *“A White House statement on April 19 said Trump had discussed “ongoing counterterrorism efforts”, acknowledging the Field Marshal’s “significant role in fighting terrorism and securing Libya’s oil resources”.*

Trump was regarded as an *actor* that has the *authority* to argue about the efforts of continuing counterterrorism in the world. The *counterfactual* technique was employed by mentioning Haftar’s “significant role in fighting terrorism and securing Libya’s oil resources” to persuade the readers that Haftar is the strong political man who can save the country. What declared by Trump can be depicted as a *populism* technique to legitimize the idea of the strongman Haftar and his role in fighting terrorism in Libya.

4. *“Diplomats from US and Russia on April 18 rejected a British proposed draft UN resolution that made any reference to Field Marshal Haftar and his forces; they wanted neither side named in the document. That also gave the impression that both superpowers were backing Haftar.”*

The US and Russia were depicted as *actors* of the event, which have the absolute *authority* to veto the British proposed drafts UN resolution

5. *“The characterisations of conversations between the White House and Field Marshal Haftar are inaccurate,” wrote Garrett Marquis, a spokesman and special assistant to Trump.”*

In this part, the *vagueness* strategy was employed by mentioning “inaccurate” when a spokesman and special assistant to Trump Garrett Marquis claimed that the conversation’s characterizations between the White House and Haftar are imprecise, the statement was vague, it was not mentioned whether The White House support Haftar or the UN-recognized government, nor why Trump made this call, nor what the conversation was about precisely.

6. *“The US position is not understood. There have been different things said by different people,” a leading UN diplomat admitted, though he wished to remain anonymous, adding that the US President’s phone call “may have been misread as support for Haftar”.*

Similarly, *vagueness* strategy was reflected in this part by mentioning “The US position is not understood” from this sentence the reader cannot understand whether the US supports Haftar and his offensive to overthrow the legitimate government headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj or not. Also, by stating that Trump’s call to Haftar has been misinterpreted as support for Haftar”.

7. *“The fact is the UN-recognised Sarraj GNA government in Tripoli has what constitutes its armed forces, a coalition of an unknown number of militias of different shades of political and religious persuasions, and it is they in reality that controls Tripoli.”*

The *lexicalization* strategy was reflected when the editor used “coalition, militias and religious persuasions” to depict the forces that belong to the UN-recognized government, the editor attempted to describe that forces as militias and groups of people belong to different political backgrounds as well as belong to several religious factions. In this process, the *categorization* strategy was employed when the editor referred to the UN-recognized government’s forces as militias belong to religious persuasion, as a signal that this government support terrorism and they control Tripoli by force.

8. *“The UAE’s most senior Foreign Office Minister in a tweet said: “Priority in Libya to counter extremism/terrorism & support stability in long-drawn-out crisis. Meanwhile, extremist militias continue to control capital and derail search for a political solution.”*

“The UAE’s most senior Foreign Office Minister” can be regarded as an *actor* who has the *authority* to declare statements about the Libyan conflict and depict the UN-recognized government headed by Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj as an extremist organization. Furthermore, the *presupposition* strategy was reflected when it was stated that “extremist militias continue to control capital and derail search for a political solution.” It intended to persuade the readers that the legitimate government is constituted by extremist religious militias and terrorists who control Tripoli by force, and Haftar announced his offensive on Tripoli to free the capital from terrorism. Therefore, the second aspect of the macro-analysis was supported in this news report, by emphasizing the negative things about “them” America, which was reflected in stating that the American policies towards Libya are incoherent, due to their swinging positions.

- “*Portuguese Pilot Shot Down in Libya Is Covered in Kabbalistic Tattoos - An Israeli Link?*”
- 1. “*A French-made fighter jet, a Mirage F1, was shot down on Monday of this week over Tripoli by forces fighting for the liberation of Tripoli from extremist militias have captured its European pilot.*”

According to Van Dijk’s terminology, “A French-made fighter jet” was regarded as an *actor* of the event, passivization form was applied to focus more on the event which is “a Mirage F1 was shot down” rather than the doer because for the editor the event of shooting down one of the fighter jets that belong to the UN-recognized government is the most important event to be focused on. Moreover, the *lexicalization* strategy was utilized by mentioning “fighting for liberation, extremist militias” to depict Haftar and his forces as legitimate political figures who fight to rescue the country from extremist religious militias that control Tripoli. Consequently, the *counterfactual* technique was reflected when the editor demonstrated the legitimate government that based in Tripoli as “extremist militias” to persuade the readers that this government consists of terrorists and extremist religious militias that control the capital of Libya, and Haftar is supposed to be the legitimate political figure who has the absolute authority to launch an offensive to save Tripoli from those terrorists who govern it by force.

2. “*The Libyan National Army, led by Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar, released video footage Tuesday of a man in bloodied clothes. Under questioning, which continues, he identified himself as a 29-year-old Portuguese national working as a private contractor pilot. It is presumed he was working for one of the extremist militias that, in reality, make up the Armed Forces of, so-called by the U.N., Prime Minister Fayez Serraj.*”

“The Libyan National Army led by Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar” was depicted as an *actor*, who has the *authority* to carry out attacks against the capital and overthrow the UN-recognized government, additionally, the *evidentiality* strategy was used when it was stated that the LNA released a video proves that they captured a Portuguese pilot who worked for one of the extremist militias. Nevertheless, the *counterfactual* technique was employed by claiming “*the extremist militias that, in reality, make up the Armed Forces of, so-called by the U.N., Prime Minister Fayez Serraj.*” to persuade the readers that the UN-recognized government is an extremist armed group who

governs the capital, and Haftar announced the offensive just to free the capital from them.

3. *“This is the first proof of foreign mercenaries fighting for the international community’s U.N. backed Tripoli-based ‘government’. (As stated earlier, who In actuality, due to their existing no GNA Armed Forces, no real Serraj government forces, are a collection of militias with a dominant influence of the Muslim Brotherhood, an organisation that dates back to the 1920s that is already designated in some countries as a terrorist organisation).”*

The *evidentiality* discursive strategy was employed when it was emphasized that the UN-recognized government-employed foreign mercenaries fight for them when the LNA captures the Portuguese pilot. Further, the *counterfactual* discursive strategy has been engaged by mentioning “no GNA Armed Forces, no real Serraj government forces” to convince the readers that the GNA is not the legitimate government and they are just extremists religious group. The *lexicalization* technique was highlighted by using the “Muslim Brotherhood, a terrorist organization” to insert into the readers’ minds that the UN-recognized government is supported by Muslim Brotherhood that is perceived in several countries as a terrorist organization. The *polarization* discursive strategy was employed by categorizing that the GNA as a terrorist organization that hires foreign mercenaries to fight against the LNA and govern the Libyan capital.

4. *“This Portuguese fighter pilot now provides the evidence. Finally, a detail that might, repeat might link this pilot to Israel, yet to be confirmed, is this.”*

Here, the editor used an *over-completeness* strategy by mentioning that the captured Portuguese has a tattoo, which has a link with Israel, and there might be a link between Israel and the foreign mercenaries who works for the GNA. Therefore, this news report is in line with the second prominent aspect of Van Dijk’s model that emphasizes the negative things about “them” the UN-recognized government by stressing on the Portuguese pilot and their use of foreigner mercenaries to fight against Haftar.

- *“Trump’s Support for General Haftar in Libya Is a Good Thing - He Will Probably Take Tripoli in a Bloodless Transition. May.15”*
- 1. *“The ‘international community’ recognises their past initiatives over the last seven years have all failed and ‘the West’ now needs, as a matter of urgency, an end to the Libyan debacle.”*

According to Van Dijk's framework, "International community" can be regarded as an *actor* of the news, also *counterfactual* strategy was employed by stating that "the west needs, as a matter of urgency, an end to the Libyan debacle" to persuade the readers that the West attempted several times for seven years to halt fighting and rebuild Libya but they finally failed, and they desperately need an urgent solution to end the Libyan debacle. Subsequently, they mean Haftar is the only urgent solution that can bring peace to Libya and free it from the terrorists who govern the country as some countries claim, as well as rescue the Libyan oil.

2. *"However, the fact is 'the West' is much divided over what should happen in Libya, notably France and Italy, who each have vast economic interests that are at odds with one another. While the US and UK, of course, have an eye on their potential economic interests in a future liberated Libya, theirs is more of an anti-terrorism effort aimed at eradicating ISIS's presence in Libya and specifically to find Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi who is thought to have recently moved to Libya and set up a new ISIS HQ."*

The West was depicted as the *actor* that has the *authority* to determine what should happen in Libya although they were divided. Similarly, the *presupposition* strategy was reflected by stating that France and Italy have vast economic interests in Libya that conflict with each other, each country of them wants to take a side with the party who can serve their interests in Libya. Nevertheless, *counterfactual* was employed by mentioning that the US and UK are also interested to liberate Libya for economic purposes, yet they pay more attention to counterterrorism, to convince the world that the only way for maintaining their political and economic benefits in Libya is by eradicating ISIS in Libya and its leader "*Abu Baker Al-Baghdadi*" who is thought moved to Libya to construct a new ISIS.

3. *"Meanwhile the battle to take Tripoli continues by Field Marshall's Haftar's Forces."*

Haftar's forces were demonstrated as *actors* who have the *authority* to fight against the UN-recognized government to take control of Tripoli. Further, the *lexicalization* discursive strategy was highlighted in "Field Marshal" to emphasize his military rank. Also, using "take" to let the readers think that he is the political figure that has the right to take control of Tripoli and bring peace to its residents.

4. *“The London based pan-Arab daily Asharq al-Awsat reported on Tuesday that Haftar is directly accusing the Muslim Brotherhood government in Turkey of supporting extremist militias, that include ISIS, and that further, that Turkey is supplying arms-on Libyan Airlines planes that regularly fly from various airports in Turkey to the city of Misrata.”*

According to what was quoted from *“The London based pan-Arab daily Asharq al-Awsat”*, Haftar was regarded as an *actor* who has the political position and absolute *authority* to accuse Turkey’s Muslim Brotherhood government of supporting ISIS and other extremist militias as well as providing arms to the Libyan Airlines.

5. *“Haftar has always been very careful to limit civilian collateral deaths and injury.”*

In this part, the *counterfactual* was highlighting by claiming that Haftar was careful to protect the civilians and not to cause deaths nor injuries, in this process, the editor attempted to persuade the readers that Haftar is the Libyan strongman who launched an offensive on Tripoli to protect the civilians from terrorists, and he is conservatively on people’s lives.

6. *“The Serraj GNA Forces are NOT a cohesive force but rather a collection of extremists; militias that include former senior Al Qaeda, ISIS and Muslim Brotherhood members. These many militias will dissipate under military pressure from Haftar’s Forces.”*

The *presupposition* discursive strategy was reflected in this part, by emphasizing that GNA forces are not unified and they consist of extremist militias like ISIS, Al Qaeda, and Muslim Brotherhood, and the GNA is not supposed to be the legitimate government that controls Libya. Moreover, the *counterfactual* technique was employed by persuading the readers that all those terrorists and militias will be eradicated by LNA that led by Haftar.

7. *“The Libyan people’s patience is at an end. They demand a solution. All want peace and many see Haftar’s Forces able to deliver that peace”.*

Repeatedly in this part, the editor employed the *counterfactual* discursive strategy that was highlighted in depicting how Libyan feel towards the conflict, and they desperately need a solution to end this debacle. Consequently, Haftar is perceived as the only solution that will bring peace to all Libyans. In terms of macro-analysis of

this news report, the first aspect of emphasizing the positive thing about “us” Haftar was presented, by stating that Trump called the Libyan General Haftar who leads the LNA, and supported him for his offensive to eradicate ISIS.

4.4.1.4 Sputnik

- *“Haftar’s LNA Has Taken Control over Tripoli’s International Airport – Source April.5”*
- 1. *“CAIRO (Sputnik) — Marshal Khalifa Haftar’s Libyan National Army (LNA) on Friday captured the international airport in Tripoli, a source close to Haftar’s entourage told Sputnik.”*

According to Van Dijk’s framework, Marshal Khalifa Haftar was regarded as an *actor* who has the absolute *authority* to possess the Libyan National Army and conduct strikes to capture many critical places in the Libyan capital, Tripoli.

- 2. *“The Tripoli International Airport has been taken under control, fighting is taking place in its vicinity, the source said.”*
- 3. *“It comes shortly as Haftar told UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres that his forces would continue fighting against the armed groups that control Tripoli, noting that the city’s residents were “fed up” with them.”*

Similarly, in parts three and four, the *evidentiality* strategy was employed by mentioning that LNA captured the Tripoli International Airport and the fighting is happening in that area. Also, the *authority* was reflected by mentioning that Haftar’s forces will not stop fighting until they free the residents of Tripoli and establish control over it. Consequently, the *categorization* technique was utilized by categorizing Haftar and his forces with a sense of power that can release residents of Tripoli who were fed up with the armed groups that control Tripoli by force.

- 4. *“The news comes after media reported on Thursday that the LNA commander had ordered an offensive on Tripoli, controlled by the UN-supported interim Government of National Accord after his army took control over cities of Surman and Garyan”*

In this part, the editor attempted to provide the readers with a general background on the Libyan conflict that was provoked in April 2019 in the Libyan capital, Tripoli. LNA commander was regarded as the *actor* of the event who ordered an offensive on

Tripoli to take control of it, as a signal of Haftar's absolute authority to give such instructors to his group.

5. *"As a result of a years-long civil conflict that erupted following a rebellion and murder of the ex-head of state Muammar Ghaddafi, there is no single central government in Libya, and the country's eastern and western parts are controlled by separate powers. The Tobruk-based parliament, elected in 2014 and backed by the LNA, governs the east of Libya, while the GNA, established in 2015, controls Libya's western parts from Tripoli."*

Repeatedly, according to Van Dijk's terminology, the editor employed the *counterfactual* technique to persuade the readers that the recent conflict in Libya was all due to the Libyan revolution in 2011, the *counterfactual* technique was reflected when the editor stated that the consequences of the long Libyan civil war and the death of the Libyan leader led to the current situation in Libya, by having two governments. Moreover, the editor utilized *presupposition* strategy by stating the two Libyan governments and starting with the LNA which is led by Haftar and based in eastern Libya, by doing so, the readers will unconsciously consider Haftar as a powerful player in Libyan affairs who can save the country from terrorism. Nevertheless, the news report supported the first feature of the macro-analysis by emphasizing the positive things about "us" the LNA that led by Haftar and stressing on his progress in controlling more places and neighbors in the Libyan Capital.

- *"Haftar's Forces Reportedly Sent Warship to Secure Oil Export Port. April.28."*
- 1. *"Forces from the Libyan National Army (LNA) led by General Khalifa Haftar and in control of the country's east have been besieging Tripoli, the capital of the UN-backed Government of National Accord (GNA) in control of Libya's west, since 4 April."*

According to Van Dijk's framework, Khalifa Haftar was depicted as an *actor* of the news who has the *authority* to lead forces and send them to fight to establish control over Tripoli and overthrow the legitimate government.

2. *"The Libyan National Army (LNA) has sent an Alkarama patrol vessel to the port of Ras Lanuf, part of the country's key Oil Crescent region and one of the world's crucial maritime oil export points, Press TV reported. According to*

LNA spokesman Ahmed Mismari, the warship was deployed as part of a "training mission" and to secure local oil facilities."

In this paragraph, the Libyan National army can be regarded as an *actor* that has the ultimate *authority* to send patrol vessels to one of the most critical maritime oil export parts which are located in "Ras Lanuf" in the east of Libya, to protect the local oil facilities. The *lexicalization* strategy was employed by using a "training mission" to provide the readers with positive connotations towards the LNA's efforts of securing the oil.

3. *"National Oil Corporation earlier issued a warning that a recent escalation in fighting between the groups in the country threatens oil production rates in the nation. The escalation was sparked by LNA General Khalifa Haftar's announcement of an attack on the Government of National Accord's capital Tripoli on 4 April 2019."*

The editor started with "National Oil Corporation" to be topicalized as the main aspect of the news that can also be regarded as an *actor* that has the *authority* to threaten the world of decreasing oil production due to the conflict. Also, controlling the Libyan oil and send its profits to both governments.

4. *"Ever since Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi was murdered by militants supported by NATO forces in 2011, the country has been torn apart by fighting among various groups. The two most prominent of them are the LNA, led by general Haftar controlling Libya's east, and GNA, supported by the UN and seated in Tripoli — country's official capital."*

In this part, leader Muammar Gaddafi was demonstrated as an *actor*, and the editor started the sentence with him to put more emphasis on the news, also the *lexicalization* strategy was illustrated when the editor described the Libyans who were against Al-Ghaddafi as "militias supported by NATO as a signal that Russia was against the Libyan revolution in 2011 as well as the NATO intervention. Moreover, the *vagueness* technique was used by not providing the readers why the Libyan leader was murdered. Consequently, the *presupposition* strategy was employed to insert into the readers' mind that Libya is suffering from the lasted conflict as a result of the war in 2011 which was backed up by the NATO and led to overthrow the Libyan leader, also by referring to the two Libyan governments as fighting groups and starting with LNA led

by Haftar then adding the GNA without referring to the Prime minister Fayez Al-Sarraj, it was only mentioned that it was based in the Libyan capital.

The first aspect of the macro-analysis was presented here to emphasize the positive things about “us” Haftar and his forces, by stating that Haftar is securing oil export ports.

- *“Libyan National Army Claims It Possesses Evidence of Turkey Supporting Daesh. April.29.”*
- 1. *“MOSCOW (Sputnik) - The Libyan National Army (LNA), led by Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar, said on Monday that it possessed documents and other evidence confirming Turkey's support for Daesh*.”*

According to Van Dijk’s terminology, The Libyan National Army can be depicted as an *actor* of the event that has a significant *authority* to claim that they have strong evidence relating to Turkey’s support for some terrorist organizations, such as Daesh “ISIS”.

- 2. *"Turkey is one of the countries supporting terrorism around the world. We possess leaked #Turkish documents and other evidence that prove the Turkish regime’s support for #ISIS, LNA said on its official Twitter account.”*

Similarly, in this paragraph, the LNA was regarded as an *actor* that has the authority to accuse Turkey of supporting terrorist organizations around the world. Furthermore, *evidentiality* strategy was employed by mentioning that the LNA “possess leaked Turkish documents and other evidence that prove” Turkey’s support for terrorist organizations like ISIS. In this process, *polarization* strategy was employed by categorizing Turkey with its negative actions around the world for supporting terrorism, it is important to bear in mind that Turkey supports the UN-recognized government in Libya which is based in Tripoli and headed by Fayez Al-Sarraj. Consequently, LNA also depicted the legitimate government as a terrorist organization and Haftar came to free the Capital from terrorism.

- 3. *“The statement added that the LNA was fighting al-Qaeda* terrorist organization in Tripoli. Syrian Ambassador to the United Nation Bashar Jaafari accused Turkey on Friday of supporting Hayat Tahrir al-Sham* terrorist group and other terrorist groups in Syria's militant-held Idlib region. For years, Libya has been split between the two governments. The eastern part*

of the country is controlled by the parliament elected in 2014 and backed by the LNA, while the UN-backed Tripoli-based Government of National Accord (GNA) governs Libya's western parts.”

Similarly, LNA was demonstrated as an *actor*, which has the absolute authority and military power to fight terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda in Tripoli and free the country. Furthermore, *evidentiality* was employed by mentioning that even the Syrian Ambassador to the UN accused Turkey of supporting terrorist groups in Idlib, Syria. By providing these accusations by the LNA, the *polarization* technique was reflected, to categorize Turkey with negative manners and evil deeds for supporting terrorism. Repeatedly, *presupposition* strategy was reflected by mentioning Libya has two governments and starting with the eastern government that backed by LNA which is led by Haftar and stressing on that they control the east part of Libya, to provide the readers with positive connotation towards this government as a strong political figure in Libya.

4. *“Earlier in April, Haftar ordered an offensive to retake Tripoli from the GNA-backed forces. The LNA has already recaptured a number of settlements as well as the Tripoli International Airport, located some 20 miles from the capital. GNA's forces have meanwhile announced a counteroffensive, dubbed Volcano of Rage, to repel the National Army.”*

In this paragraph, the editor topicalized Haftar as the main focus of the news, also Haftar was regarded as an *actor* who has absolute power to order his forces and launch an offensive on the Libyan capital where the UN-recognized government is based. The *lexicalization* strategy was applied by stating “to retake Tripoli from GNA” as if Haftar was controlling Tripoli and then the terrorist group took control of it, so he came to free Tripoli from GNA and terrorism and to gain Tripoli’s control again. Therefore, the second feature of the macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about “them” the UN-recognized government and its supporter which is Turkey were highlighted in this news report by stating that LNA accuses Turkey of supporting terrorism.

- *“Haftar's Forces Say Hit Hangar with Turkish Drones in Western Libya. August.16.”*
1. *"On Friday, August 16, the Libyan Air Forces attacked the Zuwarah International Airport and one of the hangars where the Turkish drones were located. A blow hit the hangars with the Turkish drones and their ammunition about 1.5 kilometers [about 1 mile] east of Abu Kammash. We repeat that any place that interacts with any foreign organization is the legitimate goal of the Libyan Air Forces," the media center said in a statement."*
 2. *"On Thursday, the LNA said it had targeted storage places with Turkish drones at the Zuwarah International Airport, located east of Abu Kammash, further away from the Tunisian border."*

According to Van Dijk's terminology, Libyan Air Forces can be regarded as the *actor* of the event, that has the *authority* and needed the power to attack a Libyan hangar that is located in a city called Zuwarah in the west of Libya, that hanger as it was claimed, was full of Turkish drones. Good to mention that Turkish is backing up the UN-recognized government headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj.

3. *"Libya has been split between rival forces for years. The LNA-backed parliament in Tobruk controls the east of the country, while the UN-supported Government of National Accord operates in the west and is headquartered in Tripoli. However, this April the LNA launched an operation to capture Tripoli, causing tensions to spike."*

The *lexicalization* strategy was used in this paragraph, by mentioning “split, rival” to depict the unstable situation in Libya and stressed on how Libya is divided into many conflicting parties for years. Also, the *presupposition* technique was employed by mentioning those fighting parties and starting with the LNA which controls the east of Libya as it is based there, to legitimate this government as a strong political figure in the Libyan political scene. Moreover, this news report supported the first feature of the macro-analysis of emphasizing the positive things about “us” LNA, by mentioning that Haftar's forces hit a hangar that belongs to the UN-recognized government, which was full of Turkish drones.

4.4.2 American news reports

4.4.2.1 The Wall Street Journal

- *“Trump Backed Libyan Warlord After Saudi Arabia and Egypt Lobbied Him. May.12”*
- 1. *“The leaders of Saudi Arabia and Egypt successfully lobbied President Trump to shift U.S. policy in Libya and reach out to the general leading an offensive against the country’s United Nations-backed government, a senior U.S. administration official and two Saudi officials said.”*

In terms of the micro-analysis of Van Dijk’s Ideological Square, the leaders of Saudi Arabia and Egypt can be regarded as *actors* of the news. *Authority* discursive strategy was also reflected in mentioning that those countries pressured President Trump to call and support General Haftar for his offensive on Tripoli

2. *“That marked a significant shift in the American stance toward Gen. Haftar. For years, Washington has supported the United Nations-recognized government in Tripoli and worked with it in the war on Islamic State. Before Mr. Trump’s call, the U.S. had condemned the general’s offensive and called for a cease-fire.”*

In this paragraph, the *vagueness* strategy was employed by stating that the U.S. condemned Haftar’s offensive on Tripoli and called for a cease-fire before Trump called Haftar and praised him for fighting the terrorism, and that call indicated a notable change in the American position towards Haftar, that would make the reader confused about the American’s stance towards the Libyan conflict and which from the two Libyan parties America supports. Similarly, the *national self-glorification* discursive strategy was used by highlighting the positive actions that America took in fighting the Islamic State in Libya.

3. *“A week before Mr. Trump phoned Gen. Haftar, U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said: “We have made clear that we oppose the military offensive by Khalifa Haftar’s forces.”*

The U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo can be depicted as an *actor*, also the *authority* strategy was reflected when Mr. Pompeo made a clear statement and expressed the U.S stance which opposed the military offensive by Khalifa Haftar, without addressing him with a military rank.

4. *“Since the two men’s conversation, the U.S. hasn’t repeated its previous firm calls for a cessation of hostilities.”*

The editor here employed two strategies, namely *implication* and *vagueness* strategies. The *implication* technique was presented by mentioning that the two men’s conversation (the call between Trump and Haftar), the editor here presented the event briefly without providing the readers with enough information about the conversation. Further, the *vagueness* discursive strategy was reflected in “the U.S. hasn’t repeated its previous firm calls for a cessation of hostilities” which is a vague statement that does not reveal any explicit stances towards the UN-recognized government nor Haftar.

5. *“The prime minister of the U.N.-backed Libyan government, Fayeze al-Sarraj, said he had received no notification of any change in U.S. policy.”*

Authority and *evidentiality* discursive strategies were presented in mentioning that the UN-backed government’s Prime Minister Fayeze AL-Sarraj has declared that he has not received any report from the U.S about changing policies.

6. *“Since Gen., Haftar launched his military campaign to take Tripoli, the country’s conflict has seen a surge in violence, with more than 450 people killed and 50,000 others displaced, according to the U.N. The offensive also has contributed to a rise in global oil prices.”*

The *number game* discursive strategy was used in this paragraph, by stating “more than 450 people killed, and 50,000 others displaced” after Haftar carried out a military campaign to establish control over Tripoli. Similarly, *evidentiality* strategy was employed by mentioning that the U.N stated Haftar’s offensive caused increases in global oil prices.

7. *“Libya slid into chaos in the years following the fall of longtime dictator Moammar Gadhafi, who was killed in a popular uprising supported by Western airstrikes in 2011. The fighting has hobbled Libya’s oil production and opened a path for hundreds of thousands of migrants to reach Europe.”*

The *lexicalization* strategy was employed by using “dictator” to depict the former Libyan Colonel, which can be understood that the U.S. was with the Libyan revolution and overthrowing the Libyan leader. The *counterfactual* technique was also used by stating that the production of Libyan oil is constrained and the number of migrants to Europe has increased, due to the ongoing conflict in Libya, to convince the readers the oil production and increasing migrants to Europe is the result of the unstable situation in Libya, that was caused by Haftar when he launched an offensive on Tripoli.

8. *“Gen. Haftar has pledged for years to take Tripoli by force but refrained from doing so in part because of the U.S. and international opposition.”*

The *evidentiality* technique was reflected in mentioning that Haftar was planning to take control of Tripoli for years but he ceased as the U.S. and international community rejected his offensive that time. Also, *authority* strategy was highlighted when the U.S. and international community rejected Haftar’s offensive on the Libyan capital.

9. *“Following the U.S. presidential election in 2016, the commander’s sons traveled to Washington to signal to the U.S. that he intended to attack Tripoli imminently, said former U.S. special envoy to Libya Jonathan Winer and another former senior U.S. official.”*

Similarly, the *evidentiality* discursive strategy was applied here by clarifying that Haftar’s sons traveled to Washington to mark to the U.S. that they were planning to launch an offensive on Tripoli according to what the former U.S. special envoy to Libya stated.

10. *“The Obama White House mounted a diplomatic effort that pressured Gen. Haftar to stand down from the attack on the Tripoli-based government, the officials said.”*
11. *“I immediately said, ‘Red light. This is not a yellow light,’” Mr. Winer said, recalling the conversation with Gen. Haftar’s sons.”*

In this part, the *authority* strategy was employed by mentioning the White house lobbied Haftar to refrain the attack on Tripoli and stressing on what Mr. Winer said to Haftar’s sons. “I immediately said, ‘Red light. This is not a yellow light,’

12. *“The decision demonstrated how quickly Mr. Trump can pivot on key U.S. policies after conversations with some foreign leaders. He announced a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Syria following a phone conversation with*

Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in December. In April, Mr. Trump decided to take steps to designate the Muslim Brotherhood as a foreign terrorist group after discussing the issue with Mr. Sisi, who has led a lethal crackdown on the Islamist movement in Egypt."

The *counterfactual* discursive strategy was presented in this paragraph, by demonstrating how Mr. Trump can easily shift U.S policies, some examples were stated such as when Mr. Trump announced a withdrawal of U.S troops from Syria and determining to label the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist group.

13. *"Egypt and the United Arab Emirates have provided air support to Gen. Haftar's forces in recent years, according to a U.N. panel monitoring the international arms embargo on Libya. Egypt denies this, and the U.A.E. hasn't acknowledged the documented presence of its aircraft in Libya."*

The *evidentiality* and *authority* discursive strategies were employed by stating that the U.N panel monitoring the international arms embargo on Libya and claimed that Egypt and the U.A.E have provided Haftar with air support in recent years.

14. *"Saudi Arabia has offered Gen. Haftar tens of millions of dollars to support his offensive, the Journal reported in April."*

The *evidentiality* technique was presented by mentioning that Saudi Arabia offered tens of millions to Haftar to support his attack on Tripoli according to what the Journal (The Wall Street Journal) reported in April 2019. Consequently, the first and second elements of the macro-analysis were featured in this news report. The first element of emphasizing the positive things about us "the U.S" was presented by depicting the positive role of America in Libya by rejecting any military movement in Libya. Similarly, the second element of emphasizing the negative things about them "Haftar, the U.A.E, Saudi Arabia and Egypt" by stressing on how Haftar carried out an offensive on the capital of Libya in order to take control of Tripoli and seize the UN-recognized government. Moreover, emphasizing how some countries such as the U.A.E, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt back up Haftar against the legitimate government headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj.

- *"Inside Libya's Brutal Battle for Control of Tripoli June 28, 2019, MIDDLE EAST"*

1. *“When rogue Libyan commander Khalifa Haftar launched an attack on Tripoli in April, it plunged the North African country into one of its worst crises since Moammar Gadhafi’s death in 2011. The battle imperiled months-long peace talks and raised the specter of a bloody showdown for control of the country.”*

Libyan commander Khalifa Haftar was depicted as an *actor* according to Van Dijk’s terminology, also the *authority* strategy was utilized by mentioning that Haftar launched an attack on the Libyan capital. Similarly, the *counterfactual* discursive strategy was reflected in stating that the offensive which was carried out by Haftar led Libya to encounter the worst conflict since the death of the Libyan colonel Moammar Al-Ghaddafi. Finally, the *polarization* strategy was employed by categorizing Haftar’s with his evil actions towards Libya and entering the country into the worst civil war since 2011.

2. *“Libya is on the verge of descending into a civil war, which could lead to the permanent division of the country,” Ghassan Salame, the United Nations’ special envoy to Libya, told the Security Council in May”.*

The United Nations’ special envoy to Libya, Ghassan Salame can be regarded as an *actor*. *Authority* and *evidentiality* discursive strategies were used when Mr. Ghassan stated that the ongoing conflict in Libya would lead to the division of Libya if the country entered to a civil war, he stated that after Haftar attack on Tripoli.

3. *“The battle is taking a toll on Tripoli. At least 739 people have been killed since April, the World Health Organization said.”*

In this paragraph, *authority* and *evidentiality* strategies were used by mentioning The World Health Organization that stated the number of victims in Libya after Haftar attacked Tripoli since April. Further, the *number game* strategy was used by stating the number of people who died in Tripoli since the offensive has been carried out by Haftar.

4. *“The Trump administration’s stance on the war has been ambiguous. The U.S. in the past has supported the U.N.-backed government and efforts to reach a political solution, as have the U.K. and France. But President Trump appeared to break with that policy in May when he made a phone call to Mr. Haftar, during which he voiced support for a shared vision with the commander.”*

The Trump administration can be regarded as an *actor*. The *authority* strategy was reflected in the U.S stances towards the Libyan conflict, which has the absolute *authority* to determine the future of Libya. Furthermore, *vagueness* strategy was presented by not mention what Trump's administration's stance was precise, in the past U.S supported the UN-recognized government which is headed by Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj. However, Mr. Trump made a call to praise Haftar's efforts of counterterrorism, who presents the attacking side on Tripoli.

In the light of Van Dijk's Ideological Square, this news report reflected the second aspect of macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about them "Haftar" who has carried out an offensive on Tripoli in April, that was marked as the worst crises in Libya since 2011. Haftar aims to overthrow the legitimate government which is based in Tripoli and headed by Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj. Moreover, the third aspect of the macro-analysis of de-emphasizing the negative things about us "The U.S" when the editor applied the *vagueness* technique to depict the swinging American's stance towards Libya.

- *"In Libyan War, Turkey Takes Sides Against Mideast Rivals July 2, 2019, WORLD"*
 1. *"Turkey is providing military assistance to Libyan authorities that have allowed the United Nations-backed government in Tripoli to contain the advance of a powerful militia commander but also opened a deadly new front in conflicts pitting Ankara against the Middle East rivals."*

Turkey can be regarded as an *actor* of the event, also *authority* strategy was reflecting by mentioning that "Turkey is providing military assistance to Libyan authorities". *Lexicalization* technique was used by using these lexicon "Libyan authorities and the United Nations-backed government" to describe the legitimate government that headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj and based in Tripoli, the Libyan capital.

2. *"Turkey's role in the Libyan conflict was exposed this week when troops loyal to Khalifa Haftar, the military commander supported by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, claimed to have destroyed a Turkish-made drone near Tripoli. In another incident, Turkey accused Mr. Haftar of having abducted six of its nationals and threatened to intervene directly against the commander if they weren't immediately released."*

Similarly, the *presupposition* discursive strategy was presented in this paragraph, by stating that Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates support Khalifa Haftar and his army to attack Tripoli and topple the UN-recognized government. Moreover, *authority* and *evidentiality* discursive strategies were employed by stating that Turkey accuses Mr. Haftar of detaining six Turkish citizens, who live in the east part of Libya, where Haftar and his forces are based. Therefore, the *polarization* strategy was reflected in this paragraph by emphasizing the evil deeds done by Haftar for receiving foreign support to launch an offensive as well as detaining Turkish citizens.

3. *“The involvement of Turkey and Gulf monarchies on opposite sides of the Libyan battleground marks a sharp escalation of violence in a race for regional dominance. Turkey has been helping Qatar bypass a blockade Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E. have imposed on the small petrostate since 2017. In Somalia, a fight for control of ports and maritime routes has pitted Turkey and Qatar versus Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E.”*

In this paragraph, the *presupposition* discursive strategy was employed by stating the actual motives behind the ongoing conflict in Libya and identifying the powerful nations that back up the Libyan warring sides “The involvement of Turkey and Gulf monarchies on opposite sides of the Libyan battleground marks a sharp escalation of violence in a race for regional dominance.” Further, the *counterfactual* technique was used to lead the readers to believe that the conflict in Libya is a proxy war fuelled by different countries to escalate violence in Libya to serve their purposes.

4. *“Despite an international arms embargo, clashes have grown, with more than 700 dead in the past three months, according to a U.N. tally.”*

By using “according to a U.N. tally”, *authority* and *evidentiality* discursive strategies were employed to legitimate the number of victims who lost their lives in Tripoli, due to Haftar’s offensive on Tripoli. Moreover, the *number game* strategy was presented by stating the number of dead people and the duration of time “more than 700 dead in the past three months”.

5. *“It’s becoming a proxy war,” said Ahmed Maiteeq, Libya’s deputy prime minister.”*

Authority technique was reflected in “Libya’s Deputy Prime Minister Ahmed Maiteeq, who declared the conflict in Libya is a proxy war fuelled by national powers.

6. *“The Trump administration’s stance on the war has been ambiguous, both backing the Government of National Accord (or GNA) formed in late 2015 as part of a U.N.-brokered agreement, and voicing support for Mr. Haftar’s vision to impose stability in Libya through force.”*

Vagueness discursive strategy was reflected in the Trump administration’s position towards Libyan conflict and the involved warring sides, it was not mentioned precisely which side of the war received Trump’s support.

7. *“Since launching his attack on Tripoli, Mr. Haftar has failed to make significant inroads into the capital as rival militias united in support of the government.”*

Lexicalization strategy was used by using “fail” to describe Haftar’s movement on Tripoli to take control of it and overthrow the legitimate government will not succeed.

8. *“The Turkish drones helped boost the morale of GNA-aligned forces in a crucial way from mid- June because they put Mr. Haftar on the defensive,” said Jalel Harchaoui, a research fellow at the Clingendael Institute in The Hague.”*

By mentioning that a research fellow at the Clingendael Institute in The Hague, authority, and evidentiality discursive strategies was employed, that proved the UN-recognized government’s forces have successfully defeated Haftar’s offensive, after utilizing Turkish drones.

9. *“Upon recapturing Gharyan, the GNA said it seized a load of U.S.-made Javelin antitank missiles left behind by Mr. Haftar’s forces. GNA officials said the missiles had markings indicating they were sold to the U.A.E. in 2008, and constituted evidence of U.A.E. support to the rogue commander.”*

Evidentiality technique was used by mentioning the American-made missiles which were left behind Haftar’s forces, those missiles were first sold to the UAE. Consequently, it was proved that Mr. Haftar was receiving weapons from the UAE despite the UN-armed embargo over Libya.

10. *“The U.A.E. foreign ministry denied in a statement that the country owned the weapons but didn’t address whether they could have been transferred to another country.”*

The *vagueness* strategy was reflected when the U.A.E foreign ministry denied owning the weapons and not mentioning anything about whether the country transferred to any other country or not.

11. *“Mr. Haftar, a former general in the Gadhafi army who broke with the regime, has carried out a unilateral military operation since 2014 against what he calls “terrorists,” a word he uses to label a broad section of Islamists in the Libyan body politic.”*

Lexicalization technique was used by describing Haftar forces as “unilateral” and not an official army.

12. *“From a base in eastern Libya, Mr. Haftar has attracted support from the U.A.E. but also Egypt as he promised to restore stability in the country—even as his military operations displaced thousands and contributed to the chaos in the country. Saudi Arabia also offered Mr. Haftar tens of millions of dollars to support his attack on Tripoli, the Journal reported in April.”*

Presupposition discursive strategy was used by stating the countries that back up Haftar to maintain attacking the Libyan capital. Also, the *polarization* strategy was reflecting by mentioning the consequences of the offensive that was launched by Haftar after receiving support from the UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. Haftar and those countries were categorized with their evils deeds for attacking Tripoli, killing, and displaced thousands of civilians.

13. *“In recent years, Egypt and the U.A.E. have provided air support to Mr. Haftar’s forces, according to a U.N. panel that monitors the arms embargo. Egypt denies it provided air support, and the U.A.E. has not acknowledged the documented presence of its aircraft in Libya. Saudi Arabia says it maintains an even hand in Libya, and Saudi officials haven’t commented about their support to Mr. Haftar.”*

Authority and *evidentiality* techniques were presented in a “U.N. panel that monitors the arms embargo” which proved that Haftar received arms support from the U.A.E, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, despite the UN-arms embargo on Libya. Hence, this editorial supported the macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about them “Haftar and his supporters” for providing weapons and violating the UN-arms embargo.

- *“Libya’s Tripoli Government Blames U.A.E. for Deadly Airstrike. July 4, 2019, MIDDLE EAST”*
- 1. *“Libya’s United Nations-backed government blamed the United Arab Emirates for an airstrike that killed more than 50 people in Tripoli this week, suggesting a new level of foreign intervention in the battle for the capital.”*

The UN-recognized government can be regarded as an *actor* of the news, that has the *authority* to accuse a significant Arab country such as UAE for an airstrike in Tripoli. *Number game* strategy was illustrated in mentioning that “more than 50 people were killed by a UAE airstrike in Tripoli. Further, the *polarisation* technique was reflected by emphasizing the negative actions that UAE taking in the Libyan conflict.

- 2. *“The U.A.E. used an American-made F-16 jet fighter in the strike, said Interior Minister Fathi Bashagha of the Government of National Accord, citing an assessment of the sound of the warplane’s engines and the size of the explosion.”*

Mr. Fathi Bashagha, the Interior Minister of the Government of National Accord, can be regarded as an *actor*, who has the *authority* to accuse the UAE of the airstrike using a US-made F-16 jet fighter, to aid Haftar in his offensive on Tripoli.

- 3. *“Libya has emerged as a battleground for rival powers seeking dominance in the wider Middle East. Saudi Arabia, the U.A.E., and Egypt support Libyan militia leader Khalifa Haftar, who launched an assault on the capital in April, while Turkey backs the U.N.-backed government based in Tripoli.”*

According to Van Dijk’s terminology, Libya can be regarded as an *actor*, where the ongoing conflict takes place. The editor attempted to use *presupposition* discursive strategy by depicting the conflict in Libya as a proxy war, where different countries are involved by supporting one of the Libyan warring sides as a result of seeking more dominance in the Middle east. The editor identified that some countries such as the UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt support Mr. Haftar, while Turkey supports the UN-recognized government. *The polarization* technique was used by categorizing the mentioned countries as one of the reasons for escalating violence in Libya.

4. *“The U.S. has backed the GNA since its creation by a U.N.-brokered agreement in 2015, but President Trump called Mr. Haftar in April and expressed support for a shared vision with the commander, creating ambiguity in the U.S. position on the conflict.”*

The U.S can be regarded as an actor for the event that has the power to shift policies. Vagueness discursive strategy was also applied, by not mentioning which side that the U.S supports. Moreover, the *implication* technique was applied by not providing enough information about Trump’s call to Haftar and what the shared vision was.

5. *“Turkey and the two Gulf powers are engaged in a regional struggle for power, backing opposing forces in Egypt, Somalia, and elsewhere in the Middle East and North Africa. Turkey has also deepened its alliance with Qatar since Saudi Arabia and the Emirates blockaded the Gulf nation in 2017. Qatar is also an ally of the U.N.-backed Libyan government.”*

Presupposition strategy was employed in this paragraph, which was reflected in stating the countries that back up the warring sides in Libya in favor of more dominance in North Africa and the Middle east. Further, *polarization* was presented by mentioning those countries and emphasizing their role in escalating the Libyan war.

6. *“The foreign powers have focused on providing weapons and other support, rather than getting directly involved in the conflict. An airstrike by the U.A.E. would be an escalation in the level of foreign intervention in the current battle for Tripoli.”*

Evidentiality discursive strategy was presented by emphasizing the role of the U.A.E in escalating that war in Libya by providing Haftar with weapons to back his assault on Tripoli. Similarly, *polarization* strategy was used to categorizes the U.A.E with its evil deeds of fuel the war in Libya and supply Haftar’s of weapons despite the UN-arms embargo on Libya.

7. *“The strike late Tuesday on a migrant detention center in Tripoli was the deadliest single attack in the country since the 2011-armed uprising that toppled the regime of Moammar Gadhafi. The U.N. has said the strike could amount to a war crime. The U.N. has raised the death toll to 53, after an initial estimate of around 44.”*

Lexicalization technique was reflected by using “deadliest” to describe the most fatal airstrike in Libya since the Libyan uprising in 2011. The airstrike was launched by Haftar’s forces on a detention center for migrants in Tripoli. Similarly, *authority* and *evidentiality* discursive strategies were employed by stating that the UN proved the number of dead people. A *number of game* strategies were used by mentioning the number of victims who died as a result of Haftar’s airstrike. Therefore, the *polarisation* strategy was reflected in emphasizing the negative things done by Haftar and killing the civilians.

8. *“The U.A.E. has provided air support to Mr. Haftar’s forces in the past, according to a U.N. panel monitoring the international arms embargo on Libya. U.A.E. warplanes previously carried out strikes on Islamist militias in Libya in 2014.”*

By mentioning “UN panel monitoring the international arms embargo on Libya” *authority* and *evidentiality* discursive strategies were employed to prove the U.A.E’s role in Libya in providing air support for Haftar.

9. *“Mr. Haftar’s attack on Tripoli crushed hopes for a negotiated solution between the two factions and triggered months of fighting that has killed hundreds of people and forced more than 80,000 to flee.”*

According to Van Dijk’s terminology, Mr. Haftar can be regarded as an *actor*, who had the *authority* to launch an assault on Tripoli. *Lexicalization* technique was employed by using these lexicons “crushed hope, killed hundreds and forced more than 80.000 to flee” to depict Haftar’s attack on Tripoli as savage violence which caused to kill hundreds of civilians and flee thousands. *Number game* strategy was utilized by stating the numbers of killed people and the civilians who had to flee to save their lives from randomly strikes by Haftar. Moreover, *victimization* strategy was used to describe the number of residents of Tripoli who have been suffering since Haftar announced an assault on Tripoli, to overthrow the UN-recognized government and establish control over Tripoli.

10. *“The accusation by the Libyan interior minister is the second time in a week that the U.A.E.’s role in the Libyan conflict has been thrust into the spotlight. Last week, the Tripoli government released images of American-made antitank missiles that had been captured from Mr. Haftar’s forces.”*

The Libyan interior minister was regarded as an *actor*, who has the *authority* to accuse the U.A.E of supporting Haftar and escalating the violence. *Evidentiality* technique was reflected when the Libyan authorities released images of the US missiles which were captured from the forces of Haftar.

11. *“The missiles bore markings indicating they had been sold to the U.A.E., the government said. The U.A.E. denied ownership of the missiles but didn’t say whether they might have been transferred to another country.”*

Vagueness strategy was presented when the UAE denied only of owning those missiles, and not providing any information about the possibilities being those missiles have been transferred to other countries. Thus, the second aspect of the macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about them “Haftar and the UAE” was highlighted in this news report by stressing how the U.A.E transferred the U.S made missiles to Haftar to back him in his campaign to control Tripoli.

4.4.2.2 The New York Times

- *“In Libya, Militia Advances on Capital, Raising Prospect of Renewed Civil War. April 4, 2019.”*
1. *“A military leader who has vowed for years that he would seize control of Libya ordered his troops on Thursday to march on the capital, Tripoli.”*

Lexicalization discursive strategy was employed by using these lexicons “vowed, seize and troops” to provide the readers with negative connotations towards Haftar and his assault on the capital of Libya who attempted to topple the legitimate government that is based in Tripoli and headed by Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj.

2. *“The move all but obviated plans for peace talks this month among competing Libyan factions. The United Nations secretary-general, António Guterres, had arrived in Tripoli for that purpose the previous day. On Thursday he urged “calm and restraint.”*

Polarization strategy was presented by mentioning that the military campaign by Haftar has obviated any plans of peace between the warring sides, by doing so, Haftar was categorized with his evil deeds for not allowing any opportunity for peace in Libya.

3. *“I am deeply concerned by the military movement taking place in Libya and the risk of confrontation,” he said in a message posted on Twitter. “There is no military solution. Only intra-Libyan dialogue can solve Libyan problems.”*

In the light of Van Dijk’s terminology, *authority*, and *evidentiality* strategies were reflected in the United Nations secretary-general, António Guterres’s statement, who expressed his deep concern about the military advance, and he stressed on “there is no military solution in Libya.

4. *“On Thursday, his militia said it had taken three towns on the outskirts of Tripoli — Gharyan, 60 miles to the south; Surman, 50 miles to the west; and Aziziya, 25 miles to the southwest.”*

Lexicalization discursive strategy was reflected by using “militias” to describe Haftar’s forces, instead of stating military forces or troops, as an attempt from the editor to depict Haftar’s forces as not official soldiers in a permanent army.

5. *“After announcing in 2014 that he intended to unify the country under his rule, General Hifter, a former officer in Colonel Qaddafi’s army and a onetime client of the C.I.A., struggled for the next three years to wrest the city of Benghazi from the domination of Islamist militias. He received extensive support from Egypt and the United Arab Emirates, who were joined later by France and to a limited extent Russia, and he eventually established his control over much of the eastern region of the country.”*

Lexicalization strategy was presented by using “struggled, three years, wrest” to demonstrate the negative role of Haftar in Libya and the long time he took to control Benghazi to win the battle against the Islamist. Moreover, the *polarization* technique was employed by mentioning the countries that support Haftar against the UN-recognized government. Consequently, this news report supported the second feature of the Ideological Square of emphasizing the negative things about them “Haftar” who launched an offensive on Tripoli with the help of Egypt, the U.A.E, Saudi Arabia, and Russia.

- *“American Missiles Found in Libyan Rebel Compound June 28, 2019”*
- 1. *“Libyan government fighters discovered a cache of powerful American missiles, usually sold only to close American allies, at a captured rebel base in the mountains south of Tripoli this week.”*

Lexicalization strategy was employed by using “rebels” to describe Haftar’s fighters after the Libyan government forces found American-made missiles with Haftar’s forces in the south of Tripoli.

2. *“The four Javelin anti-tank missiles, which cost more than \$170,000 each, had ended up bolstering the arsenal of Gen. Khalifa Hifter, whose forces are waging a military campaign to take over Libya and overthrow a government the United States supports.”*

Polarization discursive strategy was employed by emphasizing the negative things of Haftar and his supporters, by stating that Mr. Haftar conducted a military battle to take control over Libya and topple the UN-recognized government that has the U.S.

3. *“Markings on the missiles’ shipping containers indicate that they were originally sold to the United Arab Emirates, an important American partner, in 2008.”*

Evidentiality discursive strategy was reflected in mentioning that the marks on the shipping containers indicate that those missiles were originally sold to the U.A.E, which were found then with Haftar’s forces.

4. *“If the Emirates transferred the weapons to General Hifter, it would likely violate the sales agreement with the United States as well as a United Nations arms embargo.”*

Polarization strategy was employed by emphasizing the negative things done by the U.A.E when they supplied weapons to Haftar which can probably be perceived as a violation of the sales agreement with the U.S and the U.N arms embargo on Libya.

5. *“The United States supports United Nations-led efforts to broker a peaceful solution to the Libyan crisis, the official added.”*

Presupposition discursive strategy was presented by illustrating the U.S do not support military solution and prefer a peaceful solution led by the United Nations.

6. *“Markings on the missile crates identify their joint manufacturer, the arms giants Raytheon and Lockheed Martin, and a contract number that corresponds with a \$115 million order for Javelin missiles that was placed by the United Arab Emirates and Oman in 2008.”*

7. *“Oman is not a player in Libya’s wars. But the United Arab Emirates, under its de facto leader Prince Mohammed bin Zayed, is one of General Hifter’s most committed foreign backers.”*

Similarly, *evidentiality* discursive strategy was reflected by proving that the missiles which were found in Libya with Haftar’s forces, were sold to the U.A.E and Oman in 2008. Oman does not have any role in Libyan conflict but the U.A.E has.

8. *“Emirati warplanes carried out airstrikes in 2017 that helped General Hifter win control of Benghazi, after years of battle against Islamist militias that leveled entire swaths of the eastern city.”*

Evidentiality discursive strategy was used by stating how the U.A.E supported Haftar and which kind of weapons were transferred to him. The U.A.E has been a great supporter of Haftar and contributed to his war in 2017 by conducting several airstrikes on the east of Libya.

9. *“When General Hifter started his assault on Tripoli on April 4, in the face of much international opposition, the Emiratis continued to support him. They supplied a Russian made surface-to-air missile system, Chinese-made Wing Loong combat drones and Emirati drones, said a senior Western official with knowledge of the arms trade.”*

“Senior Western official with knowledge of the arms trade” presented the *authority* and *evidentiality* discursive strategies according to Van Dijk’s terminology. Further, *polarization* strategy was employed by emphasizing on the negative role of the U.A.E in Libya, by supplying Haftar with diverse of weapons backing him on his attack on Tripoli and violating the UN-arms embargo on Libya.

10. *“Jordan, another American ally to side with General Hifter, sent a Jordanian-made anti-tank system known as Nashshab, the official said.”*

Polarization technique was also used here, by categorizing another Arab country backing Haftar in his assault on Tripoli, by transferring him a Jordanian-made anti-tank system.

11. *“Turkey, a regional rival of the United Arab Emirates, intervened on the other side of the fight, sending combat drones and armored vehicles to help the United Nations-backed government in Tripoli.”*

Lexicalization discursive strategy was used here, by using “help” to describe Turkey’s support to the legitimate government headed by Fayez Al-Sarraj, also it emphasized on the legitimate Libyan government as the “UN-backed government” to lead the readers to believe that this is the only legitimate political figure.

12. *“The United States supports the Tripoli government, which it helped install. However, President Trump appeared to endorse General Hifter and his military drive after the two men spoke by telephone in April, hailing his “significant role in fighting terrorism.”*

The U.S can be regarded as an actor, who has the ultimate *authority* to support the legitimate government headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj and helped to install it. Further, *implication* and *vagueness* strategies were presented in Trump’s stances by not providing the readers with much information about the call between Trump and Haftar, and whether the former supports the latter in his assault on Tripoli and overthrow the UN-recognized government that even the U.S supports it.

13. *“The foreign interventions, which flout a United Nations embargo on all arms sales to Libya, highlight how the conflict set off by the ouster of Libya’s longtime dictator, Col. Muammar el- Qaddafi, in 2011 has partly devolved into a proxy conflict between rival regional powers.”*

Presupposition strategy was presented in this paragraph by mentioning that the foreign intervention in Libya is a proxy was between rival powers.

14. *“The U.A.E. has been supplying advanced weapons to the Libyan theater for years,” said Oded Berkowitz, an Israeli security analyst who specializes in the Libyan conflict. “But now they seem to be throwing everything at it. And some of these weapons, like the Javelins, are real game-changers.”*

The U.A.E can be regarded as an actor of the event per Van Dijk’s Terminology. Similarly, *authority* and *evidentiality* discursive strategies were presented by stating that “Oded Berkowitz, an Israeli security analyst who specializes in the Libyan conflict” claimed that the U.A.E has been providing Haftar with weapons for years.

15. *“President Trump, though, has had a much closer relationship with his Emirati and Saudi allies in the Persian Gulf, a closeness that has left some wondering if it has emboldened the Emiratis in Libya.”*

The *counterfactual* strategy was employed in this paragraph, to lead the readers to conclude that Trump's sudden call to Mr. Haftar was due to the close relationships with the U.A.E and Saudi Arabia. Therefore, this news report reflects the second feature of Van Dijk's Ideological Square of emphasizing the negative things about them "Haftar and the U.A.E" by mentioning how the U.A.E supporting Haftar in his offensive on the capital of Libya as well as transferring weapons to him and violating the UN-arms embargo on Libya.

- *"Arab Emirates Denies sending American Missiles to Libya. July 2, 2019."*
- 1. *"The United Arab Emirates denied on Tuesday that it had supplied a Libyan armed group with powerful American-made missiles after a Democratic senator warned that Washington could halt all arms sales to the United Arab Emirates."*

In accordance with Van Dijk's framework, the U.A.E can be regarded as an *actor* of the event, also *authority* and *evidentiality* discursive strategies were highlighted in this paragraph by mentioning the warning by the Democratic senator to the U.A.E for transferring weapons to Libya and violating the American sales agreement.

- 2. *"On Friday the State Department said it had opened an investigation into how the weapons — four American-made Javelin armor-piercing missiles, normally sold only to close American allies — had found their way into a cache of arms discovered last week at a rebel base south of Tripoli."*

Polarization strategy was employed in this paragraph, by accusing one of the close allies to American of supplying American-made weapons to Haftar's forces and violating the UN-arms embargo on Libya as well as the U.S sales agreement.

- 3. *"Markings on the missile crates indicated they were part of a consignment sold to the United Arab Emirates in 2008, The New York Times reported. If confirmed, the transfer of those weapons to Libya would constitute "a serious violation of United States law," Senator Robert Menendez, the ranking Democrat on the Foreign Relations Committee, said in a letter to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo on Tuesday."*

Authority and *evidentiality* were presented, by mentioning "Senator Robert Menendez, the ranking Democrat on the Foreign Relations Committee", stating to Mr. Pompeo, the Secretary of the State, that if transferring U.S-made missiles to Libya by the U.A.E

was confirmed, it would signal a significant violation of the American's law. Similarly, *polarization* technique was employed by emphasizing the negative things by one of the American allies that back up Haftar against the UN-recognized government.

4. *“Later on Tuesday, the Emirati Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a short statement to say that it “denied ownership of weapons found in the Republic of Libya” and supported United Nations-led efforts to broker a political solution to the conflict in Libya.”*

The *irony* discursive strategy was reflected here in the statement of the Emirati Ministry of Foreign Affairs when he denied possessing the American weapons in Libya and declaring that his country supports the efforts by the U.N to broker a political solution to end the Libyan debacle.

5. *“An Emirati spokesman did not respond to a query about which weapons the statement referred to, but a senior Emirati official familiar with the matter said it concerned the Javelins.”*

The *vagueness* strategy was reflected when the Emirati spokesman did not react to the statement the referred to which weapons were transferred.

6. *“General Hifter's forces have been fighting to capture Tripoli, the capital, since April. They suffered a major setback last week with the loss of their base at Gheryan.”*

The *lexicalization* strategy was presented by using these lexicons “suffered, setback, loss” to label Haftar with his loss and struggle to capture the capital since April after he vowed to take control over Tripoli in a matter of time, by doing so, the editor attempted to depict Haftar as a weak political figure, who cannot easily control Libya.

7. *“The Emiratis are clearly stepping up their involvement as Hifter is floundering on the ground,” said Tarek Megerisi of the European Council on Foreign Relations, who recently published a paper on Libya's war. “They feel obliged to make sure he wins to protect their investment.”*

Authority and *evidentiality* strategies were illustrated when “Tarek Megerisi of the European Council on Foreign Relations,” stated that the U.A.E intensified their involvement in Libya as Haftar was struggling in the battlefield. To protect their investment in Libya, they felt obliged to support Haftar to win the battle.

8. *“In 2017, United Nations investigators said the United Arab Emirates had supplied General Hifter with attack helicopters, about 100 armored personnel carriers, and armed Chinese drones. The United Arab Emirates declined to comment to the investigators.”*

Moreover, *authority* and *evidentiality* were employed in this paragraph, by mentioning that the U.N investigator stated that the U.A.E supplied Haftar with weapons in 2017. The *polarization* strategy was also reflected by proving that the U.A.E backed Haftar with weapons despite the U.N arms embargo on Libya.

9. *“As General Hifter stepped up his assault on Tripoli in recent months, the United Arab Emirates has supplied his forces with more powerful weapons, including a Russian-made surface-to-air missile system known as the SA-22 Greyhound, a senior Western official said.”*

Similarly, *authority* and *evidentiality* were employed by demonstrating how Haftar received support from the U.A.E according to “a senior Western official”. Therefore, according to macro-analysis, the second element of emphasizing the negative things about them “Haftar and the U.A.E” was highlighted in this editorial, by demonstrating how the U.A.E support Haftar with arms to win the battle and establish control over Libya.

- *“U.S. Missiles found in Libyan Rebel camp were first sold to France. July 9, 2019.”*
- 1. *“A cache of powerful American missiles was sold to France before ending up in the hands of rebel fighters loyal to Gen. Khalifa Hifter, who is seeking to overthrow the United Nations-backed government in Tripoli.”*

According to Van Dijk’s Ideological Square, *lexicalization* was employed in this paragraph, by using “rebels” to describe the fighters who are royal to Haftar, “seeking to overthrow” to demonstrate them as a group of fighters who advanced to Tripoli just to topple the legitimate government not to liberate Tripoli from the extremist Islamist as Haftar claims, as well as depicting the UN-recognized government as “the U.N-backed government” to give more emphasis to it as the only legitimate political figure. Consequently, *polarization* discursive strategy was reflected by presenting the evil

deeds by Haftar who announced an assault on the capital of Libya to overthrow the UN-recognized government.

2. *“The four Javelin anti-tank missiles, which cost more than \$170,000 each and are usually sold only to close American allies, were recovered last month by Libyan government forces during a raid on a rebel camp in Gheryan, a town in the mountains south of Tripoli.”*

Similarly, the *lexicalization* strategy was reflected here by describing Haftar’s fighters as “rebels” not as fighters. The *polarization* strategy was employed by emphasizing the negative things done by Haftar’s forces for utilizing American-made missiles to attack Tripoli as well as emphasize the negative role of one of the American allies who possess these missiles and transferring them to Libya, and violate the UN-arms embargo on Libya.

3. *“On Tuesday, an adviser to the French armed forces minister confirmed that the Javelin missiles found in Gheryan belonged to French forces but said they were damaged and no longer usable. Responding to questions from The New York Times, he said the missiles were being temporarily stored in a warehouse awaiting destruction and were not transferred to local forces.”*

In this paragraph, two discursive strategies were employed in the statement of the French advisor, namely *vagueness* and *irony*. The strategy was reflected in a confirmation by an adviser to the French Armed Forces Minister that the missiles which were found in Libya belonged to French forces, it was not mentioned why these missiles were there and why French military forces were in Libya. Further, the *irony* strategy was presented when the adviser to the French armed forces minister stated that “the missiles were being temporarily stored in a warehouse awaiting destruction and were not transferred to local forces”.

4. *“But that account left many questions unanswered about how the weapons ended up in a rebel compound near the front lines of a battle that the United Nations said on Tuesday has led to over 1,000 deaths since April, including 106 civilians.”*

Lexicalization technique used to depict Haftar fighters as “rebels” instead of forces, to send a negative mental image to the readers towards Haftar’s fighters. The United Nations presented the *authority* and *evidentiality* discursive strategies, that proved the

battle in Libya caused over 1000 deaths including 106 civilians since April when Haftar announced his offensive on Tripoli to overthrow that UN-recognized government headed by Fayed Al-Sarraj. Likewise, the *number game* strategy was employed by stating the number of dead people in Libya.

5. *“After capturing Gheryan, pro-government fighters uncovered Chinese-made attack drones and the stock of four American-made Javelin missiles at an abandoned base. Known in the military as “fire and forget” weapons, the Javelins are guided by infrared technology and are capable of destroying all currently fielded main battle tanks.”*

The polarizing strategy was used when different kinds of foreign weapons with Haftar forces were revealed by the fighters who are loyal to the UN-recognized government. In this process, the evil deeds by Haftar’s fighters and foreign powers who back up Haftar were emphasized.

6. *“General Hifter, the aspiring strongman based in eastern Libya whose forces were storing the Javelins, relied on military assistance from the United Arab Emirates, France, and Egypt in his fight to capture the eastern city of Benghazi, his current headquarters.”*
7. *“During the grinding battle for control of Benghazi between 2014 and 2017, the Emiratis supplied attack helicopters, warplanes, and drones to General Hifter’s air force. Egypt carried out airstrikes against the eastern city of Derna in support of his forces.”*

In the above paragraphs, *polarization* discursive strategy was employed by emphasizing the role of some countries, such as, the U.A.E, France, and Egypt in the Libyan war, that back up Haftar since 2014, by supplying him with different types of weapons and ignoring the UN-arms embargo in Libya.

8. *“Then in July 2016, the then-president of France, François Hollande, said that three members of the French Special Forces had been killed in a helicopter crash in Libya during “dangerous intelligence operations.” Days earlier, an Islamist militia fighting against General Hifter said it had shot down a helicopter 45 miles south of Benghazi.”*

Authority and evidentiality discursive strategies were presented in “the then-president of France, François Hollande in 2016, stated that three of the French Special Forces were had been killed in Libya in a helicopter crash.

9. *“On the other side of the war, Qatar and Turkey have funded Islamist factions in Libya since 2011. American officials say the Qataris have scaled back their involvement in recent years, but Turkey has ramped up its engagement.”*

The *polarization* discursive strategy was employed by emphasizing the role of Qatar and Turkey in the Libyan conflict by funding Islamist parties since 2011.

10. *“As the fight for Tripoli intensified, the Turks sent armed drones and armored vehicles to the forces of the Government of National Unity, which is backed by the United Nations and was defending the capital against attack by General Hifter.”*

The *counterfactual* discursive strategy was used by mentioning that Turkey sent arms to the Government of National Accord which headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj, to convince the readers that Turkey transfers the weapon to the legitimate government to help this government to secure Tripoli from Haftar’s offensive. *Lexicalization* strategy was also used by depicting the UN-recognized government as “backed by the United Nations”, to lead the readers to believe this is the legitimate Libyan political figure.

Consequently, the second component of the Ideological Square of emphasizing the negative things about them “Haftar and France” by depicting Haftar’s fighters as rebels who advanced to Tripoli to establish control over Libya. Further, the editor stressed on the efforts that France did to help Haftar’s campaign, by supplying him with American-made missiles.

4.4.2.3 The Washington Post

- *“In Libya, fears of full-blown civil war as fighting nears capital Tripoli. April 6.”*
- 1. *“Libya edged closer to full-blown civil war on Friday as forces of an eastern commander clashed with pro-government militias near the capital, Tripoli, and an effort by the U.N. chief failed to stop the offensive.”*

In accordance with Van Dijk's terminology, the *lexicalization* strategy was presented in this paragraph, by using "full-blown civil war" to depict the inevitable future for Libya by entering the country in a civil war, after Haftar announced an offensive on Tripoli. Further, the *polarization* strategy was reflected in emphasizing the evil deeds by Haftar and the consequences of his assault on Tripoli.

2. *"After meeting Friday with the renegade warlord, Khalifa Hifter, in the eastern Libyan city of Benghazi, U.N. Secretary-General António Guterres said in a tweet that he was leaving Libya "with a heavy heart and deeply concerned."*

Lexicalization strategy was employed in this paragraph, by depicting Haftar as a "renegade warlord" without providing him with a military rank.

3. *"Hifter's force, which calls itself the Libyan National Army, pushed forward toward the capital and clashed with militias that support the U.N.-installed, Western-backed government."*

Similarly, *lexicalization* discursive strategy was employed, by mentioning "which calls itself the Libyan National Army" referring to the forces led by Haftar who self-proclaimed these forces as a "Libyan National Army" that only belong to him, not to the official government. In addition, the editor attempted to stress describing the legitimate government headed by Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj, as the government which is installed by U.N and backed by Western.

4. *"It also would deepen the chaos and lawlessness that has turned Libya into a hub for smuggling migrants to Europe and at one time allowed the Islamic State to establish a foothold in the coastal city of Sirte. Increased insecurity could allow the militants to regroup and set off a new rush of people fleeing to neighboring countries or over dangerous sea routes in the Mediterranean."*

Presupposition discursive strategy was presented by demonstrating Libya as a ground for smuggling migrants and ISIS, due to the unstable situation in Libya, stressing on more possibilities for ISIS to regroup after the recent conflict when Haftar announced an offensive on Tripoli. Consequently, the *polarization* strategy was employed by emphasizing the negative role of Haftar in Libya and the effects of his assault on the Mediterranean countries not only Libya.

5. *“The offensive took the country and the international community by surprise. Guterres had traveled to Libya this week in the hope of bringing the rival sides to a national reconciliation conference scheduled for later this month. Its main goal was to set up a road map for long-delayed elections.”*

Polarization discursive strategy was employed by emphasizing the negative things about Haftar and how he surprised the international community by announcing an assault on Tripoli, while it was scheduled in late April 2019 for the warring sides to sit on the negotiation table and find a political solution to end the Libya debacle.

6. *“It remained unclear whether Hifter’s advance was intended to gain a stronger negotiation position in any talks over the future of Libya. On Thursday, the United States and other countries called for an immediate de-escalation of tensions. France and the United Arab Emirates are widely said to be Hifter’s key backers.”*

Vagueness discursive strategy was employed by stating that the Haftar’s motives behind announcing an offensive on Tripoli were not clear, whether to establish control over Tripoli and overthrow the UN-recognized government or to gain a more significant position in the future of Libya. Similarly, the categorization strategy was used to categorize France and the U.A.E as supporters of Haftar instead of the legitimate government which is headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj.

7. *“Late Friday, the U.N. Security Council called on Hifter to pull back his forces, warning that further advances would jeopardize any hopes for stability in Libya. “There can be no military solution to the conflict,” said Germany’s U.N. Ambassador Christoph Heusgen, the president of the council, reading a statement from the body.”*

UN Security Council can be regarded as an actor of the news that has the authority over Libya to ask Haftar to halt advancing to Tripoli. Also, the populism strategy was reflected in the statement of the UN Security Council when it was stressed on “there can be no military solution to the conflict”.

8. *“Foreign ministers of the Group of Seven nations — the United States, France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Canada — also called for a halt to the military actions.”*

Authority strategy was employed by stating the seven nations “calling for a halt to the military actions,” and presented them against Haftar’s campaign to take control over Tripoli. Thus, the second feature of the macro-strategy of emphasizing the negative things about them “Haftar” was highlighted in this news report, by accentuating the harmful deeds of Haftar when he announced his campaign to take control over Tripoli and seize the UN-recognized government headed by Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj.

- *“Trump’s call renegade Libyan general could signal a shift in U.S. policy. April 19.”*
- 1. *“The White House said Friday that President Trump, in a phone call with renegade Libyan general Khalifa Hifter, praised Hifter for fighting terrorism and protecting Libya’s oil, comments that were far afield from the administration’s stated policy on Libya.”*

Vagueness discursive strategy was employed by stating that Mr. Trump called Haftar and praised him for fighting terrorism and securing Libyan oil. Trump’s stance towards the conflict was sort of ambiguous, when he called Haftar, he did not declare that he is supporting Haftar over the legitimate government. Further, the *presupposition* strategy was used by presenting that US administration policy on Libya which supports the UN-recognized government headed by Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj.

- 2. *“Hifter, whose militia forces have long controlled eastern Libya, launched an offensive early this month to seize Tripoli, the capital, and oust the U.N.-backed government.”*

Lexicalization discursive strategy was reflected in this paragraph, by using these lexicons “militias” to describe Haftar forces and not calling it military forces or army, also using “seize and oust” to depict Haftar’s offensive on Tripoli as an official and illegal activities to take the UN-recognized government place.

- 3. *“Amid heavy fighting that threatens all-out urban warfare, the United Nations and many countries including the United States — have called for an immediate cease-fire.”*

Authority and *evidentiality* discursive strategies were presented in this paragraph, by stating that the United Nations and many countries including the US are urging for a cease-fire and against any military solution. Consequently, the mentioned countries

are against Haftar's campaign of attacking the Libyan capital and overthrowing the UN-recognized government.

4. *"The State Department and the Defense Department have publicly urged Hifter to stand down and join U.N.- led negotiations with the National Accord government headed by Prime Minister Fayez Serraj. In a sharply worded statement last week, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said that the United States was "deeply concerned" and that "we have made clear that we oppose the military offensive" by Hifter's forces."*

The State Department and the Defense Department were depicted as the *actors* of the event, who have the absolute *authority* to urge Haftar, which represents one of the warring sides in the Libyan conflict, to halt offensive on the capital of Libya. Similarly, *evidentiality* discursive strategy was reflected in the statement by Mr. Mike Pompeo, the Secretary of the State, who stressed on "the US made it clear that they oppose the military offensive by Haftar's forces." Therefore, the *polarization* strategy was employed by emphasizing the evil deeds by Haftar in which he announced an assault on Tripoli to overthrow the legitimate government and establish control over Tripoli.

5. *"The White House statement, released four days after Trump's previously unreported call on Monday, made no mention of Hifter's offensive, a cease-fire or the U.N. effort. Referring to Hifter as "Field Marshal," it said he and Trump discussed "a shared vision for Libya's transition to a stable, democratic political system."*
6. *"The White House declined to respond to questions about the call or how it came about. Calls with the president are normally reserved for fellow heads of government."*
7. *"A State Department official said Friday that "we have voiced our deep concern at the highest levels about instability in Tripoli" and said that "all involved parties should return to the political process."*
8. *"At the same time, "we continue to believe that General Hifter can be an important part of a political solution," said the official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity under rules imposed by the State Department."*

The previous paragraphs demonstrated two discursive strategies, namely, *vagueness* and *implication* strategies, by stating imprecise stances of the US towards the Libyan conflict and the two warring sides, the mentioned statements were swinging in favor

of Haftar while the US recognized the UN-recognized government as the legitimate government which headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj, and the latter did not receive any new notification about the US's stances towards them or declaring an official statement to support Haftar over the UN-recognized government.

9. *"Acting defense secretary Patrick Shanahan said Friday that the Pentagon and the executive branch are well aligned on Libya." Asked if the United States supports Hifter's offensive, he said that "the military solution is not what Libya needs."*

Defense secretary Patrick Shanahan can be regarded as an *actor* of the event, also the Pentagon can demonstrate the *authority* strategy according to Van Dijk's terminology. Moreover, *vagueness* discursive strategy was reflected when he was asked whether the U.S supports Haftar's offensive, the answer was "the military solution is not what Libya needs".

10. *"Several Libya experts compared the call, and the White House statement, to previous times when Trump appeared to contradict stated foreign policy. In December, during a call with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Trump said he would immediately withdraw all U.S. troops from Syria. State Department officials and the president's own national security adviser, John Bolton, had recently announced the outlines of a new strategy to keep U.S. forces there indefinitely."*

State Department officials and the president's own national security adviser, John Bolton can be depicted as the *actors* of the event. *Authority* and *evidentiality* discursive strategies were reflected when the president's own national security adviser, John Bolton and State Department officials stated that even though Trump called Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan informing the latter that the U.S is going to withdraw immediately all American troops from Syria, while then it was announced the outlines of a new strategy to maintain American troops in Syria for an indefinite period. Consequently, *counterfactual* was employed by demonstrating how Mr. trump quickly shifts policies, to lead the readers to believe that that call between Mr. Trump and Haftar cannot make any significant changes to the conflict in Libya.

11. *“Hifter’s primary backers are the governments of Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia, whose leaders are in close and regular contact with Trump. Egyptian President Abdel Fatah al-Sissi visited Washington last week. On Thursday, Trump spoke by phone with Abu Dhabi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Zayed, the country’s de facto ruler.”*
12. *“All three of those governments, and Hifter, have charged that Libya is a hotbed of political Islam and the Muslim Brotherhood, which the Trump administration has considered designating a terrorist organization.”*

In the above paragraphs, the *presupposition* discursive strategy was employed by stating the countries that back Haftar, such as, Egypt and the U.A.E, and stressing on the close relationship between the mentioned countries and Trump. To pave the way to the readers to draw a conclusion and link the events together and lead them to think the surprising Trump’s call to Haftar happened after the presidents of those countries lobbied Haftar to take this decision.

13. *“Russia has also provided Hifter’s Libyan National Army forces “with all kinds of equipment, people, training and the like,” Marine Gen. Thomas Waldhauser, head of the U.S. Africa Command, told lawmakers last month, shortly before ordering the evacuation of the small contingent of U.S. military forces in Tripoli. U.S. diplomats assigned to Libya are based in neighboring Tunisia.”*

Marine Gen. Thomas Waldhauser, head of the U.S. Africa Command can be regarded as an *actor* that can also demonstrate the *authority* and *evidentiality* strategies that proved even Russia is backing up Haftar by offering weapons, soldiers, and training Haftar’s forces.

14. *“But Western allies have also agreed that Hifter’s attempt to take control of the country through military force is likely to increase turmoil in Libya, perhaps opening the door to even more terrorist activity, and have supported a negotiated solution.”*

This paragraph presented the *vagueness* discursive strategy by mentioning “Western allies” by stating them, approved that Haftar’s attack on Tripoli to establish control over Libya by military forces would help the growth of violence and terrorist activities.

15. *“Trump’s call with Hifter “pretty much undermines seven or eight years of U.S. policy,” including during Trump’s first two years, said Ben Fishman, who served as director for Libya at the National Security Council during the Obama administration. “Our policy was to support a U.N.-backed peace process.” By describing Hifter as a counterterrorism partner and “someone who would protect the oil fields,” Fishman said, “It sure sounds to me that [Trump] is playing favorites.”*

According to “Ben Fishman, who served as director for Libya at the National Security Council during the Obama administration’s statement” and depicting Mr. Trump as he is playing favorites, after almost eight years of the U.S policy to support the UN-recognized government. By doing so, *vagueness* strategy can be explicitly seen, by maintain swinging between the two warring sides and not declare a clear announcement about the recent U. S’s stance.

16. *“Frederic Wehrey, author of “The Burning Shores: Inside the Battle for a New Libya,” described the call, and the White House description of it, as “another flip-flopping reversal, and a case of mixed signals, by Trump’s highly personalized, capricious interventions.”*

The author of “The Burning Shores, Frederic Wehrey, can be regarded an *actor*, who started from his point of view that Mr. Trump’s call is “another flip-flopping” as a sign of another abrupt policy by him, also the author described his policy as “personalized and capricious intervention”.

17. *“Deborah Jones, who served as U.S. ambassador to Libya from 2013 to 2015, said she thought that “the president has been influenced by an overly optimistic assessment of Hifter’s ability to take Tripoli,” and that Hifter’s supporters “are gambling that this alleged USA endorsement will turn the tide.”*

Authority and evidentiality strategies were illustrated in “Deborah Jones, who served as U.S. ambassador to Libya from 2013 to 2015”, who believes that Mr. Trump was highly optimistic and influenced, by thinking Haftar might establish control over Tripoli, attempting to assess Trumps’ call as ill-advised.

18. *“In a briefing for reporters Thursday, Stéphane Dujarric, spokesman for U.N. Secretary-General António Guterres, said that “the number of civilian casualties and attacks on civilian property and infrastructure is on the rise” in*

and around Tripoli. U.N. negotiator Ghassan Salame has made “impassioned calls... for at least a humanitarian pause” in the fighting, Dujarric said.”

Victimization discursive strategy was presented by emphasizing on the increasing number of civilians in an around Tripoli due to Haftar’s attack to take control of Tripoli. *Authority* and *evidentiality* strategies were explicitly presented by mentioning “Stéphane Dujarric, spokesman for U.N. Secretary-General António Guterres”. Therefore, the *polarization* strategy was presented by emphasizing on the evil deeds done by Haftar and the major damages he caused to Libya.

Consequently, the third aspect of the Ideological Square of de-emphasizing the negative things about us “the U.S” by using vagueness strategy to present the U.S’s stance towards Libya, and not providing with more information about the call between Trump and Haftar.

- *“Turkey accuses Libyan commander of detaining Turkish citizens, threatens retaliation. The Middle East. June.30.”*
- 1. *“Turkey’s foreign ministry said Sunday that six of its citizens had been detained in Libya by militias loyal to the powerful military commander Khalifa Hifter, and warned that Hifter’s forces would become “legitimate targets” if the Turks were not released.”*

In terms of Van Dijk’s micro-analysis, Turkey’s foreign ministry was regarded as an *actor* of the event. *Authority* strategy was reflected when the foreign ministry of Turkey accused Commander Haftar of detaining six Turkish citizens, and he added that Haftar’s forces would become “legitimate targets for Turkey” if Haftar did not release the Turkish citizen. Similarly, the *number-game* discursive strategy was used by mentioning that “six Turkish citizens” were detained by Haftar. Therefore, the *polarization* technique was presented by emphasizing the evil deeds by Haftar’s forces, who detained Turkish citizens without any guilt.

- 2. *“Later Sunday, forces loyal to Hifter said they destroyed a Turkish drone parked at Tripoli’s only working airport and declared a “general mobilization,” the news agency Reuters reported.”*

In this paragraph, the news was cited from “Reuters”. *Authority* and *evidentiality* discursive strategies were employed by mentioning “the news agency Reuters” reported that Haftar said his army destroyed a full Turkish-drone hangar in Tripoli.

3. *“The events threatened to further inflame Libya’s precarious and violent civil conflict. Hundreds of people have been killed in recent months during some of the worst fighting in Libya since the revolt that toppled Moammar Gaddafi in 2011.”*

Number game discursive strategy was employed by stating that “hundreds of people” have been killed in Libya. Also, *victimization* technique was reflected in portraying hundreds of Libyans have been killed in recent months since Haftar announced an assault on Tripoli.

4. *“It was the latest sign of the deepening proxy war in Libya between rival foreign powers, including Turkey and the United Arab Emirates, which have competed for influence around the Middle East since the revolts of the Arab Spring eight years ago.”*

Presupposition discursive strategy was reflected in this paragraph, by demonstrating the ongoing conflict in Libya since the Libyan uprising is a proxy war, where foreign powers, such as Turkey and the UAE seek for more impact on North African and the Middle East.

5. *“Hifter, a former general in Gaddafi’s army, is the commander of the self-proclaimed Libyan National Army and aligned with a government operating in eastern Libya. In April, he launched an offensive on Tripoli, the Libyan capital, aimed at ousting the U.N.-backed government there.”*

Lexicalization discursive strategy was presented by using “self-proclaimed” to depict Haftar’s forces, by using this lexicon, the editor attempted to guide the readers to believe that Haftar’s force or as it is called “Libyan National Army” is merely a group of militias led by Haftar and has no official name nor linked with the legitimate political government. Also, by using “ousting” which refers to Haftar’s announcement to launch an offensive on Tripoli and overthrow the legitimate government that was depicted in the paragraph as “the UN-backed government”. Similarly, *polarization* strategy was employed by emphasizing the negative actions by Haftar when he announced an assault on Tripoli to establish control over Tripoli and topple the UN-recognized government which is based in Tripoli and headed by the Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj.

6. *“Several foreign countries have violated an international arms embargo on Libya, according to U.N. investigators. Hifter has received materiel and direct military support from the U.A.E. and Egypt; Turkey has recently provided armed drones and armored vehicles to the U.N.-backed government.”*

Authority and evidentiality discursive strategies were presented by mentioning “according to U.N investigators”, which reported some foreigner powers provided the warring sides with weapons and violated the U.N arms embargo on Libya. It was proved by the U.N that the U.A.E and Egypt have transferred materials and direct military support to Haftar to back him in his offensive on Tripoli to oust the legitimate government headed by the Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj. Also, it was mentioned that Turkey has lately transferred arms to the UN-recognized government which is based in Tripoli.

7. *“Qatar also supports the U.N.-backed government, while France, Russia, and Saudi Arabia have backed Hifter’s forces.”*

Lexicalization discursive strategy was reflected in “support and back”, the editor described the role of Qatar in the Libyan situation as supporting the UN-recognized government only, while he stated that “France, Russia, and Saudi Arabia have backed Haftar’s forces” as a signal for their finance and arms backing.

8. *“The Trump administration has sent mixed signals about Hifter’s campaign: While the United States officially supports the U.N.-backed government, President Trump appeared to endorse Hifter’s offensive during a phone call with the Libyan commander in April.”*

Vagueness discursive strategy was reflected in this paragraph, by stating that Trump’s administration transmitted imprecise signs about their stance towards Haftar’s offensive. *Authority and evidentiality* strategies were presented when the U.S officially supported the UN-recognized government which is based in Tripoli and headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj.

9. *“Hifter’s offensive scuttled an intensive international effort to reconcile the warring sides, resulting in a bloody stalemate.”*

Lexicalization strategy was employed in this paragraph, by using these lexicons “scuttled” to associate Haftar with all the consequence of the ongoing conflict in Libya, as a result of his intend failing the plan where the two warring sides were about to

reconcile the issue, also using “bloody stalemate” to depict the recent situation in Libya after Haftar announced an assault on Tripoli to overthrow the legitimate government. Similarly, the polarization technique was reflected in highlighting the evil deeds by Haftar to attack the Libyan capital and attempting to topple the UN-recognized government.

10. *“The United Nations’ special envoy to Libya, Ghassan Salame, warned that the fighting could lead to the permanent division of the country. And recent attacks in Libya by a local affiliate of the Islamic State group suggest the militants might be taking advantage of Libya’s latest instability to regroup”*

The counterfactual discursive strategy was employed by emphasizing the consequences of the recent war in Libya might lead to a division of Libya as well as pave the way for the Islamic States to regroup. Furthermore, the *polarization* strategy was presented by emphasizing the negative role of Haftar and the damage he caused in Libya after he attacked Tripoli.

Therefore, this news report supported the second aspect of the macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about them “Haftar and the countries that back him”, in this regard, the detaining of Turkish citizens by Haftar was highlighted as well as transferring weapons to Haftar by the U.A.E, Saudi Arabia and Egypt was emphasized.

- *“US missiles found in Libya compound belonged to France. July 10.”*
- 1. *“France’s Defense Ministry acknowledged Wednesday that U.S.-made missiles captured from the self-styled Libyan National Army belonged to the French military.”*

In the light of Van Dijk’s terminology, France’s Defense Ministry can be regarded as an *actor* of the event. *Authority* and *evidentiality* discursive strategy were reflected in the acknowledgment of France’s Defense Ministry for possessing the American-made missiles, which were captured from Haftar’s forces. Moreover, the *lexicalization* technique was presented by using “self-styled” to describe the Libyan National Army which led by Haftar as a self-proclaimed army that does not belong to the official authorities. Further, *polarization* strategy was employed by emphasizing the evil things about “them” France, and how they contribute to escalating the violence in Libya by providing Haftar with weapons despite the UN-arms embargo on Libya since 2011.

2. *“A statement said the missiles were originally intended to protect French anti-terrorism forces in Libya and so did not violate an arms embargo. It said they were damaged and no longer operational and were put into storage for destruction.”*

In this paragraph, according to a statement by France, they claimed the missiles were not sent to Haftar forces, they were utilized to protect the French anti-terrorism forces in Libya, thus the UN-arms embargo was not violated by France. The French statement employed a *lexicalization* strategy, such as, “anti-terrorism” to provide the readers with a positive connotation towards the intention of France of using such missiles in Libya, and make the readers believe that those missiles were used by French forces to combat terrorism. Therefore, the statement used a *categorization* technique to categorize France and its allies as anti-terrorism.

3. *“The revelation risks being highly embarrassing for France, which has offered support for LNA leader Khalifa Hifter. Hifter controls much of eastern Libya and is fighting militias in Tripoli loosely allied to a weak, U.N.-backed government. Pro-government fighters seized the FGM-148 Javelin anti-tank missiles, UAE-made Yabhon drones, and Russia-made Kornet anti-tank guided missiles in June.”*

Evidentiality was used in this paragraph by emphasizing the French role in Libya and its contribution by sending weapons to back Libyan National Army led by Haftar, who announced an assault on Tripoli in April, to topple the UN-recognized government and take control of the Libya capital. Similarly, *vagueness* discursive strategy was employed by not mentioning precisely which of the Libyan warring sides received the official support after Trump’s call to the leader of LNA in April.

4. *“France denied transferring the missiles to Hifter’s forces and said the Americans had been informed.”*

The *irony* strategy was reflected here after France denying providing Haftar with weapons, while some source and French’s defense ministry acknowledged possessing American-made missiles that were captured in Libya. Therefore, the news report presented the second feature of the macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about “them” France, by highlighting France’s evil deeds of transferring weapons to Libya despite the UN-arms embargo on Libya.

4.4.2.4 Bloomberg

- *“Libya Showdown Looms as Haftar Orders Advance on Tripoli. April 4, 2019.”*
- 1. *“Libyan strongman Khalifa Haftar ordered his forces on Thursday to advance on the capital, threatening a major escalation in violence that could reshape the country’s political map and upend plans for a negotiated settlement to its conflict.”*

By Van Dijk’s terminology, *polarization* discursive strategy was employed by emphasizing that Haftar’s advance on Tripoli might “threatening a major escalation in violence” and would probably restructure the political scene in Libya and end any political solution as well as a negotiated settlement.

- 2. *“We hear your call, Tripoli,” the commander told his self-styled Libyan National Army, according to a recorded speech he gave to troops.”*

Lexicalization strategy was employed here by depicting Haftar Army as a “self-styled Libyan National Army” to refer to his proclaimed forces that do not present whole Libyans.

- 3. *“It’s been clear for a long time that Haftar’s ambition is to be the leader of Libya,” said Crispin Hawes, founder of the Idrisi Advisors consultancy in London. “He needs the institutions that control the money,” namely the National Oil Corp. and the central bank. Both are based in Tripoli.”*

Authority and *evidentiality* discursive strategies were presented in “Crispin Hawes, founder of the Idrisi Advisors consultancy in London” who stated that Haftar was seeking to be the leader of Libya for a long time ago. *The presupposition* strategy was employed by convincing the readers that Haftar’s campaign on Tripoli was to control the most critical institutions such as the central bank and the National Oil Corp.

- 4. *“Since a NATO-backed war ended Muammar Qaddafi’s 42-year rule in 2011, OPEC member Libya has been carved up among militias, with rival administrations eventually emerging in the east and Tripoli. Though it sits on Africa’s largest proven reserves of crude, infighting has repeatedly interrupted oil shipments and production, hitting the economy and roiling global oil markets.”*

Presupposition discursive strategy was employed to shed light on the importance of Libya as it has the largest proven reserve of crude in Africa and decreasing in Libyan oil production might hit the economy swinging global oil markets. Thus, these factors have a significant role in the conflict in Libya. Hence, this news report supported the second feature of macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about them “Haftar” which was reflected in depicting Haftar’s offensive on Tripoli as a critical factor to escalating violence in Libya and end any kind of negotiation between the warring, in addition, his offensive might reform the political map in Libya. Similarly, illustrate Haftar’s fighters as “self-styled army”.

- *“Pompeo Warns Libyan Warlord's Forces to Halt Advance on Tripoli. April.8.”*
- 1. *“The Trump administration issued a stern warning to Libyan militia leader Khalifa Haftar to halt his forces’ advance on Tripoli, sending oil prices to their highest level in more than four months amid mounting supply concerns.”*

The Trump administration was depicted as an *actor* according to Van Dijk’s terminology, also it presented the *authority* strategy that can be perceived in warning Haftar to halt the attack on Tripoli. Similarly, the *lexicalization* strategy was employed by demonstrating Haftar’s fighters as “militias” and Haftar was depicted as “Libyan militias leader”. The *Polarization* strategy was reflected in mentioning the negative effects on the world not just in Libya after Haftar attacked Tripoli, which led to an increase in the prices of oil and threatening the global oil markets.

- 2. *“We have made clear that we oppose the military offensive by Khalifa Haftar’s forces and urge the immediate halt to these military operations against the Libyan capital,” Pompeo said. “There is no military solution to the Libya conflict.”*

Pompeo, the Secretary of the State, can be regarded as an *actor*, who has the *authority* to make a statement that can determine the Libyan political scene. Further, *evidentiality* discursive technique was reflected in Mr. Pompeo’s statement that they were against the military assault on Tripoli by Haftar’s fighters. *Polarization* strategy was employed by emphasizing the harmful actions by Haftar, who announced in early April an offensive on Tripoli, to overthrow the UN-recognized government and establish control over Libya.

3. *“Haftar is moving his self-styled Libyan National Army west to Tripoli to fight what he says is “terrorism,” after solidifying control of the east and sweeping through the south in January. Clashes have continued on the outskirts of the capital, including airstrikes, despite appeals by global powers to halt the offensive.”*
4. *“A political solution is the only way to unify the country and provide a plan for security, stability, and prosperity for all Libyans,” Pompeo said”.*

Lexicalization strategy was reflected in using “his self-styled Libyan National Army” to depict Haftar’s fighters as proclaimed forces. Polarization strategy was employed by emphasizing the damaging deeds by Haftar when he announced an assault on Tripoli to overthrow the legitimate government headed by Prime Minister Fayed Al-Sarraj, despite International powers that urged Haftar to halt the offensive.

Consequently, this news report reflected the first aspect of Van Dijk’s Ideological Square which is emphasizing the positive things about us “the U.S” that was against Haftar’s offensive on Tripoli nor with any kind of military solution in Libya. The second aspect of macro-analysis was also reflected which is emphasizing on the negative things about them “Haftar” in which he announced an assault on Tripoli with his self-styled forces to topple the legitimate government headed Prime Minister Fayed Al-Sarraj.

- *“Libya Says Missile Find Shows France Is Backing Haftar Offensive. July.14.”*
- 1. *“The Javelin anti-tank missiles were uncovered when government forces retook Gharyan from Haftar in late June, a surprise setback for the eastern commander who’d been using the city as a forward operating base for his campaign to take the capital. After wide-ranging speculation over who had supplied the weapons, France last week acknowledged ownership and said the missiles were left behind by one of its counter-terrorism teams and were no longer operational.”*

In the light of Van Dijk’s Ideological Square, polarization strategy was employed in this paragraph, by emphasizing the evil deeds by France that supplied Haftar fighters with missiles, ignoring the fact that Libya is still under the UN-arms embargo.

2. *“Speaking in an interview in the Libyan city of Misrata, Interior Minister Fathi Bashagha disputed France’s claim that the missiles were inoperable and said his government has asked experts from the United Nations and the U.S. to examine the weapons to confirm they are in working order.”*
3. *“The dung leads to the camel,” Bashagha said, quoting an Arab proverb. “France implicated itself when it said the Javelins were with a French security team. If the Javelins belonged to a French security team, that means France has admitted it was present militarily and officially in Gharyan to support Haftar.”*

Interior Minister Fathi Bashagha can be regarded as an actor, who has the authority to accuse France of presenting officially and military to back Haftar in his campaign, to take control of Tripoli and topple the legitimate government which is based in Tripoli and headed by Fayeze Al-Sarraj. In addition, Interior Minister asked experts from the UN and the US to investigate whether the weapons that were found in Libya are in working orders or not.

4. *“Haftar’s campaign has ground to a halt on Tripoli’s outskirts, with the fighting leaving at least 1,000 people dead and regional powers backing either side in the Middle East’s latest struggle for supremacy.”*

The number-game discursive strategy was employed by stating “as least 1000 people were dead” since Haftar launched his offensive on Tripoli. Thus, the second aspect of macro-analysis was highlighted by emphasizing the negative things about them “Haftar and France” when France supplied Haftar with missiles to back his offensive on Tripoli which led to the killing at of least 1000 people since Haftar established his campaign.

- *“Putin-Linked Mercenaries Are Fighting on Libya’s Front Lines. September.25.”*
1. *“A private army linked to Russian President Vladimir Putin has begun fighting on the front lines of the Libyan war, according to people familiar with the matter, the latest projection of Russian power following a decisive military intervention in Syria.”*

Polarization discursive strategy was employed by emphasizing how Russia has a role in escalating violence in Libya, by providing Haftar with Russian mercenaries linked to the Russian President Vladimir Putin, to fight with Haftar's fighter on the front lines against the UN-recognized government forces.

2. *"More than 100 mercenaries from the Wagner group headed by Yevgeny Prigozhin, also known as "Putin's chef" for his Kremlin catering contracts, arrived at a forward base in Libya in the first week of September to support eastern strongman Khalifa Haftar's assault on the capital Tripoli, said the people, who included Libyan and Western officials. All asked not to be named because they weren't authorized to speak with the press."*

The number-game strategy was presented by stating "more than 100 mercenaries" were sent to Libya. Similarly, the *polarization* technique was employed to emphasize the harmful deeds by Russia of sending mercenaries to Libya to fight hand in hand with Haftar's fighters against the legitimate government forces who are defending the Libyan capital.

3. *"A Russian mercenary commander also confirmed that Wagner contractors were fighting in Libya and said that some had been killed in action there. Their arrival this month coincided with an escalation in airstrikes in support of Haftar, who is pushing for decisive gains on the battlefield to strengthen his hand before an international peace conference expected next month. His forces have been bogged down at Tripoli's outskirts since early April."*

In accordance with the terminology of Van Dijk, *authority* and *evidentiality* were presented in confirmation of a Russian mercenary commander, who admitted that "Wagner contractors were fighting in Libya and some of them had been killed in an action there". Therefore, *polarization* strategy was employed by stressing on the Russian role in fueling the war in Libya by supporting Haftar in his offensive on Tripoli against the UN-recognized government that is headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj.

4. *"An official with Haftar's Libyan National Army said no Russian or other foreign fighters were within its ranks. Prigozhin did not answer emailed questions. Putin's spokesman Dmitry Peskov said they have no information regarding mercenaries in Libya."*

Vagueness discursive strategy was reflected in this paragraph, by stating that Prigozhin and Putin's spokesman Dmitry Peskov did not mention any clear statement about the Russian mercenaries in Libya.

5. *"In Libya, his men join an already crowded battlefield. The United Arab Emirates and Egypt also support Haftar, while Turkey backs the United Nations-recognized government in Tripoli. Both sides are attacking each other with armed drones, with the U.A.E. deploying Chinese Wing Loongs and the Tripoli government using Turkish models. Wagner's men have been providing Haftar with artillery support, two Western diplomats said."*

Authority and evidentiality discursive strategies were presented in "two Western diplomats" who mentioned the foreign countries that were involved in the Libyan battle by supporting different warring sides. *The counterfactual* technique was used by demonstrating how those countries are involved in escalating the war, to lead the readers to think this war is a proxy war serving those countries benefits in Libya.

6. *"In Libya, home to the largest oil reserves in Africa, Russia has supported Haftar while also lobbying for a political role for Saif al-Islam al-Qaddafi, the son of the late Kremlin-friendly dictator. In May, two Russian citizens connected to Prigozhin were arrested on charges of seeking to influence possible future elections in Libya and were alleged to have been involved in organizing meetings with Saif al-Islam and his representatives."*

Presupposition strategy was employed by presenting the Russian role in Libya of backing Haftar with his campaign, to gain control over Libya and overthrow the legitimate government headed by Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj, also urging for a political position for Saif Al-Islam, the son of Colonel Muammar Al-Ghaddafi. Moreover, *the counterfactual* strategy was reflected in mentioning that "Libya is home to the largest oil reserves in Africa", to persuade the readers that Libya's oil one of the factors that led the countries to suffer from several foreign interventions.

Therefore, the second element of macro-analysis of emphasizing the negative things about them "Haftar and Russia" was reflected in this editorial, by stressing on how Russia backs Haftar in his attack on Tripoli by sending him Russian mercenaries to fight with Haftar forces to establish control over Libya.

Table 4.3: The Frequency of Using Micro-Strategies (25 Discursive Strategies) in Russian and American News Reports.

Discursive Strategies	TASS	Russia Today	Russia Insider	Sputnik	The Wall Street Journal	The New York times	The Washington Post	Bloomberg
Actor Description	10	5	11	11	12	3	7	3
Authority	11	6	10	8	22	11	14	6
Burden (Topos)								
Categorization	2		2	1			2	
Comparison				2				
Consensus								
Counterfactual	1	6	9		4	2	2	2
Disclaimer								
Euphemism								
Evidentiality	1	4	5	3	17	13	11	4
Generalization								
Hyperbole								
Illustration/Example								
Implication	3				3	1	1	
Irony						3	1	
Lexicalization	5	1	6	4	6	10	9	3
Metaphor								
National self-glorification					1			
Norm expression								
Number game		3	1		6	1	2	2
Polarization	2		1	1	7	14	10	8
Populism			1				1	
Presupposition	4	3	4	4	5	2	4	3
Vagueness	7	1	3	1	8	3	8	1
Victimization					1		2	

All selected newspapers utilized the same discursive strategies but differently according to their point of view towards the conflict in Libya and which of the warring parties they support. Russian newspapers used more *authority strategy* to depict Haftar as the only legitimate political figure who leads Libya. On the other hand, American newspapers used *authority, evidentiality, and polarization strategies* more to support the legitimate government that is based in Tripoli and headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj, by giving this political figure a sense of power and supreme authority. Also, the American newspapers sought to categorize the opposite party (which is backed by Russia) with negative actions.

Table 4.4: The Frequency of Using the Four Aspects of Macro-Strategies in Russian and American News Reports.

Newspapers	Emphasize Positive Things About ‘Us’	Emphasize Negative Things About ‘Them’	De-Emphasize Negative Things About ‘Us’	De-Emphasize Positive Things About ‘Them’
TASS	4		1	
Russia Today	3	1		
Russia Insider	1	3		
Sputnik	3	1		
The Wall Street Journal	1	4	1	
The New York Times		4		
The Washington Post		3	1	
Bloomberg	1	4		

By using the macro-analysis aspects, the Russian newspapers focused more on emphasizing the positive things about “Haftar and Russia” and the progress he is making to control Tripoli, they also worked on cleaning Haftar’s image. On the other side, the American newspapers focused strongly on the harmful actions by “Them” Haftar and his allies, who launched an offensive on Tripoli.

4.5 Third level of Analysis: Computer-Assisted Analysis

In this stage, the researcher analysed the whole data (Russian and American newspapers) through NVivo 12-pro plus. by providing particular keywords and collected desired news stories purposively. Secondly, NVivo 12 Plus was used to pinpoint word clouds, and tree-maps, and tables of every single newspaper. The purpose of this computer-assisted analysis is to investigate and triangulate the ‘self-other’ binaries from the data set. The following are the features of NVivo 12 Plus which have been used in the analysis.

Table 4.5: Most Frequency Query Results of TASS Newspaper

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
Libya	5	18	2.09
National	8	17	1.97
Tripoli	7	15	1.74
Libyan	6	14	1.62
Military	8	11	1.28
International	13	10	1.16
Government	10	9	1.04
Sarraj	6	9	1.04
Army	4	8	0.93
Country	7	8	0.93
Haftar	6	8	0.93
Minister	8	8	0.93
Prime	5	8	0.93
Russia	6	8	0.93
Airport	7	7	0.81
April	5	7	0.81
General	7	7	0.81
Headed	6	7	0.81
Russian	7	7	0.81
Accord	6	6	0.70
Capital	7	6	0.70
Conflict	8	6	0.70
Currently	9	6	0.70
Fayez	5	6	0.70
Secretary	9	6	0.70
Sides	5	6	0.70
Units	5	6	0.70
Community	9	5	0.58
Foreign	7	5	0.58
Ministry	8	5	0.58



haftar	libyan	capital	national	troops	also	military	
	libya	government	peace	2011	gaddafi		general
			sarraj	armed	reports	france	media
		airport		army	nato	sides	told
tripoli	forces	country	since	backed	power	back	

Figure 4.8: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in Russia Today Newspaper

136

Table 4.6: Most Frequency Query Results of Russia Today Newspaper

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
Haftar	6	35	2.85
Tripoli	7	27	2.20
Libyan	6	20	1.63
Libya	5	19	1.55
Forces	6	16	1.31
Capital	7	11	0.90
Government	10	11	0.90
Airport	7	9	0.73
Country	7	9	0.73
National	8	9	0.73
Troops	6	8	0.65
Also	4	7	0.57
Military	8	7	0.57
Peace	5	7	0.57
Sarraj	6	7	0.57
Since	5	7	0.57
2011	4	6	0.49
Armed	5	6	0.49
Army	4	6	0.49
Backed	6	6	0.49
Gaddafi	7	6	0.49
General	7	6	0.49
Reports	7	6	0.49
France	6	5	0.41
Media	5	5	0.41
Nato	4	5	0.41
Power	5	5	0.41
Sides	5	5	0.41
Told	4	5	0.41
Back	4	4	0.33

Table 4.6 displays the most frequently used word constructed the positive representation of Mr. Haftar. For instance, *Haftar* was mentioned 35 times with 2.85%, *troops* were mentioned 8 with 0.65%.

4.5.1.3 Russia Insider



Figure 4.9: Most Frequently Used Terms in Russia Insider Newspaper

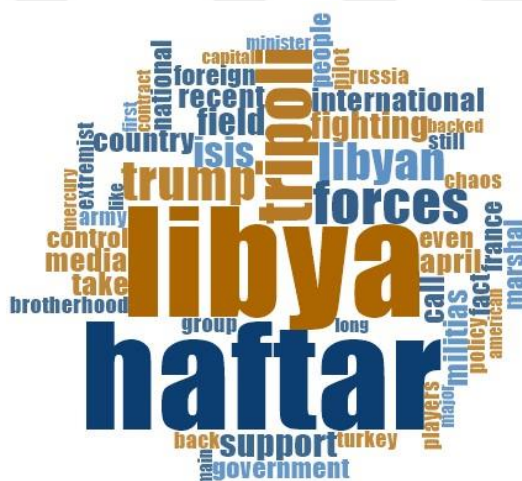


Figure 4.10: Most Frequently Used Terms in Russia Insider Newspaper



Figure 4.11: Most Frequently Used Terms in Russia Insider Newspaper

Figure 4.9, 4.10, and 4.11 demonstrate how Russia Insider news report presented the Libyan conflict and concentrated on the “out-group or them” by utilizing items like (*chaos, extremist, crisis, brotherhood, and ISIS*). Therefore, a negative image was attached to the UN-recognized government and its ally Turkey.

libya	tripoli	libyan	support	international	media	militias	recent
		isis	april	take	fact	foreign	france
	forces						
haftar		field	call	control	government	national	people
	trump	fighting	country	even	marshal	army	back brother

Figure 4.12: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in Russia Insider Newspaper
Field Marshal Haftar was repeatedly utilized to form a positive representation of Mr. Haftar while *militias, ISIS, and brotherhood* were mentioned to depict negatively the “out-group” that is the UN-recognized government.

Table 4.7: Most Frequency Query Results of Russia Insider Newspaper

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
Libya	5	33	1.97
Haftar	6	32	1.91
Tripoli	7	16	0.96
Forces	6	13	0.78
Trump	5	12	0.72
Libyan	6	11	0.66
Isis	4	9	0.54
Field	5	8	0.48
Fighting	8	8	0.48
Support	7	8	0.48
April	5	7	0.42
Call	4	7	0.42
Country	7	7	0.42

Table 4.7 (con.): Most Frequency Query Results of Russia Insider Newspaper

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
International	13	7	0.42
Media	5	7	0.42
Militias	8	7	0.42
Recent	6	7	0.42
Take	4	7	0.42
Control	7	6	0.36
Even	4	6	0.36
Fact	4	6	0.36
Foreign	7	6	0.36
France	6	6	0.36
Government	10	6	0.36
Marshal	7	6	0.36
National	8	6	0.36
People	6	6	0.36
Army	4	5	0.30
Back	4	5	0.30
Brotherhood	11	5	0.30

According to the above table, Haftar (32 times, 1.91%), forces (13 times, 0.78%) to formalize a definite idea of Mr. Haftar as the legitimate political figure to the expected readers of the newspaper.

4.5.1.4 Sputnik



Figure 4.13: Most Frequently Used Terms in Sputnik Newspaper



Figure 4.14: Most Frequently Used Terms in Sputnik Newspaper



Figure 4.15: Most Frequently Used Terms in Sputnik Newspaper

Based on figure 4.13, 4.14, and 4.15, the most items used by Sputnik newspapers were *Marshal Khalifa Haftar*, to form the positive representation of Haftar and his army. While *evidence* and *Turkish drones* were repeatedly mentioned to emphasize the negative deeds done by the UN-recognized government and the receiving drones from Turkey to defend Tripoli from Haftar's attack.

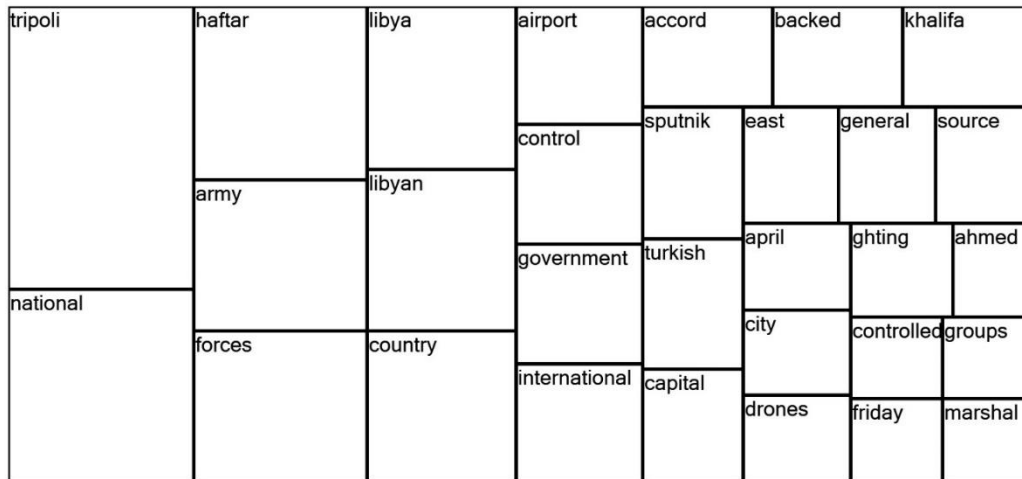


Figure 4.16: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in Sputnik Newspaper

Similarly, in the above Tree-Map, a positive image was constructed by using *Haftar* and depicting him as *Marshal* frequently. On the other hand, *Turkish drones* were emphasized to identify the negative role of the UN-recognized government and its ally Turkey.

Table 4.8: Most Frequency Query Results of Sputnik Newspaper

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
Tripoli	7	28	3.23
National	8	19	2.19
Haftar	6	16	1.84
Army	4	14	1.61
Forces	6	14	1.61
Libya	5	13	1.50
Libyan	6	13	1.50
Country	7	12	1.38
Airport	7	8	0.92
Control	7	8	0.92
Government	10	8	0.92
International	13	8	0.92
Accord	6	7	0.81
Backed	6	7	0.81
Khalifa	7	7	0.81
Sputnik	7	7	0.81
Turkish	7	7	0.81

Table 4.8 (con.): Most Frequency Query Results of Sputnik Newspaper

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
Capital	7	6	0.69
East	4	6	0.69
General	7	6	0.69
Source	6	6	0.69
April	5	5	0.58
City	4	5	0.58
Drones	6	5	0.58
Ghting	6	5	0.58
Ahmed	5	4	0.46
Controlled	10	4	0.46
Friday	6	4	0.46
Groups	6	4	0.46
Marshal	7	4	0.46

As seen in the above table, the most frequently utilized items were Hafta (16 times, 1.84%), army (14 times, 1.61%) and forces (14 times, 1.61%) to formulate a strong image of Hafta and his role in the recent conflict in Tripoli.

4.5.2 American Newspapers

4.5.2.1 The Wall Street Journal



Figure 4.17: Most Frequently Used Terms in the Wall Street Journal Newspaper

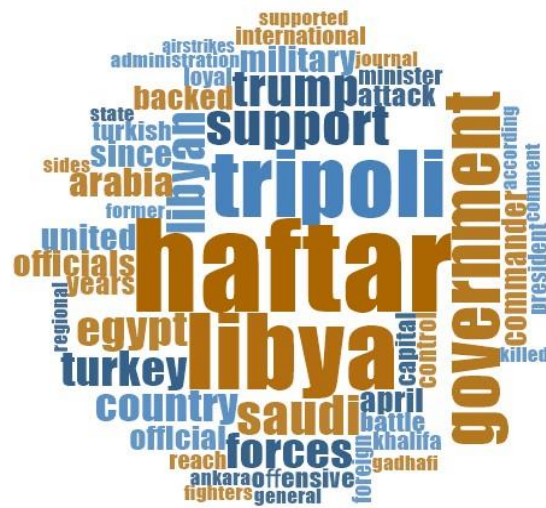


Figure 4.18: Most Frequently Used Terms in the Wall Street Journal Newspaper



Figure 4.19: Most Frequently Used Terms in the Wall Street Journal Newspaper

In light of figure 4.17, 4.18, and 4.19, The Wall Street Journal used *Haftar, offensive, and Tripoli* to indicate the negative image of the “out-group” Haftar and his offensive on Tripoli, the capital of Libya. Whereas, *Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Trump* were utilized to de-emphasize their negative contribution in the Libyan scene.



Figure 4.20: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in the Wall Street Journal Newspaper

Furthermore, in the above Tree-Map, *Haftar*, *offensive*, *Saudi Arabia*, and *Egypt* were used regularly to illustrate the negative role of Haftar and his allies in the Libyan offensive.

Table 4.9: Most Frequency Query Results of the Wall Street Journal Newspaper

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
Haftar	6	40	2.67
Libya	5	32	2.13
Tripoli	7	28	1.87
Government	10	22	1.47
Support	7	16	1.07
Saudi	5	15	1.00
Libyan	6	14	0.93
Trump	5	14	0.93
Egypt	5	13	0.87
Forces	6	13	0.87
Turkey	6	13	0.87
Country	7	12	0.80
Arabia	6	10	0.67
Military	8	9	0.60
Officials	7	9	0.60
Since	5	9	0.60
United	6	9	0.60

Table 4.9 (con.): Most Frequency Query Results of the Wall Street Journal Newspaper

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
April	5	8	0.53
Backed	6	8	0.53
Commander	9	8	0.53
Official	6	8	0.53
Attack	6	7	0.47
Years	5	7	0.47
Battle	6	6	0.40
Capital	7	6	0.40
Control	7	6	0.40
Offensive	8	6	0.40
Turkish	7	6	0.40
Foreign	7	5	0.33
International	13	5	0.33

Based on the table 4.9, Haftar (40 times, 2.67%), Saudi (15times, 1.00%), Trump (14 times, 0.93%) and Egypt (13times, 0.87%). These items were used to depict the negative contribution of Haftar, Egypt, and Trump in the conflict.

4.5.2.2 The New York Times

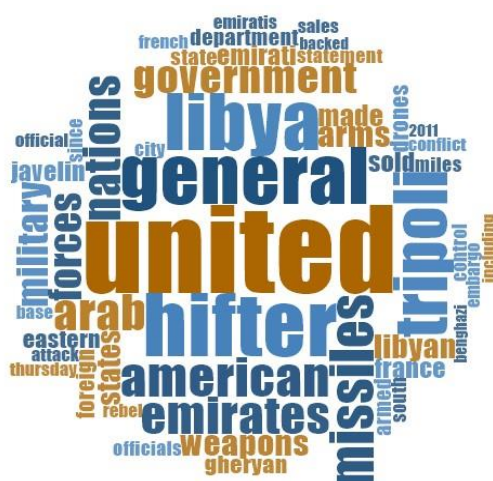


Figure 4.21: Most Frequently Used Terms in the New York Times Newspaper

united	general	missiles	arab	military	arms	weapons
			nations	libyan	emirati	france
	libya	american			sold	foreign
hifter			government	states		gheryan
	tripoli	emirates			drones	armed
			forces	made	eastern	departme
						city

Figure 4.24: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in the New York Times Newspaper

Similarly, the tree-map highlighted the most used items in the New York news report, for instance, *United Arab Emirates, France, American made weapons, arms, drones, and missiles*, to construct the negative image of UAE and France, and emphasize their evil deeds of transmitting weapons in Libya, ignoring the UN-arms embargo.

Table 4.10: Most Frequency Query Results of the New York Times Newspaper

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
United	6	56	2.60
Hifter	6	40	1.86
General	7	36	1.67
Libya	5	36	1.67
Tripoli	7	32	1.49
Missiles	8	26	1.21
American	8	24	1.12
Emirates	8	23	1.07
Arab	4	22	1.02
Nations	7	22	1.02
Government	10	20	0.93
Forces	6	19	0.88
Military	8	18	0.84
Arms	4	15	0.70
Weapons	7	15	0.70
Libyan	6	14	0.65

Table 4.10 (con.): Most Frequency Query Results of the New York Times Newspaper

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
States	6	13	0.60
Made	4	12	0.56
Emirati	7	11	0.51
France	6	11	0.51
Javelin	7	11	0.51
Sold	4	11	0.51
Drones	6	10	0.46
Eastern	7	10	0.46
Foreign	7	10	0.46
Gheryan	7	10	0.46
Armed	5	9	0.42
Department	10	9	0.42
State	5	9	0.42
City	4	8	0.37

In accordance with the above table, the newspapers concentrated more on certain items, such as Haftar (40 times, 1.46%), missiles (26 times, 1.21%), (Emirates 23 times, 1.07%), weapons (15times, 0.70%) and France (11 times, 0.51%), to emphasize the negative things done by The UAE, and France of supplying Haftar with weapons.

4.5.2.3 The Washington Post

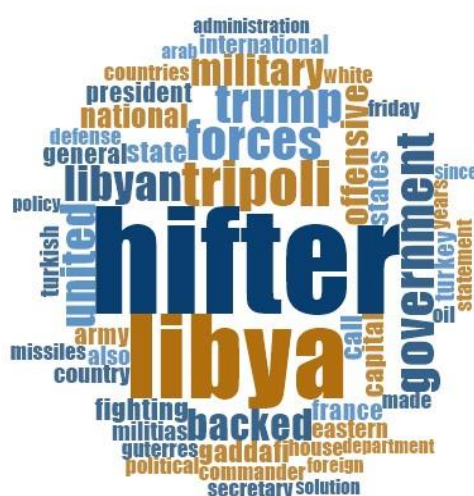
**Figure 4.25:** Most Frequently Used Terms in the Washington Post Newspaper



Figure 4.26: Most Frequently Used Terms in the Washington Post Newspaper



Figure 4.27: Most Frequently Used Terms in the Washington Post Newspaper

According to figure 4.25, 4.26, and 4.27, the news reports of the Washington Post utilized frequently some certain items to describe the conflict in Libya. *Haftar*, *Tripoli*, *offensive*, *militias*, *missiles*, and *France* were emphasized to the negative role of Haftar and his offensive on Tripoli to make it under his control.

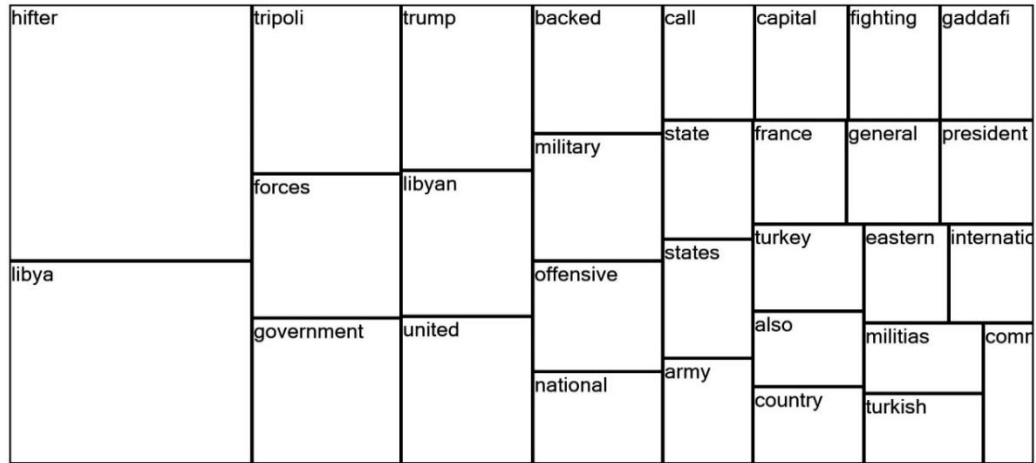


Figure 4.28: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in the Washington Post Newspaper

Moreover, the “tree-map” highlighted the most used words in the news reports such as, *Haftar*, *offensive*, *Tripoli*, and *militias*, which the editor used to emphasize the harmful deeds by the “out-group” Haftar when he announces an offensive on Tripoli to overthrow the UN-recognized government that is headed by Prime minister Fayez Al-Sarraj.

Table 4.11: Most Frequency Query Results of the Washington Post Newspaper

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
Hifter	6	52	3.17
Libya	5	41	2.50
Tripoli	7	21	1.28
Forces	6	18	1.10
Government	10	18	1.10
Trump	5	18	1.10
Libyan	6	16	0.98
United	6	16	0.98
Backed	6	14	0.85
Military	8	14	0.85
Offensive	9	12	0.73
National	8	10	0.61
Call	4	9	0.55
Capital	7	9	0.55
Fighting	8	9	0.55

Table 4.11 (con.): Most Frequency Query Results of the Washington Post Newspaper

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
Gaddafi	7	9	0.55
State	5	9	0.55
States	6	9	0.55
Army	4	8	0.49
France	6	8	0.49
General	7	8	0.49
President	9	8	0.49
Turkey	6	8	0.49
Also	4	7	0.43
Country	7	7	0.43
Eastern	7	7	0.43
International	13	7	0.43
Militias	8	7	0.43
Turkish	7	7	0.43
Commander	9	6	0.37

Table 4.11 illustrates the most repeated items in the news reports, for instance, Haftar (52 times, 3.17%), Tripoli (21 times, 1.28%) offensive (12 times, 0.73%). These items were utilized to formulate the negative image of one of the warring sides in Libya “Haftar” and shed more light on his harmful actions towards Tripoli.

4.5.2.4 Bloomberg

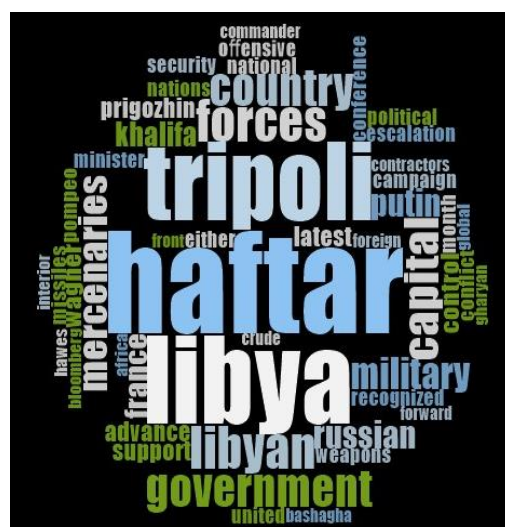


Figure 4.29: Most Frequently Used Terms in Bloomberg Newspaper

Table 4.13: Most Frequency Query Results of Russian Newspapers

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
Haftar	6	91	1.95
Tripoli	7	86	1.85
Libya	5	83	1.78
Libyan	6	58	1.25
National	8	51	1.10
Forces	6	45	0.97
Country	7	36	0.77
Government	10	34	0.73
Army	4	33	0.71
International	13	29	0.62
Capital	7	27	0.58
Airport	7	26	0.56
General	7	21	0.45
Sarraj	6	21	0.45
April	5	20	0.43
Military	8	20	0.43
Khalifa	7	18	0.39
Backed	6	17	0.37
Control	7	17	0.37
Media	5	17	0.37
Accord	6	16	0.34
Support	7	16	0.34
Trump	5	16	0.34
Fighting	8	15	0.32
Minister	8	15	0.32
Armed	5	14	0.30
Field	5	14	0.30
Marshal	7	14	0.30
Prime	5	14	0.30
Russia	6	14	0.30

In the above table, the most used terms in the four Russian newspapers were presented. Haftar (91 times, 1.95%), Tripoli (86 times, 1.85%), forces (45 times, 0.97%), general (21 times, 0.45%), field marshal (14 times, 0.30%) and Russia (14 times, 0.30%). As

it can be seen, the editor attempted to provide Haftar and Russia with positive connotation and praise their role in Libya, to liberate the country from terrorist organization and militias as they claim.

4.5.3.2 American Newspapers

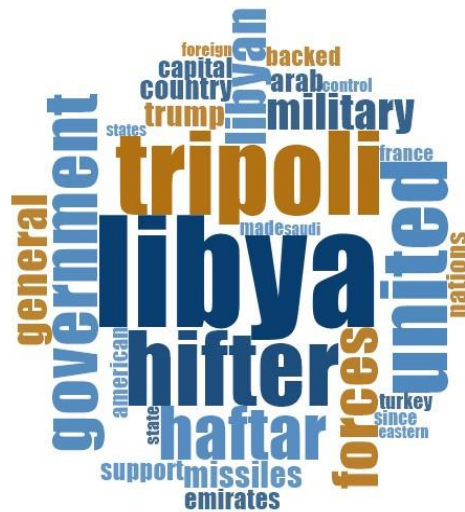


Figure 4.37: Most Frequently Used Terms in American Newspapers



Figure 4.38: Most Frequently Used Terms in American Newspapers



Figure 4.39: Most Frequently Used Terms in American Newspapers

As displayed in figure 4.37, 4.38, and 4.39, the most used terms are *Libya*, *Tripoli*, *Haftar*, *United Arab Emirates*, *France*, and *weapons*. The negative things done by Haftar and his allies (Emirate and France) were emphasized.

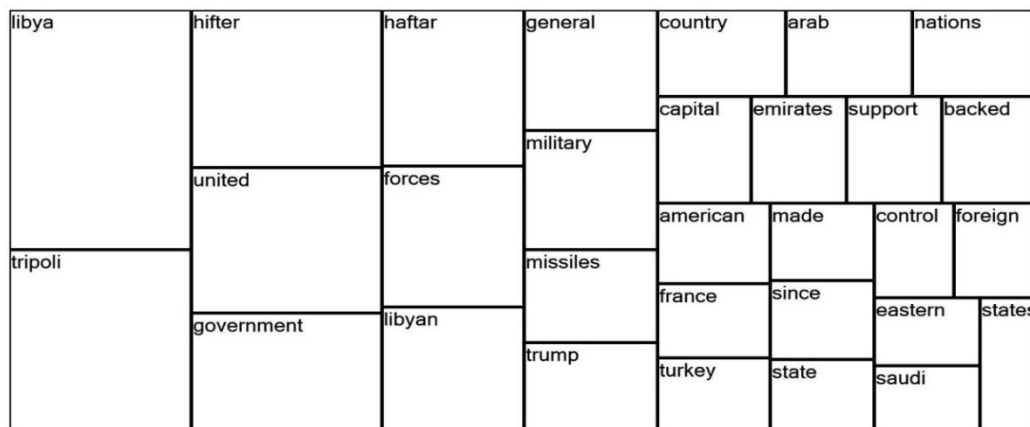


Figure 4.40: Tree-Map of Frequently Used Terms Used in American Newspapers

Also, in the above “tree-map figure” shows how the editors of the four American newspapers attempted to construct a negative image of the “out-group” Haftar and emphasize his harmful role with the help of some countries to attack Tripoli, and overthrow the legitimate government. The editors utilized repeatedly some certain lex, such as *Haftar*, *forces*, *Tripoli*, *missiles*, *United Arab Emirates*, and *Saudi Arabia*.

Table 4.14: Most Frequency Query Results of American Newspapers

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
Libya	5	133	2.05
Tripoli	7	102	1.57
Hifter	6	92	1.42
United	6	85	1.31
Government	10	70	1.08
Haftar	6	68	1.05
Forces	6	61	0.94
Libyan	6	55	0.85
General	7	49	0.76
Military	8	49	0.76
Missiles	8	38	0.59
Trump	5	37	0.57
Country	7	34	0.52
Arab	4	33	0.51
Nations	7	32	0.49
Capital	7	31	0.48
Emirates	8	31	0.48
Support	7	31	0.48
Backed	6	30	0.46
American	8	28	0.43
France	6	26	0.40
Turkey	6	26	0.40
Made	4	25	0.39
Since	5	25	0.39
State	5	24	0.37
Control	7	23	0.35
Foreign	7	23	0.35
Eastern	7	22	0.34
Saudi	5	22	0.34
States	6	22	0.34

Table 4.14, displays the most repeated words in the four selected American newspapers. These words were: Libya (133 times, 2.05%), Tripoli (102 times, 1.57%), Haftar (92 times, 1.42%), missiles (38 times, 0.59%), Trump (37times, 0.57%),

Emirates (31 times, 0.48%), France (26 times and 0.40%) and Saudi (22 times and 0.34%). By focusing on these lexical items, the editor attempted to shed light on the harmful deeds by the “out-group” Haftar and his allies “Emirates, France and Saudi Arabi” and their role of fueling the war in Libya.





5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Overview

In this chapter, the researcher identifies the significant findings from the data analysis which was obtained in the previous chapter. The findings were divided into three levels: (headlines, full-text stories, and computational analysis via NVivo software). Also, the limitations and further recommendations are illustrated in addition to pedagogical implications and the conclusion of this investigation.

5.2 Discussion

The in-depth analysis that has been demonstrated in the preceding chapter, presented a rich picture of how the ideologies and rhetorical discursive strategies were differently performed by Russian and American press, and this section illustrates the major findings of the data analysis.

5.2.1 Headlines Results

5.2.1.1 Russian Headlines

The 16 Russian headlines from four newspapers (TASS, Russia Today, Russia Insider, and Sputnik) displayed some certain discursive strategies and macro-analysis aspects in favor of Mr. Khalifa Haftar, who leads the Libyan National Army and announced an offensive on the Libyan capital Tripoli, in April 2019. In order to overthrow the UN-recognized government which is headed by Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj and based in Tripoli. Likewise, those strategies were employed to attach the UN-recognized government and demonstrate them in negative ways.

- TASS

First headline: the most frequently used strategies were *actor description, authority, vagueness, implication, and categorization* discursive strategies in favor of *Haftar* that is backed by Russia, and according to the macro-analysis, it was noted that the negative things about “*Haftar*” regarding announcing an offensive on Tripoli and causing

death were de-emphasized. Similarly, *the Second, third, and fourth headlines* used *actor description, authority, implication, vagueness, and categorization strategies*. In line with Van Dijk's Ideological square, the first feature of macro-analysis of emphasizing the positive things about us "Haftar and his ally Russia" were highlighted to lead the readers to believe that he is the political figure to be.

- *Russia Today*

First and second headlines used "*actor description, authority, lexicalization, hyperbole, euphemism, vagueness, and implication strategies*", to support Haftar, with the focus on depicting him as the endgame man, who will liberate Libya from the grip of terrorists as Haftar and his allies claim. For the macro-analysis, the aspect of de-emphasizing the negative deeds about Haftar was illustrated, by utilizing less cruel lexical items to demonstrate Haftar's attack on the Libyan capital. Further, *the third headline* employed *actor description, authority, and categorization* discursive strategies to draw positive connotations of Haftar in the reader's minds. Also, it was noted that the positive things by Haftar were more stressed. Lastly, *the fourth headline* used *actor description, and presupposition* strategies as well as emphasizing the negative things about "them" the US and France as the main factors of stimulation of the war in Libya back in 2011 and until the latest war that was provoked in 2019.

- *Russia Insider*

First and second headlines employed *actor description, authority, lexicalization, and polarization* discursive strategies to emphasize the negative role of NATO and the US in Libya since 2011. For the macro-analysis, the feature of underscoring the negative things about "out-group" the US and NATO were focused on. Moreover, the *third headline* utilized *actor description, vagueness, implication, and over-completeness* discursive techniques as well as the second aspect of macro-analysis of Van Dijk's ideological square, that concentrates on revealing the fatalistic actions of "out-group" the UN-recognized government, when they utilized foreign mercenaries to fight with their forces against Haftar. *The fourth headline* used "*actor description, authority, lexicalization, populism, persuasive and polarization*" rhetorical strategies, in favor of Haftar who is backed by Russia, and stating that even Mr. Donald Trump is praising Haftar's efforts of fighting against terrorism. Based on the macro-analysis, the first

feature was reflected in stressing on the positive things done by “us” Haftar and his role of fighting extremists and terrorism.

- *Sputnik*

First and second headlines used *actor description, authority, and vagueness* discursive technique with the object of advocating Haftar and his allies. According to the macro-analysis, it was observed that the good actions by “us” Haftar were highlighted. Similarly, the *third and fourth headlines* employed *actor description, authority, evidentiality, and polarization* strategies as well as stress on the bad deeds about “them” the UN-recognized government and its ally Turkey.

5.2.1.2 American Headlines

The 16 American headlines from four newspapers (The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, The Washington Post, Bloomberg) demonstrated some particular rhetorical discursive strategies and macro-analysis of the Ideological square against “other” (Mr. Khalifa Haftar and his allies Russia, France, the UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt), and those headlines focused on depicting “other” in negative ways. Furthermore, the utilized micro and macro strategies were employed in favor of supporting the Libya UN-recognized government headed by Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj and backed by Turkey.

- *The Wall Street Journal*

The first headline used “*actor description, authority, disclaimer, implication*” discursive techniques, in order to avoid revealing the unreliability sudden decision by Mr. Trump. In accordance with Van Dijk’s Ideological square, the emphasis was placed on overlooking the negative actions that were taken by “us” that is the USA. *The Second headline* employed *lexicalization, and vagueness* strategies to depict Haftar with a negative impression. Also, the emphasis was on the fatalistic deeds were done by Haftar and his militias when he announced an offensive on Tripoli. *The third and fourth headlines* utilized “*actor description, authority, categorization, evidentiality, and lexicalization*” techniques. In concordance with the macro-analysis of Van Dijk’s Ideological framework, the good actions that were taken by Turkey against Mideast and the harmful deeds of Haftar and his ally the UAE were emphasized in the *third and fourth headline*, respectively.

- *The New York Times*

The most utilized strategies in the four headlines were: “*actor description, lexicalization, vagueness, categorization, polarization, and evidentiality*” rhetorical discursive techniques, concerning categorize Haftar, his militias, and his allies by their damaging actions on Libya. In concordance with macro-analysis, the second element was reflected in the four headlines, by giving a special focus on how Haftar carried out the attack on the civilians in Tripoli with the help he received from some counties, such as the UAE, France, and Russia.

- *The Washington Post*

The frequently utilized techniques in the four headlines were: “*actor description, authority, lexicalization, vagueness, categorization, and polarization*” strategies. It was also observed that negative things that were done by Haftar and his ally France received more attention and were more highlighted in the first, third, and fourth headlines. Whereas in the second headline reflected the first feature of the macro-analysis of ignoring the bad evil actions about “us” the USA.

- *Bloomberg*

The four selected headlines from Bloomberg newspaper mostly utilized “*actor description, authority, lexicalization, evidentiality, and categorization*” rhetorical discursive techniques to depict Haftar as a man who seeks power at any cost. Further, according to the ideological square of Van Dijk, the second element of concentrating on the negative things by “them” Haftar and his allies were reflected in the four headlines.

5.2.2 News Reports Results

5.2.2.1 Russian Newspapers

- *TASS*

The major used discursive strategies in TASS news reports were “*actor description, authority, vagueness, evidentiality, implication, lexicalization, presupposition, categorization, counterfactual, and polarization*” strategies. all these strategies were utilized by the editor to construct a positive image of Haftar to the newspaper’s readers and to manipulate their minds according to the newspaper’s ideological stance that was

explicitly in favor of Haftar against the legitimate Libyan government that is headed by Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj and based in Tripoli. Moreover, the first element of the macro-analysis was presented in the news by paying more attention to the positive acts by “in-group or us” Haftar and Russia and neglecting the harmful acts by Haftar and his ally Russia.

- *Russia Today*

The most repeatedly employed strategies in the selected news reports from Russia Today were *actor description, authority, counterfactual, presupposition, lexicalization, evidentiality, number-game, vagueness* strategies. Those strategies were utilized to present Mr. Haftar in good light and introduce him to the newspaper’s readers as the Libyan strong man who fights terrorisms for Libyans’ sake and prepares. For the macro-analysis of Van Dijk’s framework, the first aspect of highlighting the good things about Mr. Haftar was reflected in stating that He visited Egypt as the only Libyan authority to meet the Egyptian president. Also, the editor attempted to depict Mr. Haftar as the only solution who can set Libya free from the extremists’ hands and bring back peace to all Libyans. Similarly, the second element of the Macro-analysis was reflected in emphasizing how the US and France were interested in the Libyan oil ports.

- *Russia Insider*

The most frequently utilized strategies in Russia Today news were “*actor description, authority, lexicalization, evidentiality, vagueness, number-game, counterfactual, and presupposition*” rhetorical discursive tactics to present the “in-group or us” Haftar and his ally Russian positively. Furthermore, according to macro-analysis, the news reports gave more attention to negative acts about the “out-group” the UN-recognized government, such as using the Portuguese pilot who can be perceived as a foreign mercenary fights against the Libyan National Army led by Haftar. Also, the editors shed more light on the call between Mr. Trump and Haftar when the former praised the latter for his efforts of counterterrorism.

- *Sputnik*

The editors of Sputnik newspaper mainly utilized some rhetorical discursive strategies, such as “*actor description, authority, lexicalization, vagueness, evidentiality, categorization, counterfactual, presupposition, and polarization*” tactics. All of these

strategies were employed to categorize Haftar and his backers as the ones who significantly rule the Libyan political scene, and by applying macro-analysis of Van Dijk's ideological square, the emphasis was more on the positive acts that were taken by Haftar, who was perceived as the strong man that was able to secure the Libyan oil ports. In addition, the bad acts by the "out-group or them" were strongly highlighted in Sputnik news, by depicting the UN-recognized government includes extremists and terrorist members who also received support from Turkey, and according to the newspaper's ideology, Turkey is also one of the countries that supporting the extremists.

5.2.2.2 American Newspapers

- *The Wall Street Journal*

The wall Street Journal news reports employed some certain discursive strategies in their coverage of Libyan conflict namely "*Actors description, authority, vagueness, national self-glorification, implication, evidentiality, number-game, lexicalization, counterfactual, presupposition, victimization, and polarization*" tactics, intending to describe the Libya debacle from the Journal's ideological stance that was by some means implicit in favor of the UN-recognized government. Moreover, the harmful acts that were carried out by Haftar with the help of some countries namely the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Russia, to establish control over Tripoli and topple the UN-recognized government were emphasized as well as the violation of UN-arms embargo on Libya by UAE and France, that are regarded as close allies to Haftar and main supporters of his campaign on Tripoli. Similarly, the Wall Street Journal's editors overlooked the swinging stance of the USA towards Libyan debacle. However, the rejecting of the military intervention by Haftar on Libya as a clear sign that the USA does not support Haftar.

- *The New York Times*

The main strategies used by The New York Times were "*actor description, authority, lexicalization, polarization, evidentiality, presupposition, implication, vagueness, counterfactual, irony, number-game*" techniques. These strategies were utilized to report the news on the Libyan war that was formed in a language that accused Haftar and his allies of the damages in Libya due to the announcement of the Haftar campaign to control Tripoli. Additionally, the editor persistently paid special attention to the

harmful deeds by Haftar who attacked Tripoli to topple the legitimate government, as well as the direct support he received from the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, France, and Russia. The violation of the UN-arms embargo by the countries who transferred US-made weapons also highlighted in the NYT news reports. Therefore, the element of emphasizing the negative things about “them” was presented.

- *The Washington Post*

In the same vein, the Washington Post news employed some strategies to report the Libyan conflict from their point of view, these strategies were: “*actor description, authority, lexicalization, polarization, presupposition, evidentiality, vagueness, implication, categorization, populism, counterfactual, victimization, number-game, and irony*” discursive tactics. Besides, the reporters attempted to de-emphasize Trump’s call to Haftar and the swinging position towards the Libyan warring sides, as the reporters maintained to vague the actual situation. However, the main concern was on the announcement of Haftar to attack Tripoli and the weapons he received from France ignoring the UN-arms embargo on Libya as well as detaining Turkish citizens in Libya by Haftar’s fighters in eastern Libya, where his LNA is located. The detention of Turkish citizens by Haftar occurred after the government of the former declared its clear support for the UN-recognized government headed by the Prime Minister Fayez Al-Sarraj.

- *Bloomberg*

The most frequently utilized discursive strategies in Bloomberg news were “*actor description, authority, polarization, lexicalization, evidentiality, presupposition, number-game, vagueness, and counterfactual*” discursive techniques. Also, the first and second elements of the macro-analysis were presented in the news reports, as the editors attempted to highlight the negative things about the “out-group” Haftar and his fighters who launched an offensive on Tripoli to control it. The news also concentrated on how some countries, such as France that transmitted American-made missiles to Haftar, and Russia that sent Russian mercenaries to fight with Haftar against the UN-recognized government that is based in Tripoli. Further, the rejecting of Haftar’s military campaign by the USA was highly emphasized.

5.2.3 Third Level NVivo analysis

5.2.3.1 Russian Newspapers

According to NVivo analysis of the 16 news reports from four Russian newspapers, it was indicated that those news reports utilized some certain lexes to report their news on the latest Libyan conflict that was between the UN-recognized government based in Tripoli and Mr. Haftar and his fighters who are based in the east of Libya. The most utilized lexical items were employed to present Mr. Haftar and his allies positively, and the reporters attempted to inter a powerful image of Haftar into their readers' minds. The employed lexical items were: *Khalifa Haftar, Field Marshal, Tripoli, forces, Russian, general, army, military, and troops*, to depict the "in-group or us" Haftar's side and his allies, whereas *militias, ISIS and brotherhood, Turkish drones, chaos, extremist, and crisis* were used to demonstrate the "out-group or them" the UN-recognized government and their supporters.

5.2.3.2 American Newspapers

The 16 news reports from the four selected American newspapers were also analysed via NVivo software, and the major utilized lexical items by the reporters were: *Haftar, offensive, Tripoli, Unite Arab Emirates, France, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Trump, weapons, missiles, drones, militias, escalation, mercenary, support, Russia, Russian mercenaries, and Putin*, with the aim of drawing attention on the horrific acts by the Libya National Army and its leader Haftar on Tripoli, who announced an offensive on the capital of Libya to establish control over it with the help of some countries, such as Russia, France, the UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. Some of those countries financially supported Haftar, and some transferred weapons, missiles, and mercenaries.

The findings of this study are consistent with other studies that also used Van Dijk's framework (1998, 2002, 2006), such as Rashidi and Souzanderfar (2010), and Gadalla (2012) who analysed political speeches, reported that the self-representation was reflected to emphasize the good things about "in-group" and mitigate their negative acts. Also, Tahir (2013) examined some articles published by the Washington Post. The findings of his study revealed that the editor depicted "others" Muslims and their actions negatively using different semantic strategies, whereas "in-group" which present the individuals who share similar ideologies and points of view with the editor

were demonstrated positively using the same semantic tactics. Similarly, Ahmadian and Farahani (2014) proved that the two selected newspapers (American and Iranian) presented the same event which is “Iran’s Nuclear Program” differently, and every news agency depicted its “in-group” positively and its “out-group” negatively.

5.3 Limitation

The study at hand was limited to some factors. First, the war was provoked in April 2019 and it is continuing till the day of writing this thesis, yet the researcher chose news reports (from April 2019 to September 2019), she attempted to select the most important events during the war. Second, two countries only (Russia and America) were chosen to compare their news discourse about a particular event which is the Libyan conflict. The third factor, four Russian newspapers only were selected to take part in this study as well as four American newspapers. Fourth, the entire number of the selected news reports was 32, as the researcher chose 16 from Russian newspapers and 16 from the American newspapers to be analysed. Fifth, the researcher focused merely on newspapers, she did not investigate TV programs nor radio political talk shows, and only text discourse, not spoken or videos and pictures. Additionally, the researcher selected newspapers which are issued in English, she did not choose news issued in other languages to be translated into English before the analysis.

The main concentration of this study was to investigate the conflict that arose in Libya, Tripoli particularly in April 2019, between the UN-recognized government headed by the Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj that is based in Tripoli and Mr. Khalifa Haftar who leads the Libyan National Army that is based in the east of Libya, as the latter carried out an offensive to topple the former and establish control over Tripoli. Further, the method which was utilized to analyze the data was Van Dijk’s ideological framework (1998, 2004, 2006), the researcher did not employ the socio-cognitive framework by the same scholar, nor Norman Fairclough or Wodak.

The news was analysed based on the provided sources of information that were available in the newspapers. However, those sources cannot be always trustworthy, and they might twist the facts. Therefore, the analyses were made according to the obtainable information in the selected news reports. The last factor to be addressed is that at some points the news statements show confusion and vagueness discrepancy between what is back-grounded and what is fore-grounded which makes it challenging

to distinguish between what is implied and what is openly indicated in particular statements. Any further extension in the data and methods of analysis could quite possibly result in more insightful and perspicacious research.

5.4 Further Recommendation

There is abundant room for further research to be carried out in the same area, as this research examined how the Libyan conflict which was broke out in April 2019 in Tripoli, from merely two countries (Russia and America), other researchers can work on other countries, such as China, the UK, Italy, France, and Turkey, since those countries could contribute to the implementation of Libya's policies. Also, the timeframe can be increased since the war is still going on until the time of writing this thesis. Further, the number of newspapers can be increased, instead of choosing four newspapers from Russia and four from America, other researchers can include five or six from each country, and the number of news reports could be expanded from 32 to 40 or more.

In the same vein, other investigations can look at different media outlets, such as TV news channels, radio political talk shows, as this present study investigated merely text discourse. Another noteworthy suggestion to expand the investigation is to work on Arab media outlets which are issued in English, it would give more value to the research to study different socio-political contexts. Moreover, other researchers can use other approaches of CDA, for instance, socio-cognitive by Van Dijk, the three-dimensional framework by Norman Fairclough, or the historical-discourse approach by Wodak. Lastly, other research can be carried out to cover more than one event in Libya, as Libya is suffering from non-stop wars since the Libyan revolution in 2011. Another thing that can also be applied is to explore the effect of the media discourse on English language learners and how CDA can improve their competency to use the target language more accurately and smoothly.

5.5 Pedagogical Implications

This current investigation lays the groundwork for all teachers and foreign language students to employ the CDA approach in their teaching and learning process. Also, for every individual who can utilize CDA to broaden his/her horizon and attain a life-long

skill. For foreign language teachers, they can apply CDA as a tool in the classroom to raise their students' language perception and their abilities to achieve more in learning languages and academic fields as well as broaden their critical language conception. This will assist students to obtain critical minds and have the capacity to argue and defend their ideas and beliefs in real life as well. Further, when CDA is applied in the teaching context, the concentration will be shifted from teachers to their students and the passive students will have more opportunities to be more independent learners.

In the classroom, CDA can be utilized as a means to analyze teacher-student talk, which will enable teachers to increase mutual understanding between teachers and their students, and by doing so, the distinctions among the students' culture and the background will be exposed and the stereotypes ideas will be eliminated, and this will prepare the teachers to understand the gaps and the difficulties that encounter the students in the learning process. Also, teachers will be more able to understand the different social groups of students and recognize their demands more openly. More importantly, employing CDA in classrooms can cultivate a lifelong passion for practicing teaching and motivate teachers to be more creative and passionate. Similarly, CDA can be presented to students when curriculum and materials developers concentrate more on providing teaching materials with more suitable and understandable tasks. This way, the students will be having more opportunities for critical skills in diverse fields.

Other characteristics of CDA can affect students to be better achievers at different levels, the rational and linguistic capacities of language students will be improved, and their ability to analyse different discourses they encounter every day will be enhanced. Also, indifferent students will be more confident to voice their opinions and defend their beliefs and ideas. According to Wallace (1992), CDA encourages learners to shift their concentration from the form as the ultimate unit of the language to the actual meaning and to use language as a means to discover the ideological stances of a given piece of discourse. He also pointed out the importance of the critical pedagogy which paves the way for the students not merely to react instantly toward the social events but to obtain long term skills to survive in their social life (1999).

5.6 Conclusion

This qualitative study was conducted to analyze the media discourse of 32 news reports from four Russian newspapers and four American newspapers, to evaluate and analysed the relation between control, power, and dominance and how inequality can be practiced in discourse. Also, how the ideological stances can be hidden in sentences in order to present the dichotomy of self-versus-them as well as to uncover the buried ideologies portrayed in Russian and American media outlets and how they differently presented the Libyan conflict, by utilizing Van Dijk's framework (1998, 2004, 2006) as a research tool under the umbrella of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The study was made through three levels of analysis: firstly, 32 headlines were analysed; 16 from four Russian newspapers and 16 headlines from four American newspapers. Secondly, 32 full-text stories were analysed, and lastly, entire sampled were analysed using NVivo 12 Plus.

The finding of this study revealed that the Russian newspapers (TASS, Russia Today, Russia Insider, and Sputnik) presented Mr. Haftar in a good light and cleared him from any accusation of announcing his campaign to carry out an offensive on Tripoli. The Russian newspapers acted as a medium to present "us or in-group" Mr. Haftar as the only legitimate authority in Libya, who announced the attack on the Libyan capital just to liberate its residents from Islamists, extremists and terrorists' hands. Also, the lexical choices were carefully employed to mitigate any harmful deeds by Mr. Haftar, and they direct their full attention to the progress of the Libyan National Army of controlling more territories in the west of Libya. Further, the newspapers overlooked identifying any kind of arms and mercenaries' provision from the countries that back up Mr. Haftar of his war in Libya to establish control over Tripoli and topple the legitimate government headed by Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj and based in Tripoli. Noticeably, the lexical items that were utilized by the editors of the Russian news reports were all employed to depict the side that Russia supports positively. Leaving no voice to the other warring side.

In the same manner, the results of the American newspapers' analyses (The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, The Washington Post, and Bloomberg) released that the newspapers showed an implicit bias towards the UN-recognized government, and the editors attempted somehow to depict the weak points of the UN-recognized government and its allies. However, the main attention was given to Mr. Haftar and

his allies. The four newspapers mostly concentrated on reporting the fatal acts by Mr. Haftar, when he announced in April 2019 a campaign to carry out an attack on the Libyan capital, claiming that the Libyan National Army led by Haftar and based in the east of Libya will liberate the country from terrorist organizations that govern Tripoli referring to the UN-recognized government headed by the Prime Minister Fayeze Al-Sarraj and based in Tripoli. Also, the editors reported how some countries, such as France, The UAE, and Russia transferred mercenaries to fight with Haftar as well as different kinds of weapons and accusing them of violating the UN-arms embargo on Libya. Therefore, the discursive strategies and the “us vs them” dichotomy were utilized by the editors to create news reports contents that would leave a negative impression on readers.

Lastly, for the NVivo analysis, the lexical inquiry showed the differences items employed by Russian newspapers and American newspapers, each supported one side over the other, therefore each country portrayed the “in-group” positively while the “out-group” was portrayed negatively.

It can be concluded that Russian and American newspapers presented the same event (Libyan conflict 2019) differently and according to their ideological and political positions. Russian depicted Mr. Haftar positively at all levels as an attempted to endorse and legitimize him as the only Libyan authority who aims to liberate Libya from terrorists and secure the Libyan oil ports, whereas the other party “the UN-recognized government” was demonstrated as a weak political figure that is included of extremists who govern Tripoli by force. Consequently, Russian newspapers acted as a persuasion means to influence their readers and public opinions with their ideologies and policies. On the other hand, American newspapers implicitly depicted the UN-recognized government positively, while negatively demonstrated Mr. Haftar the head of the Libyan National Army as well as his allies the UAE, France, and Russia, and shed light more on their fatal acts and violation of UN-arms embargo on Libya.

In summary, the comparative analysis which was demonstrated in the preceding chapter and the discussion section tends to indicate that the rhetorical discursive strategies and macro-analysis of self-versus-other dichotomy are employed by the selected newspapers are politically and ideologically driven. In other words, Russia and America used their newspapers as a means to serve their certain ideological

positions to defend the party they support and legitimize the policies which serve their interests.



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APPENDIX

Appendix-1: Russian Newspapers

1. Tass Newspaper

1. UN Security Council begins discussing Libya behind closed doors

UN, April 5. /TASS/. An emergency session of the UN Security Council, which convened on the United Kingdom's initiative, began behind closed doors at the organization's headquarters in New York on Friday evening.

A spokesperson for the UN Secretariat earlier said that the UN special envoy to Libya, Ghassan Salame, will make a report to Security Council members via a video linkup.

Russia's stance on the problem was reflected in an earlier statement by the Russian Foreign Ministry, in which Moscow expressed its support to the UN Secretary General's efforts to de-escalate tensions and urged the sides to avoid the use of force.

"We are joining this appeal. We think that all Libyan sides involved should exercise calmness and restraint. It is evident that a military scenario might knock down the already extremely complicated situation in the country and to end up in new casualties and destruction," the Russian Foreign Ministry said in a statement.

"This scenario will delay the prospect for a balanced, inclusive political process under the auspices of the United Nations with a final goal of establishing unified, efficient governmental institutions through general elections," the statement said.

"We confirm that there is no other option but a political solution in Libya and so we urge Libya's leading military and political forces to show a necessary sense of responsibility for the country's fate, to refrain from military means in the struggle for power and to embark on a path of joint decision-making to solve priority tasks of Libyan statehood's restoration, including the war on terror," the foreign ministry stressed.

Situation in Libya escalated during the visit of UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres. Currently, the country has two governments: Tripoli's Government of National Accord, led by Prime Minister Fayeze al-Sarraj and recognized by the international community, and the interim Cabinet of Abdullah Al-Thani, who is acting in the country's east together with the elected parliament and supported by the Libyan National Army of Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar.

On Thursday, Haftar announced the launch of an offensive on Tripoli to retake the capital from terrorists and armed groups. The army is advancing to the capital now and, as some media reported, has already approached the city's outskirts. Meanwhile, al-Sarraj ordered all military units subordinate to him to be on alert and to use force if necessary "to defend the civilian population and critical facilities."

In the meantime, Al-Hadath television channel said that at a meeting with Antonio Guterres in Benghazi on Friday, Haftar notified the UN Secretary General that he would not negotiate with terrorists but would liberate Libya's capital from them. According to the sources cited by the TV channel, Guterres asked Haftar to abide by generally recognized rules for military operations and by the international laws.

Later, the UN Secretary General wrote on his Twitter page that he was leaving Libya "with a heavy heart and deeply concerned."

2. Libyan National Army's air force strikes Tripoli international airport

According to the media, the air raid targeted the positions of armed units loyal to Tripoli's Government of National Accord

CAIRO, April 9. /TASS/. A fighter jet of the Libyan National Army (LNA) under the command of Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar has carried out a strike on Tripoli's international airport on Tuesday, Sky News Arabia TV channel reports.

According to the TV channel, the air raid targeted the positions of armed units loyal to Tripoli's Government of National Accord (GNA) headed by Prime Minister Fayeze al-Sarraj. No reports on the aftermath of the air raid have emerged yet.

On Monday, the LNA air force struck the Mitiga airport, which has been acting as an international airport since 2014 when the main national airport was almost fully destroyed during ongoing battles between the opposing factions in Tripoli. Yesterday, following the raid the airport's operation was fully suspended, while all passengers and staff were evacuated. Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General and Head

of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) Ghassan Salame condemned the strike on the civilian facility, branding it as a brazen violation of international law. LNA Spokesperson Brigadier General Ahmed Al-Mesmari clarified that the raid targeted the GNA's fighter jets. By the evening, the Mitiga airport had resumed its operation.

In 2011, during the course of the civil war, Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi was killed by insurgents which led to devastating consequences for the country both politically and economically. Currently, Libya has two supreme executive authorities, namely Tripoli's Government of National Accord recognized by the international community and headed by Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj and the interim government headed by Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thani, which operates in the country's east along with the elected parliament and is supported by the Libyan National Army.

On April 4, Haftar announced the launch of an offensive against Tripoli. Sarraj ordered all military units loyal to him to gear up to defend the capital. The warring factions are currently involved in battles along the outskirts of Tripoli.

3. Russia's Foreign Ministry urges Libya's warring sides to stop fighting for power

The Russian diplomat recalled that since the recent flare-up in Libya, the international community had been urging the warring sides to halt fighting

MOSCOW, April 11. /TASS/. Moscow calls on the conflicting sides in Libya not to use military methods in the struggle for power, but to return to the UN-brokered peace plan, Russian Foreign Ministry Spokeswoman Maria Zakharova said at a briefing on Thursday.

"With any determination and persistence possible, Russia points out that there are no other options but a political settlement on the basis of the action plan drafted by UN Special Envoy for Libya [Ghassan Salom]. It is necessary to refuse from military methods while struggling for power and that it is crucial for all responsible Libyan military and political forces to team up in order to revive national unity and to form viable governmental institutions, which will be capable of grappling with priorities, of course, including the war on terror," she stressed.

The Russian diplomat recalled that since the recent flare-up in Libya, the international community had been urging the warring sides to halt fighting and to sit at the negotiating table. She added that the recent escalation was on the table of the United Nations Security Council's session.

In 2011, rebels killed Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi during the civil war. Currently, Libya has two cabinets, which are Tripoli's worldrecognized government of National Accord headed by Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj and the interim government headed by Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thani, which operates alongside the elected parliament in the country's east and is supported by the Libyan National Army (LNA).

On April 4, LNA Commander Khalifa Haftar announced the launch of an offensive on Tripoli. Meanwhile, Fayez al-Sarraj ordered all military units subordinate to him to be put on alert. Now, the fighting is raging on the capital's outskirts.

4. Russian involvement in Libyan conflict regulation does not serve any purpose — US diplomat

Russia's Permanent Representative to the UN Vasily Nebenzya stated earlier that Russia does not support any side of the conflict and calls for national reconciliation in Libya

NEW YORK, April 15. /TASS/. The US is against Russia's involvement in Libyan conflict regulation, US Acting Assistant Secretary of State David M. Satterfield stated on Monday during a briefing in Brussels.

"We do not believe that Russian involvement in this conflict serves any useful purpose," he said. "It is an external meddling which we hope comes to a close as rapidly as possible. It's opportunistic. It attempts to capitalize upon gray areas, conflict areas, and little good is served by it."

Currently, Libya has two supreme executive authorities, namely Tripoli's government of National Accord recognized by the international community and headed by Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj, and the interim government headed by Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thani, which operates in the country's east along with the elected parliament and is supported by the Libyan National Army.

On April 4, Field Marshal of the Libyan National Army Khalifa Haftar announced the launch of an offensive against Tripoli. Sarraj ordered all military units loyal to him to gear up to defend the capital. The warring factions are currently involved in battles along the outskirts of Tripoli.

Russia's Permanent Representative to the UN Vasily Nebenzya stated earlier that Russia does not support any side of the conflict and calls for national reconciliation in Libya.

2. Russia Today Newspaper

1. Libyan strongman Haftar orders troops to move on Tripoli Apr,4 2019

Eastern Libyan commander Khalifa Haftar has ordered his troops to move on the capital Tripoli, seat of the UN-backed government of Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj.

In an audio address broadcast to his troops and published on Facebook, Haftar ordered all army units to "advance to Tripoli," and free the capital from "militias and terrorists." The Thursday address came hours after Haftar's forces captured the town of Gharyan, 100km south of the capital.

Haftar also vowed to protect foreigners, civilians and those surrendering to his troops, promising to ensure their "safety and security."

Drone-filmed footage shows scores of Haftar's Libyan National Army (NLA) vehicles en route to the capital, most of them machine-gun-armed 'technicals.'

The LNA has moved west towards Tripoli this week, skirmishing with "illegal" armed groups along the way, LNA spokesman Ahmed Mismari told al-Arabiya TV on Wednesday. Al-Sarraj has, meanwhile, mobilized his own forces and instructed them to "confront any threats aiming at disturbing the peace in any part of the country."

Libyan news websites published documents signed by Al-Siraj, in which he ordered his forces to "raise the maximum readiness and re-stationing of the units" as well as "carry out air strikes and use force to confront all those threatening the lives of civilians and vital facilities."

With UN-sponsored peace talks scheduled for this month, both sides have been struggling to gain the upper hand in advance. UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, currently in Tripoli, appealed earlier for both sides to exercise restraint.

Al-Sarraj's warning against "disturbing the peace" implies that there is some semblance of peace to disturb. On the contrary, Libya has descended into chaos since NATO began bombing the country in March 2011, in support of Islamist rebels. After former leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi was murdered in October of that year, Libya spiralled into full-blown civil war and humanitarian catastrophe, marked by the prevalence of open-air slave markets trafficking migrants from sub-saharan Africa and the surge of terrorism, including actions by Islamic State (IS, formerly ISIS/ISIL).

Power was eventually split between al-Sarraj's government in Tripoli and Haftar's LNA in Tobruk, with lawless patches of desert to the south controlled by nomadic tribes, militias and criminals. The LNA subsequently expanded its influence to Benghazi and beyond, and now controls around two thirds of the country. The Tripoli government controls roughly seven percent of Libyan territory.

Before the NATO bombing campaign of 2011, Libya once had the highest Human Development Index in the whole of Africa, with Gaddafi holding the nation's factions together with a deft combination of investments, political brokering, and strategic repression. Whoever takes power after the upcoming peace talks also takes control of the continent's largest oil reserves.

Haftar has vowed to be that leader, telling Arabic newspaper Ashraq al-Awsat on Monday that "Libyans will have a single cabinet this month." Others are not so sure.

"The Libya that we knew before is gone. It's gone," Libyan Political adviser Mohamed Buisier told Al-Jazeera late last year. "All what we see in front of us, the scene now, it's at the end, it's taking us to disintegration. Nothing is bringing the country back to unity, and every day we are closer to this final scene."

2. Only functioning airport in Libya's Tripoli hit by air raid – reports 8 Apr, 2019 13:18

The only functioning airport in the Libyan capital of Tripoli has been hit in an air raid, local TV and several agencies report, citing eyewitnesses. Heavy fighting broke out between the forces of the country's two governments.

A military aircraft belonging to the Libyan National Army forces has reportedly targeted Mitiga airport, located in the Libyan capital's eastern suburb. Commanded by Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar the group challenged the government in Tripoli for power.

The Libyan authorities confirmed that the airport was closed following the airstrike, but provided no additional information on casualties or damage resulting from it. Mitiga has been the only airport used for international flights since the capital's international airport was destroyed back in 2014.

Photos surfacing on social media show black smoke billowing over the airport's runway, although no major damage can be seen. The people, who posted the photos, claimed there were some explosions, which they say were a result of the bombing raid. This information cannot be independently verified, though.

The news comes amid ongoing clashes between the forces loyal to the Tripoli-based UN-backed Government of National Accord (GNA) and Haftar's LNA, which supports a rival government in the Libyan eastern city of Tobruk.

Earlier Haftar vowed to seize Tripoli and "liberate" it from those he called "militias and terrorists." In response, the UN-backed government launched a counteroffensive dubbed 'Volcano of Rage' to stop Haftar's approaching troops.

Later, some reports suggested that both sides engaged air forces to support their troops. On Sunday, local media reported on continued "fierce fighting" around Tripoli International Airport while providing conflicting information on which side controls the area.

Libya has been devastated by a prolonged civil war, lasting since NATO's 'humanitarian' intervention and airstrike campaign in 2011, which decimated the national armed forces and eventually helped armed militants to murder Libya's long-time ruler, Muammar Gaddafi.

Now, most of the country is controlled by Haftar's forces. So far, at least 25 people have allegedly been killed since clashes broke out on the outskirts of Tripoli.

3. Libyan National Army jet shot down over Tripoli as Haftar visits Egypt

A warplane belonging to General Khalifa Haftar's troops has been shot down by forces loyal to the UN-backed government, its military spokesperson has claimed. It comes as Haftar is visiting the Egyptian president in Cairo.

The Libyan National Army's (LNA) fighter jet was downed on Sunday south of the capital of Tripoli, Colonel Mohammed Gnnu, Tripoli's military spokesman, confirmed without revealing any further details about the incident. Photos and videos that surfaced on social media appear to show the aftermath.

Some of those who posted the images claimed that jet crashed in Tripoli's southeastern suburb of Ain Zara, while others said it fell in the town of Qasr bin Ghashir located south of the capital not far from the disused Tripoli International Airport. None of these reports could be independently verified.

The photos and videos showed plumes of grey and black smoke billowing in the sky in some deserted area. According to media reports, the pilot managed to eject from the jet before the crash. However, it is unclear whether he was captured by the GNA forces, as some reports on social media suggest, or managed to flee the scene.

The incident took place as Haftar, who supports a Tobruk-based rival Libyan government and claims to control some 80 percent of the country's territory, met with the Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi to discuss the developments in Libya.

This is the second reported military aircraft downing in Libya in less than a week. On April 10, the LNA spokesman told reporters that Haftar's forces shot down a military plane belonging to GNA over Tripoli. Conflicting reports have repeatedly emerged about strikes from both sides in the area near the capital.

Haftar's forces last week launched an offensive against militias supporting the GNA in the west of the country, calling them "illegal armed groups." Clashes have resulted in the cancellation of a UN-sponsored peace conference, which sought to negotiate a power-sharing arrangement between Haftar and the internationally recognized government of Prime Minister Fayeze al-Sarraj, which controlled less than 8 percent of Libya's territory at the start of Haftar's offensive.

Libya has been gripped by civil war chaos since 2011 when NATO-backed Islamist rebels overthrew and brutally killed the nation's longtime strongman Muammar Gaddafi. In wake of the new armed standoff, the remaining US forces in Libya pulled out from Tripoli.

4. 'Oil is everything': Why Western allies like US & France swing weight in favor of Libya's Haftar 20 Apr, 2019 15:11

General Haftar, whose forces are on the move towards Tripoli, is the right man for the West to feed their oil appetites – but he is also the one who can switch sides quickly, analysts told RT.

Forces loyal to General Khalifa Haftar are steadily advancing towards Tripoli, where the UN-recognized Government of National Accord (GNA) calls for help and hastily prepares to defend the troubled Libyan capital. But Western powers, who established formal ties to GNA, are also keeping in touch with their arch-rival – just because he controls an asset that decides almost everything in the war-torn country.

"Securing access to oil and protection of oil – that's what Haftar purports to do," Alessandro Bruno, an independent political analyst and Libya expert, told RT.

He explained that this oil is generally high quality, and it is mainly processed at refineries in Italy and France – the two NATO countries heavily involved in the Libyan turmoil since they helped topple Colonel Muammar Gaddafi back in 2011.

Oil is everything in Libya, it has little else.

Nevertheless, he doesn't control Libya's finances and the national oil company, which has a HQ in Tripoli, explained Grigory Lukyanov, senior lecturer at Moscow-based Higher School of Economics.

"All money transfers relating to Libyan oil – even the oil that is drilled in Haftar-controlled parts of Libya – go through Tripoli," which make it extremely challenging to cash in on it.

Unsurprisingly, natural resources dominate much of the discussions between Haftar and major powers. This week, President Donald Trump hailed the Libyan strongman's "significant role in fighting terrorism and securing Libya's oil resources" in a phone call.

The move seems to signal that the US is swinging its weight in favor of Haftar, Bruno believes.

"It certainly suggests that Trump will not be obstructing Haftar's push into Tripoli as [GNA's] Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj was hoping," he said. Sarraj is seen as weak, "and Trump does not like the weak ... also he is backed by UN, and Trump doesn't like the UN."

Meanwhile, France, which has long-standing interests in former African colonies, wants him to become the one who may influence things in Tripoli.

On Thursday the GNA accused Paris of throwing its weight behind Haftar, saying it has severed any "bilateral security agreements" as a result. While France has denied allegations of "relentless backing" for the General, it still does its utmost to make him a legitimate political player, Lukyanov added.

Politics aside, France has also been aiding Haftar's Libyan National Army (LNA). Likewise, Paris hopes that Haftar will advance French interests in the region, be it arms sales or drilling for oil.

French military advisers helped run the LNA staff, provided it with intelligence and trained its troops inside Libya.

But while the West sets its hopes for Haftar, there are a number of setbacks. The general "is 75 years old, he's not in complete health," Bruno noted. Age aside, his reliability as a partner can also be an issue. "How reliable is Haftar? That's a big question," the expert wondered.

His personal history shows [that he is someone] who shifts loyalties very quickly ... Perhaps he is more reliable to the Americans.

Back in the late 1980s, Haftar and 300 of his men were captured during a short conflict with Chad, and were subsequently disowned by Gaddafi. This led him to devote the next two decades of his life to toppling the late Libyan leader.

Up until 2011, he lived in exile in Virginia, and the proximity to the CIA's headquarters in Langley gave birth to rumors about close ties with the US intelligence community. "Perhaps, he's a CIA asset," Bruno opined.

In the end, "Libyans will be the losers" because there won't be any prospect for peace since Khaftar "is determined to take power by military means," he concluded.

3. Russian Insider

1. *US and NATO Will Always Share Blame for Libya's Re-Descent Into Chaos*

Recent developments in Libya have put the focal point of the international media back on the war-torn country. As we will see, there are many crucial omissions from the mainstream assessment of Libya's descent into further chaos.

Libya is back in the news again. At the beginning of this week, a warplane attacked Tripoli's only functioning civilian airport, Mitiga airport. The airstrike was allegedly delivered by forces loyal to Libyan warlord Khalifa Haftar, the Libyan National Army (LNA). The timing of the attack appears to have coincided with UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres' visit to the city, who eventually left Libya "with a heavy heart and deeply concerned."

Between 2,800 and 3,400 people have fled the fighting around Tripoli so far, with at least 47 reportedly dead and over 180 others injured, including both civilians and pro-government (GNA) fighters.

Originally, UN-backed talks were scheduled for 14-16 April this year, but this recent fighting has called all of that into question. So much so, that US forces have been withdrawn temporarily due to "security conditions on the ground." Announcing that US troops will be withdrawing from a North African nation temporarily barely seems to attract even the most basic questions from the mainstream media, including the much-needed "why are US troops still in Libya?"

Still, Washington's withdrawal from Libya may lead the way for other players to take control. As it stands, Libya has hardly been a priority of the Trump administration, who appears to have given an unofficial green light for other players to attempt to clean up the mess.

Interestingly, if Libya were talked about more openly and not in the reactionary way employed by the mainstream media, this fighting would have been foreseen a long time ago and ample warning would have been given. In early March, Middle East Monitor (MEMO) reported that during January and February of this year, Haftar had managed to take control of two-thirds of Libya with an eye for taking Tripoli, the country's capital. By that stage, he had already seized most of Libya's oil fields and major population centers. By early 2017, Haftar had already emerged as a major leader in eastern Libya, giving him control of about 60 percent of Libya's oil supply.

According to MEMO, the pro-Haftar forces were greeted by cheerful locals in almost every village and town they advanced into (though this is not necessarily a claim we should accept outright). MEMO's thesis was essentially that the changing dynamics in the local politics of Libya could entail that Haftar would look to take Tripoli in the near future, but that it was unlikely to happen any time soon. Following this, the last major area to conquer that would likely put up any meaningful resistance is Misrata, 300 km away from Tripoli.

Instead of having an open discussion about the true nature of the situation in Libya throughout 2019, what we get from the media is a sort of "Libya is descending into chaos once again" knee-jerk reaction, followed by the usual "America can stop it" type pro-imperialist nonsense. When we aren't receiving this dishonest attempt to reassert American hegemony, we have to swallow the most ambitious of propagandised gibberish from the Guardian such as:

The outcome could decide whether the country remains on a lengthy, UN-led path to a form of democracy that reunites the country's long-divided institutions, or instead falls under a form of military rule similar to that in Egypt.

Which leads us to the real reason that the US will most likely want to re-involve itself into the North African nation: Russia.

In the wake of the recent clashes, Moscow vowed to use "all available means" to broker peace in the war-torn country, urging all sides to the violence "to avoid any actions that could provoke bloodshed and the death of civilians."

While the US and other notable powers have blamed the fighting squarely on Haftar and his forces, Russia appears to have disagreed, blocking a security council statement initiated by the UK to condemn Haftar. While this will only further give the United States reason to cringe over its future grip over a North African nation abundant in oil, the hidden truth is that US once-upon-a-time backed Haftar to overthrow Gaddafi prior to his death in 2011. In fact, he was granted US citizenship having spent about two decades living in Langley (I am sure the proximity of his residence to the CIA headquarters is a sheer coincidence). Reportedly, Haftar even allowed the CIA to establish a base in the eastern city of Benghazi in the area under his control.

While the US and Russia are likely to be the two main powers discussed in respect of this recent fighting and the international response to these clashes, there are some other

notable players who are not receiving the same amount of airtime they deserve. Don't expect it to be headline news, but just before the offensive was launched Haftar had been in Saudi Arabia where he had met with King Salman. It turns out that Haftar's forces sympathize with the same, radical Salafist strain of Islam that the Saudi Kingdom exports to the rest of the world like a commodity.

He also allegedly receives support from Egypt, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and even France, who has quietly been carrying out air strikes on Haftar's opponents (Chadian opposition fighters). Not only is France one of the major causes for the chaos that engulfed Libya in 2011 (it was, after all, a French Rafale jet that struck Muammar Gaddafi's fleeing motorcade in Sirte, leading to his brutal murder) but it is still to this day, behind-the-scenes, continuing a meddling, interfering policy in Libya that sees clandestine operatives, advisers and special forces to assist Haftar's aims. This is despite Haftar's long list of alleged crimes. That being said, France still denies that it had any prior warning of the recent advancement by the LNA.

US foreign policy seems to follow this curious, ludicrous and frustrating cycle of violence and the corporate media continue to act clueless. The pattern seems to go something like this. One, the US backs a certain group, groups, or a dictator of sorts to act as its proxy army against a common enemy. Two, once said enemy has been overthrown, that proxy will either take up the reins or continue to wreak havoc on the country, or both. When that group has outlived its usefulness, the group's ties to other distasteful foes, their crimes against humanity, or any associated allegation is brought out into the open and a demonization process begins which will eventually lead to another call for the US to intervene. The fact that the US intervened the first time around and singlehandedly contributed to the chaos is hidden from plain sight by the media or is just outright ignored.

2. American Policy on Libya Is Totally Incoherent Richard Galustian Wed, May 8, 2019

The catalyst that sent the overall situation into an uncontrolled spiral was the phone call made on April 15 by US President Donald Trump to Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar declaring his support for Haftar. The Trump call was clearly unknown to the US State Department and probably other US agencies and departments, and even some of Trump's closest advisors.

The mixed signals from Washington create a farcical, even outright comical, set of contradictions that leave all Libyans wondering what the hell is going on while sending the international diplomatic community in Tripoli into utter confusion.

A few days after Haftar's offensive on April 4, France, Italy, the UAE, the UK, and the US released a joint statement calling for an end to the offensive. While other players like Egypt, Russia and Saudi Arabia worked their back channels to Field Marshal Haftar. Total disunity quickly emerged between all these international players that has subsequently destroyed UN efforts to get a resolution on the situation.

A White House statement on April 19 said Trump had discussed "ongoing counterterrorism efforts", acknowledging the Field Marshal's "significant role in fighting terrorism and securing Libya's oil resources".

The US President's remarks to Haftar were of course taken as an endorsement. How else could it have been interpreted by anyone, not least Haftar?

Diplomats from US and Russia on April 18 rejected a British proposed draft UN resolution that made any reference to Field Marshal Haftar and his forces; they wanted neither side named in the document. That also gave the impression that both superpowers were backing Haftar.

To compound the muddle, on May 1, the White House began, in essence, contradicting Trump, playing down the significance of his phone call and disputing the idea that it was backing Field Marshal Haftar over the UN-recognised Government of National Accord, the GNA led by UN selected 'Prime Minister' Fayez Al Sarraj.

"The characterisations of conversations between the White House and Field Marshal Haftar are inaccurate," wrote Garrett Marquis, a spokesman and special assistant to Trump.

All this while UN diplomats frantically scramble to make sense of American policy towards Libya in a bid to salvage diplomatic efforts.

"The US position is not understood. There have been different things said by different people," a leading UN diplomat admitted, though he wished to remain anonymous, adding that the US President's phone call "may have been misread as support for Haftar".

For now, clearly, the prospect of a UN resolution calling for a ceasefire, is, to say the least, off the table.

US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo only added to the uncertainty when he spoke of “the immediate halt to these military operations against the Libyan capital.” He added that “a political solution is the only way to unify the country and provide a plan for security, stability and prosperity for all Libyans.”

It is difficult not to laugh at the total lack of a coherent American foreign policy.

The almost Shakespearian tragedy that is Libya today, or aspects of it, compare to the insanity of war evoked by the iconic Joseph Heller book *Catch 22*.

As a countermeasure, in an effort to neutralise Trump’s apparent (yet patently obvious) personal support for Haftar, Sarraj’s GNA in Tripoli signed a contract worth \$2m with a leading ‘K Street’ lobbying firm in Washington according to a recent FARA filing.

The Libyan government hired Mercury Public Affairs on April 26 to “provide strategic consulting and management services” which in ‘real speak’ means lobbying Congress and the Trump administration, “identify interest groups allied with client and coordinate support”.

The contract with Mercury stipulates that the GNA will make an initial payment of \$500,000, along with paying \$150,000 per month and an additional \$50,000 per quarter for expenses related to ‘services’.

The contract shows Mercury’s contract was signed by the GNA’s Yousef al-Mabrouk, Chief of Staff for the Office of Prime Minister Sarraj.

Mercury’s recent most high-profile client was a Russian, Oleg Deripaska, assisted by a former British minister Greg Barker, in an effort to overturn US sanctions on the oligarch’s business.

The fact is the UN-recognised Sarraj GNA government in Tripoli has what constitutes its armed forces, a coalition of an unknown number of militias of different shades of political and religious persuasions, and it is they in reality that control Tripoli.

The UAE’s most senior Foreign Office Minister in a tweet said: “Priority in Libya to counter extremism/terrorism & support stability in long drawn out crisis. Meanwhile extremist militias continue to control capital and derail search for political solution.”

UN spokesman Stephane Dujarric said on May 1 that since the Haftar offensive on Tripoli began, 102 civilian casualties have been verified, including 23 fatalities, and over 45,000 people have fled their homes.

If I were a Libyan, I couldn't escape the truth of this quote from Catch 22:

“When I look up, I see people cashing in. I don't see heaven or saints or angels. I see people cashing in on every decent impulse and every human tragedy.”

3. Portuguese Pilot Shot Down in Libya Is Covered in Kabbalistic Tattoos - An Israeli Link? Wed, May 8, 2019

Before joining the dots that explain the headline of this article, its important first to describe the shooting down the other day of a fighter jet in Libya.

A French made fighter jet, a Mirage F1, was shot down on Monday of this week over Tripoli by forces fighting for the liberation of Tripoli from extremist militias have captured its European pilot.

The Libyan National Army, led by Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar, released video footage Tuesday of a man in bloodied clothes. Under questioning, which continues, he identified himself as a 29-year-old Portuguese national working as a private contractor pilot. It is presumed he was working for one of the extremist militias that, in reality, make up the Armed Forces of, so called by the U.N., Prime Minister Fayez Serraj.

The LNA, which is slowly but surely defeating the militias of the 'Serraj government', says it shot the man's plane down over the capital.

This is the first proof of foreign mercenaries fighting for the international community's U.N. backed Tripoli based 'government'. (As stated earlier, who In actuality, due to there existing no GNA Armed Forces, no real Serraj government forces, are a collection of militias with a dominant influence of the Muslim Brotherhood, an organisation that dates back to the 1920s that is already designated in some countries as a terrorist organisation).

Its worth giving further background to a little discussed aspect of extremist organisations like ISIS, is where in the main do they recruit from? The answer is Tunisia!

On the 14th July 2016, Bastille Day, a 31-year-old Tunisian man drove a truck through a crowd in Nice in the South of France, killing 86 people. What main stream Press seem to continuously fail to emphasise, even report at all, is that in ISIS, there are an estimated 8,000 Tunisian men and women who fight as ISIS in other countries.

Not to be forgotten is the other infamous attack by ISIS in Tunisia itself, that left in total up to 60 tourists murdered with many more wounded while they lazed on the beaches of their hotels. There were two such attacks.

The first, at the Bardo Museum in Tunis in March 2015 killed 22. Three months later, 38 tourists, most of them British, were shot dead on the beaches of Sousse.

A mysterious, in some ways, fact remains that Tunisians constitute the single largest group of foreign terrorist fighters in Syria, Iraq and Libya. Why so many are Tunisian is still not completely clear. Why leave their fairly liberal society in Tunisia for ISIS's theocratic pseudo-state? One theory is it is because of the strength of the Muslim Brotherhood in Tunisia.

Spokesmen for the Libyan National Army have been accusing their opponents of using mercenaries backed by certain foreign powers.

This Portuguese fighter pilot now provides the evidence. Finally a detail that might, repeat might, link this pilot to Israel, yet to be confirmed, is this.

As can be seen from a picture taken of him shirtless yesterday, he has a tattoo over his heart. He also has a small tattoo on his right arm and a huge multi coloured and multi imaged tattoo on his back.

4. Trump's Support for General Haftar in Libya Is a Good Thing - He Will Probably Take Tripoli in a Bloodless Transition And the search for ISIS's Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi in Libya intensifies.

The 'international community' recognises their past initiatives over the last seven years have all failed and 'the West' now needs, as a matter of urgency, an end to the Libyan debacle.

However, the fact is 'the West' is much divided over what should happen in Libya, notably France and Italy, who each have vast economic interests that are at odds with one another. While the US and UK of course have an eye on their potential economic interests in a future liberated Libya, theirs is more of a anti-terrorism effort aimed at

eradicating ISIS's presence in Libya and specifically to find Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi who is thought to have recently moved to Libya and set up a new ISIS HQ.

Meanwhile the battle to take Tripoli continues by Field Marshall's Haftar's Forces.

Following on the heels of a vote by several members of the East Libyan parliament on Monday to label the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist group, while Washington contemplates the designation of the Brotherhood as a terrorist organisation, the verbal attacks against Turkey have intensified.

The London based pan-Arab daily Asharq al-Awsat

<https://m.aawsat.com/english/home/article/1721511/libyan-national-army-accuses-turkey-supporting-terrorism>

reported on Tuesday that Haftar is directly accusing the Muslim Brotherhood government in Turkey of supporting extremist militias, that include ISIS, and that further, that Turkey is supplying arms on Libyan Airlines planes that regularly fly from various airports in Turkey to the city of Misrata.

One must acknowledge the change in Haftar's fortunes occurred after he received a telephone call of support, on Monday 15th April, from President Trump, despite the fact that that call instigated wide spread criticism from the 'international community's' main stream media (MSM).

The MSM and Libya pundits have got it absolutely wrong....again.

The opposite is true. The consequence of Trump's emboldening Haftar actually creates the potential environment for a relatively bloodless take-over of Tripoli.

4. Sputnik

1. Haftar's LNA Has Taken Control Over Tripoli's International Airport - Source © REUTERS /

Previously, Libyan National Army spokesman Ahmed Mismari said that forces under the command of Marshal Khalifa Haftar were carrying out an offensive on the country's capital, Tripoli, in several directions, but had not yet entered the city.

CAIRO (Sputnik) — Marshal Khalifa Haftar's Libyan National Army (LNA) on Friday captured the international airport in Tripoli, a source close to Haftar's entourage told Sputnik.

"The Tripoli International Airport has been taken under control, fighting is taking place in its vicinity," the source said.

It comes shortly as Haftar told UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres that his forces would continue fighting against the armed groups that control Tripoli, noting that the city's residents were "fed up" with them.

UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, in turn, said he was departing from Libya with a "heavy heart" but with hoping that recent tensions would not lead to a confrontation.

"I leave Libya with a heavy heart and deeply concerned," Guterres said in a Twitter post. "I still hope it is possible to avoid a bloody confrontation in and around Tripoli."

Earlier in the day, a source in the LNA told Sputnik that the forces of the Libyan National Army, led by Khalifa Haftar, have assumed control over several southwest neighbourhoods of Tripoli, engaging in no major clashes so far.

"As of now, the streets of the city are empty. It seems that almost all residents have chosen to leave the city. Several areas are already occupied by the LNA forces, for example, Janzur and Al-Swani, which are in the southwest of Tripoli. No clashes have taken place yet, only a few minor attacks from gangs along the way [of the Haftar army divisions] to Tripoli", the source said.

"The Libyan National Army entered Garyan and assumed full control over it without any resistance on the part of the armed militia that had withdrawn in the direction of Tripoli several hours before the LNA coming," Bahlul Sayyid said.

The mayor said that the situation in the city was calm, no sounds of clashes were heard in neighbouring settlements. Haftar's army was advancing upon Tripoli, he added.

According to Sputnik source, head of the Government of National Accord (GNA), Fayez Sarraj, remains in Tripoli despite the LNA offensive.

Commenting on the operation, LNA spokesman Ahmed Mismari stated that the army is continuing to advance.

"We are next to Al-Swani. This is a heavily populated settlement about 25 kilometres [15 miles] south of Tripoli. We are also advancing toward Tripoli from other directions. In addition, we are conducting an operation in Janzur, but unfortunately,

we have had to withdraw a little from there", Mismari told Sputnik, adding that the LNA had not reached the capital yet.

He also said that he could not predict when the operation would conclude due to the conditions under which it was being conducted.

Meanwhile, the tracker Flightradar24 shows that Mitiga International Airport and Tripoli International Airport are operating as usual.

Addressing the situation in Libya, Arab League Secretary General Ahmed Aboul Gheit called on both sides of the conflict to show restraint and to take urgent deescalation measures.

The news comes after media reported on Thursday that the LNA commander had ordered an offensive on Tripoli, controlled by the UN-supported interim Government of National Accord after his army took control over cities of Surman and Garyan.

On 20 March, the United Nations announced that it would sponsor a conference in Ghadames on 14-16 April to address the crisis in Libya and set a date for the long-awaited elections that could restore peace and security for the nation.

As a result of a years-long civil conflict that erupted following a rebellion and murder of the ex-head of state Muammar Gaddafi, there is no single central government in Libya, and the country's eastern and western parts are controlled by separate powers. The Tobruk-based parliament, elected in 2014 and backed by the LNA, governs the east of Libya, while the GNA, established in 2015, controls Libya's western parts from Tripoli.

2. Haftar's Forces Reportedly Sent Warship to Secure Oil Export Port © REUTERS

Forces from the Libyan National Army (LNA) led by General Khalifa Haftar and in control of the country's east have been besieging Tripoli, the capital of the UN-backed Government of National Accord (GNA) in control of Libya's west, since 4 April.

The Libyan National Army (LNA) has sent an Alkarama patrol vessel to the port of Ras Lanuf, part of the country's key Oil Crescent region and one of the world's crucial maritime oil export points, Press TV reported. According to LNA spokesman Ahmed Mismari, the warship was deployed as part of a "training mission" and to secure local oil facilities.

National Oil Corporation earlier issued a warning that a recent escalation in fighting between the groups in the country threatens oil production rates in the nation. The escalation was sparked by LNA General Khalifa Haftar's announcement of an attack on the Government of National Accord's capital Tripoli on 4 April 2019.

The oil trade in the country divided by the civil war is operated by the National Oil Corporation (NOC), which tries to position itself as a neutral side in a conflict between the LNA and the Government of National Accord (GNA), operating across the entire country, sending the profits to the Tripoli-based central bank, but also a portion to public servants in the LNA-controlled lands.

Ever since Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi was murdered by militants supported by NATO forces in 2011, the country has been torn apart by fighting among various groups. The two most prominent of them are the LNA, led by general Haftar controlling Libya's east, and GNA, supported by the UN and seated in Tripoli — country's social capital.

3. Libyan National Army Claims It Possesses Evidence of Turkey Supporting Daesh

MOSCOW (Sputnik) - The Libyan National Army (LNA), led by Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar, said on Monday that it possessed documents and other evidence confirming Turkey's support for Daesh*.

"Turkey is one of the countries supporting terrorism around the world. We possess leaked #Turkish documents and other evidence that prove the Turkish regime's support for #ISIS," LNA said on its social Twitter account.

The statement added that the LNA was fighting al-Qaeda* terrorist organization in Tripoli.

Syrian Ambassador to the United Nations Bashar Jaafari accused Turkey on Friday of supporting Hayat Tahrir al-Sham* terrorist group and other terrorist groups in Syria's militant-held Idlib region.

For years, Libya has been split between two governments. The eastern part of the country is controlled by the parliament elected in 2014 and backed by the LNA, while the UN-backed Tripoli-based Government of National Accord (GNA) governs Libya's western parts.

Earlier in April, Haftar ordered an offensive to retake Tripoli from the GNA-backed forces. The LNA has already recaptured a number of settlements as well as the Tripoli International Airport, located some 20 miles from the capital. GNA's forces have meanwhile announced a counteroffensive, dubbed Volcano of Rage, to repel the National Army.

4. *Haftar's Forces Say Hit Hangar With Turkish Drones in Western Libya* © AFP 2019 /

MOSCOW (Sputnik) - The Libyan National Army (LNA) led by Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar on Friday struck a hangar with Turkish drones and ammunition near the town of Abu Kammash in the west of the country, according to the media center of the LNA's Karama Operations Room.

"On Friday, August 16, the Libyan Air Forces attacked the Zuwarah International Airport and one of the hangars where the Turkish drones were located. A blow hit the hangars with the Turkish drones and their ammunition about 1.5 kilometers [about 1 mile] east of Abu Kammash. We repeat that any place that interacts with any foreign organization is the legitimate goal of the Libyan Air Forces," the media center said in a statement.

On Thursday, the LNA said it had targeted storage places with Turkish drones at the Zuwarah International Airport, located east of Abu Kammash, further away from Tunisian border.

Tensions between Ankara and eastern Libyan forces escalated in late-June when the LNA said its air defences had shot down a Turkish-made drone launched by the UN-backed GNA near Tripoli.

Libya has been split between rival forces for years. The LNA-backed parliament in Tobruk controls the east of the country, while the UN-supported Government of National Accord operates in the west and is headquartered in Tripoli. However, this April the LNA launched an operation to capture Tripoli, causing tensions to spike.

Appendix-2: American Newspapers

1. Wall Street Journal

1. Trump Backed Libyan Warlord As Saudi Arabia and Egypt Lobbied Him

The leaders of Saudi Arabia and Egypt successfully lobbied President Trump to shift U.S. policy in Libya and reach out to the general leading an offensive against the country's United Nations-backed government, a senior U.S. administration official and two Saudi officials said.

In early April, Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman and Egyptian President Abdel Fattah Al Sisi urged Mr. Trump to back Gen. Khalifa Haftar, whose forces are seeking to capture the Libyan capital Tripoli amid a long-running battle for control of the oil-rich country.

About a week later, Mr. Trump called Gen. Haftar, and "discussed a shared vision for Libya's transition to a stable, democratic political system," the White House said.

That marked a significant shift in the American stance toward Gen. Haftar. For years, Washington has supported the United Nations-recognized government in Tripoli and worked with it in the war on Islamic State. Before Mr. Trump's call, the U.S. had condemned the general's offensive and called for a cease fire.

A week before Mr. Trump phoned Gen. Haftar, U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said: "We have made clear that we oppose the military offensive by Khalifa Haftar's forces."

Since the two men's conversation, the U.S. hasn't repeated its previous firm calls for a cessation of hostilities.

The prime minister of the U.N.-backed Libyan government, Fayeze al-Sarraj, said he had received no notification of any change in U.S. policy.

Since Gen. Haftar launched his military campaign to take Tripoli, the country's conflict has seen a surge in violence, with more than 450 people killed and 50,000 others displaced, according to the U.N. The offensive also has contributed to a rise in global oil prices.

Saudi Arabia and Egypt view the Western-backed government in Tripoli as aligned with regional rivals Turkey and Qatar as well as with Islamic extremists. Prince Mohammed told Mr. Trump that militias in Tripoli were affiliated with Islamic State and al Qaeda, U.S. and Saudi officials said.

In response to a request for comment from The Wall Street Journal, a Saudi official said, “The kingdom supports the unity and stability of Libya and the efforts to combat terrorism,” including the U.N.’s efforts to reach a political solution. “The kingdom works with all parties to attain that objective.” Egyptian officials didn’t respond to requests for comment.

Khalifa Haftar, center, the military commander who dominates eastern Libya, attended an international conference on Libya in Paris last year. PHOTO: PHILIPPE WOJAZERREUTERS

The eight-year crisis in Libya has become a chaotic stew of militia groups, criminal gangs and hard-line Islamists.

Some Islamist groups are operating in Tripoli and some of them have taken the side of the U.N.-backed government in the fight against Mr. Haftar, who they see as an existential threat. Among them are fighters led militia leader Salah Badi, who is under U.S. and U.N. sanctions. Fighting alongside Mr. Haftar are Salafist fighters who adhere to a different, ultraconservative brand of Islam.

Libya slid into chaos in the years following the fall of longtime dictator Moammar Gadhafi, who was killed in a popular uprising supported by Western airstrikes in 2011. The fighting has hobbled Libya’s oil production and opened a path for hundreds of thousands of migrants to reach Europe.

Since 2015, Libya has been split between the U.N.-brokered government in Tripoli and a parallel parliament in Libya’s east that is allied to Gen. Haftar and his forces.

Gen. Haftar has pledged for years to take Tripoli by force, but refrained from doing so in part because of U.S. and international opposition.

Following the U.S. presidential election in 2016, the commander’s sons traveled to Washington to signal to the U.S. that he intended to attack Tripoli imminently, said former U.S. special envoy to Libya Jonathan Winer and another former senior U.S. official.

The Obama White House mounted a diplomatic effort that pressured Gen. Haftar to stand down from the attack on the Tripoli-based government, the officials said.

Military vehicles of members of the Libya's U.N.-backed government in Tripoli traveled from Misrata to Tripoli on Friday. PHOTO: AYMAN ALSAHILIREUTERS

"I immediately said, 'Red light. This is not a yellow light,' " Mr. Winer said, recalling the conversation with Gen. Haftar's sons.

Over the past two years, Gen. Haftar's influence in Libya has only grown. His forces have drawn support not only from outside powers but also other militias.

Saudi Arabia and Egypt have emerged as key allies. Prince Mohammed and Mr. Sisi told Mr. Trump he should reach out to Gen. Haftar because they "didn't want to leave Haftar out in the cold," the Trump administration official said, adding, "We've been cooperating with Haftar on counterterrorism for a long time."

The decision demonstrated how quickly Mr. Trump can pivot on key U.S. policies after conversations with some foreign leaders. He announced a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Syria following a phone conversation with Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in December. In April, Mr. Trump decided to take steps to designate the Muslim Brotherhood as a foreign terrorist group after discussing the issue with Mr. Sisi, who has led a lethal crackdown on the Islamist movement in Egypt.

Egypt and the United Arab Emirates have provided air support to Gen. Haftar's forces in recent years, according to a U.N. panel monitoring the international arms embargo on Libya. Egypt denies this, and the U.A.E. hasn't acknowledged the documented presence of its aircraft in Libya.

There are other signs Gen. Haftar's regional allies are backing his current offensive. Libyan Interior Minister Fathi Bashagha said on April 28 that "two Arab countries" were carrying out airstrikes in support of the attack, in what was widely interpreted as a reference to the U.A.E. and Egypt.

Saudi Arabia has offered Gen. Haftar tens of millions of dollars to support his offensive, the Journal reported in April.

Some now worry the U.S.'s blessing of Gen. Haftar will encourage these countries to throw more support behind the general, deepening Libya's violence.

“We’re planting the seeds of protracted conflict,” said Claudia Gazzini, the senior analyst for Libya at the International Crisis Group.

2. Inside Libya’s Brutal Battle for Control of Tripoli

When rogue Libyan commander Khalifa Haftar launched an attack on Tripoli in April, it plunged the North African country into one of its worst crises since Moammar Gadhafi’s death in 2011. The battle imperiled monthslong peace talks and raised the specter of a bloody showdown for control of the country.

“Libya is on the verge of descending into a civil war, which could lead to the permanent division of the country,” Ghassan Salame, the United Nations’ special envoy to Libya, told the Security Council in May.

The battle is taking a toll on Tripoli. At least 739 people have been killed since April, the World Health Organization said.

Photographer André Liohn takes us inside the battle for Tripoli, visiting hospitals treating the wounded, and to the front lines with fighters battling Mr. Haftar’s forces.

The fighting between forces loyal to the government and to Gen. Haftar has broadly resulted in a stalemate, with both sides alternately claiming advances around the capital. Mr. Haftar had threatened to seize Tripoli for years and after slow advances, forces nominally loyal to him control a swath of eastern and southern Libya.

While each side has claimed control of parts of the airport, forces loyal to the Tripoli government on Wednesday said they had recaptured parts of the key town of Gharyan south of Tripoli.

The Trump administration’s stance on the war has been ambiguous. The U.S. in the past has supported the U.N.-backed government and efforts to reach a political solution, as have the the U.K. and France. But President Trump appeared to break with that policy in May when he made a phone call to Mr. Haftar, during which he voiced support for a shared vision with the commander.

3. In Libyan War, Turkey Takes Sides Against Mideast Rivals.

Turkey is providing military assistance to Libyan authorities that has allowed the United Nations-backed government in Tripoli to contain the advance of a powerful militia commander but also opened a deadly new front in conflicts pitting Ankara against Middle East rivals.

Turkey's role in the Libyan conflict was exposed this week when troops loyal to Khalifa Haftar, the military commander supported by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, claimed to have destroyed a Turkish-made drone near Tripoli. In another incident, Turkey accused Mr. Haftar of having abducted six of its nationals and threatened to intervene directly against the commander if they weren't immediately released.

Turkish officials declined to comment on the alleged drone loss but said Monday that the six nationals it described as seamen had been released.

The involvement of Turkey and Gulf monarchies on opposite sides of the Libyan battleground marks a sharp escalation of violence in a race for regional dominance. Turkey has been helping Qatar bypass a blockade Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E. have imposed on the small petrostate since 2017. In Somalia, a fight for control of ports and maritime routes has pitted Turkey and Qatar versus Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E.

But nowhere is the regional rivalry more direct and more violent than in Libya, where the country's plight has reached one of its worst points since the overthrow and death of Moammar Gadhafi in 2011. Despite an international arms embargo, clashes have grown, with more than 700 dead in the past three months, according to a U.N. tally.

"It's becoming a proxy war," said Ahmed Maiteeq, Libya's deputy prime minister.

The Trump administration's stance on the war has been ambiguous, both backing the Government of National Accord (or GNA) formed in late 2015 as part of a U.N.-brokered agreement, and voicing support for Mr. Haftar's vision to impose stability in Libya through force.

Turkey, which sees war-ravaged Libya as a promising market for reconstruction work, had avoided picking sides in the power struggle.

After Mr. Haftar launched an attack on the Libyan capital city in early April, however, the Tripoli-based government dispatched envoys to Ankara seeking emergency help, and Turkey changed tack. Ankara, which has greater affinity with the Tripoli-based government, seeks to counter the intervention of Gulf monarchies in the country and prevent Mr. Haftar from controlling Libya, Turkish officials speaking on conditions of anonymity said. Turkish authorities first agreed to ship armored vehicles, and later drones and other weapons to Tripoli, the officials said.

“Several countries have dropped their support to the official Libyan government but Turkey is filling the gap,” said Mustafa El Sagezli, a former deputy interior minister in a previous Libyan government who runs a program with the GNA aimed at reinserting Libyan fighters into civilian life.

Since launching his attack on Tripoli, Mr. Haftar has failed to make significant inroads into the capital as rival militias united in support of the government. Limited at first, the impact of Turkey’s weapons deliveries became visible last week as forces loyal to the GNA succeeded in stopping Mr. Haftar’s progression and taking his base south of the capital, the town of Gharyan.

“The Turkish drones helped boost the morale of GNA-aligned forces in a crucial way from mid-June because they put Mr. Haftar on the defensive,” said Jalel Harchaoui, a research fellow at the Clingendael Institute in The Hague.

Upon recapturing Gharyan, the GNA said it seized a load of U.S.-made Javelin antitank missiles left behind by Mr. Haftar’s forces. GNA officials said the missiles had markings indicating they were sold to the U.A.E. in 2008, and constituted evidence of U.A.E. support to the rogue commander.

The U.A.E. foreign ministry denied in a statement that the country owned the weapons but didn’t address whether they could have been transferred to another country.

A State Department official said the U.S. government was aware of the GNA claim and seeking additional information.

“We take all allegations of misuse of U.S. origin defense articles very seriously,” the official said. “We expect all recipients of U.S. origin defense equipment to abide by their end use obligations.”

Mr. Haftar, a former general in the Gadhafi army who broke with the regime, has carried out a unilateral military operation since 2014 against what he calls “terrorists,” a word he uses to label a broad section of Islamists in the Libyan body politic.

From a base in eastern Libya, Mr. Haftar has attracted support from the U.A.E. but also Egypt as he promised to restore stability in the country—even as his military operations displaced thousands and contributed to chaos in the country. Saudi Arabia also offered Mr. Haftar tens of millions of dollars to support his attack on Tripoli, the Journal reported in April.

In recent years, Egypt and the U.A.E. have provided air support to Mr. Haftar's forces, according to a U.N. panel that monitors the arms embargo. Egypt denies it provided air support, and the U.A.E. hasn't acknowledged the documented presence of its aircraft in Libya. Saudi Arabia says it maintains an even hand in Libya, and Saudi officials haven't commented about their support to Mr. Haftar.

At a briefing with foreign correspondents in Istanbul last month, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan said the GNA could count on further support from Ankara.

"It should be known that whatever their needs are (...) we'll hold talks and meetings to take the necessary steps," he said.

4. Libya's Tripoli Government Blames U.A.E. for Deadly Airstrike

CAIRO—Libya's United Nations-backed government blamed the United Arab Emirates for an airstrike that killed more than 50 people in Tripoli this week, suggesting a new level of foreign intervention in the battle for the capital.

The U.A.E. used an American-made F-16 jet fighter in the strike, said Interior Minister Fathi Bashagha of the Government of National Accord, citing an assessment of the sound of the warplane's engines and the size of the explosion.

"This was no ordinary bomb," he told The Wall Street Journal on Thursday.

Mr. Bashagha also suggested Egypt could have played a part. The plane may have used an Egyptian air base on the Mediterranean coast, if it didn't refuel in midair, he said, basing his conclusion on what he said were past airstrikes in Libya by the U.A.E.

A U.A.E. official and Egypt's military spokesman declined to comment on the GNA's statements.

2. New York Times

1. In Libya, Militia Advances on Capital, Raising Prospect of Renewed Civil War.

A military leader who has vowed for years that he would seize control of Libya ordered his troops on Thursday to march on the capital, Tripoli.

By nightfall, they had come within 25 miles of the city and a powerful rival militia was racing to stop them, raising the possibility of renewed civil war. The advance, by Gen. Khalifa Hifter, appeared to mark a new and possibly decisive stage in the power struggle that has torn Libya apart since the Arab Spring uprising of 2011.

The move all but obviated plans for peace talks this month among competing Libyan factions. The United Nations secretary general, António Guterres, had arrived in Tripoli for that purpose the previous day. On Thursday he urged “calm and restraint.”

“I am deeply concerned by the military movement taking place in Libya and the risk of confrontation,” he said in a message posted on Twitter. “There is no military solution. Only intra-Libyan dialogue can solve Libyan problems.” In a joint statement on Thursday, the United States, Britain, France, Italy and the United Arab Emirates said they “urge all parties to immediately de-escalate tensions” and “will hold accountable any Libyan faction that precipitates further civil conflict.” The statement did not specify who had instigated the latest confrontation.

The United Nations Security Council was expected to meet on the crisis on Friday. In an online video, General Hifter, 75, nonetheless directed his troops to continue their march.

“To our army stationed to enter Tripoli, today with God’s help we complete our triumphant path,” he declared. “We respond to the call of our beloved people in our beloved capital.”

On Thursday, his militia said it had taken three towns on the outskirts of Tripoli — Gharyan, 60 miles to the south; Surman, 50 miles to the west; and Aziziya, 25 miles to the southwest.

News reports indicated that there had been only minor violence, and it was unclear to what extent General Hifter had struck bargains with local authorities to allow his troops to enter, or to what extent he fully controlled those towns. Libya has been plunged into chaos since the ouster of the dictator Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi in 2011, with rival cities and militias competing for power. The bedlam has slashed the country’s oil production, drained much of its sovereign wealth, offered havens to Islamist militants and turned its long Mediterranean coast into a major point of departure for African and Middle Eastern migrants fleeing to Europe.

After announcing in 2014 that he intended to unify the country under his rule, General Hifter, a former officer in Colonel Qaddafi's army and a onetime client of the C.I.A., struggled for the next three years to wrest the city of Benghazi from the domination of General Hifter saluted officials at a military parade in the eastern city of Benghazi last year. For years, he has controlled much of eastern Libya.

Islamist militias. He received extensive support from Egypt and the United Arab Emirates, who were joined later by France and to a limited extent Russia, and he eventually established his control over much of the eastern region of the country.

His surprise thrust on Thursday appeared to be a gamble that he could now seize control. Analysts said his advance amounted to a bet that, in part by creating an aura of inevitability about his emergence as Libya's next strongman, he could strike deals with local armed groups around Tripoli to co-opt them, as he has done successfully in other regions.

But so far his advance has had the immediate effect of uniting many previously disparate regional militias around Tripoli against him.

Militia leaders from the city of Misurata — the most formidable power to rival General Hifter — said Thursday that they were mobilizing their forces to Tripoli to stop him.

"We are ready for this tyrant with every strength we have," the militia leaders said in a statement. "We are ready as always to stop this advance."

At age 75, analysts said, General Hifter may sense that he has a limited time to fulfill his ambition.

"For Hifter, it is all or nothing," said Wolfram Lacher, a scholar of Libya at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs. "This is clearly a power grab, but if he fails he will suffer a devastating defeat. He will not be able to sustain his supply lines." The transitional political process begun after Colonel Qaddafi's ouster broke down in 2014, around the time General Hifter declared his intent to take over. When the country collapsed into civil war, the United Nations, with the support of the United States and other Western governments, tried to resolve the conflict by standing up a unity government based in Tripoli.

With no armed force under its own command, the Tripoli government depended for security on a fractious array of local militias with their own conflicting motives, including many that United Nations experts have said are involved in migrant smuggling, extortion and other crimes. But General Hifter's rule brought a measure of stability to his territory, and a rough equilibrium developed between the Tripoli government in the west and General Hifter in the east. The Central Bank in Tripoli continued to pay salaries of public employees in General Hifter's domain, including his soldiers, and General Hifter allowed the Tripoli government to sell oil shipped through ports he controlled.

That balance broke about two months ago when General Hifter's forces pushed for the first time into the southern desert. He reached deals with local tribes without violence, and in the process gained control of one of Libya's largest oil fields, Sharara. Many analysts predicted then that it was only a matter of time before he moved toward the capital.

Some argued Thursday that General Hifter might yet be able to reach accommodations with some local armed groups around Tripoli to win them to his side. But as the first signs of General Hifter's advance emerged Wednesday, the head of the United Nations-backed unity government in Tripoli, Fayeze al-Serraj, urged him to "stop using the language of threats." In a statement on social media, Mr. al-Serraj ordered all forces loyal to his government to prepare to face down any intrusions, including "from terrorist groups, criminals, outlaws and all who threaten the security of every Libyan city."

2. American Missiles Found in Libyan Rebel Compound.

Libyan government fighters discovered a cache of powerful American missiles, usually sold only to close American allies, at a captured rebel base in the mountains south of Tripoli this week.

The four Javelin anti-tank missiles, which cost more than \$170,000 each, had ended up bolstering the arsenal of Gen. Khalifa Hifter, whose forces are waging a military campaign to take over Libya and overthrow a government the United States supports. Markings on the missiles' shipping containers indicate that they were originally sold to the United Arab Emirates, an important American partner, in 2008.

If the Emirates transferred the weapons to General Hifter, it would likely violate the sales agreement with the United States as well as a United Nations arms embargo.

Officials at the State Department and Defense Department said Friday they had opened investigations into how the weapons ended up on the Libyan battlefield.

“We take all allegations of misuse of U.S. origin defense articles very seriously,” a State Department official said in a statement. “We are aware of these reports and are seeking additional information. We expect all recipients of U.S. origin defense equipment to abide by their end-use obligations.” The United States supports United Nations-led efforts to broker a peaceful solution to the Libyan crisis, the official added.

A spokeswoman for the Department of Defense declined to comment further on the matter. The United Arab Emirates ambassador to Washington, Yousef al-Otaiba, declined to answer questions about the provenance of the missiles.

The missiles were discovered after forces loyal to the United Nations-backed national unity government carried out a successful surprise attack Wednesday on Gheryan, a mountain redoubt 40 miles south of Tripoli. Gheryan was the headquarters for General Hifter’s military campaign to seize control of Tripoli, which his forces have been fighting since April.

After capturing Gheryan, pro-government fighters uncovered Chinese-made attack drones and the stack of four American-made Javelin missiles at an abandoned base. Known in the military as “fire and forget” weapons, the Javelins are guided by infrared technology and are capable of destroying all currently fielded main battle tanks. Markings on the missile crates identify their joint manufacturer, the arms giants Raytheon and Lockheed Martin, and a contract number that corresponds with a \$115 million order for Javelin missiles that was placed by the United Arab Emirates and Oman in 2008.

Oman is not a player in Libya’s wars. But the United Arab Emirates, under its de facto leader Prince Mohammed bin Zayed, is one of General Hifter’s most committed foreign backers.

Emirati warplanes carried out airstrikes in 2017 that helped General Hifter win control of Benghazi, after years of battle against Islamist militias that leveled entire swaths of the eastern city.

When General Hifter started his assault on Tripoli on April 4, in the face of much international opposition, the Emiratis continued to support him. They supplied a Russian-made surface-to-air missile system, Chinese-made Wing Loong combat drones and Emirati drones, said a senior Western official with knowledge of the arms trade.

Jordan, another American ally to side with General Hifter, sent a Jordanian-made anti-tank system known as Nashshab, the official said.

Turkey, a regional rival of the United Arab Emirates, intervened on the other side of the fight, sending combat drones and armored vehicles to help the United Nations-backed government in Tripoli. The United States supports the Tripoli government, which it helped install. However, President Trump appeared to endorse General Hifter and his military drive after the two men spoke by telephone in April, hailing his “significant role in fighting terrorism.”

Other American officials later rowed back that position by stressing American support for the United Nations-led political process. The foreign interventions, which flout a United Nations embargo on all arms sales to Libya, highlight how the conflict set off by the ouster of Libya’s longtime dictator, Col. Muammar elQaddafi, in 2011 has partly devolved into a proxy conflict between rival regional powers.

Until now, though, those foreign sponsors have avoided using restricted American military technology.

“The U.A.E. has been supplying advanced weapons to the Libyan theater for years,” said Oded Berkowitz, an Israeli security analyst who specializes in the Libyan conflict. “But now they seem to be throwing everything at it. And some of these weapons, like the Javelins, are real game changers.” The controversy over the Javelin missiles suggests that the Emiratis are flexing their military muscle with little regard for rules set by their American allies, said Frederic Wehrey, a scholar at the Carnegie Institute and author of a recent book on Libya.

“This is the new era we’re in,” he said. The Emiratis have used restricted American weapons in Libya before. In 2014, American officials were alarmed when Emirati warplanes bombed targets in western Libya with American munitions, said Deborah Jones, then the United States ambassador to Libya.

Criticism of the Emirati actions from the Obama administration made Prince Mohammed “furious,” recalled Ms. Jones, who was sent to Abu Dhabi to meet with him. President Trump, though, has had a much closer relationship with his Emirati and Saudi allies in the Persian Gulf, a closeness that has left some wondering if it has emboldened the Emiratis in Libya.

“When the Emiratis bombed Tripoli in 2014 there was alarm in the Pentagon and an effort to warn them off,” Mr. Wehrey said. “But in the current climate, you have to wonder if they perceive such a cost.”

3. United Arab Emirates Denies Sending American Missiles to Libya

The United Arab Emirates denied on Tuesday that it had supplied a Libyan armed group with powerful American-made missiles, after a Democratic senator warned that Washington could halt all arms sales to the United Arab Emirates.

On Friday the State Department said it had opened an investigation into how the weapons — four American-made Javelin armor-piercing missiles, normally sold only to close American allies — had found their way into a cache of arms discovered last week at a rebel base south of Tripoli. Markings on the missile crates indicated they were part of a consignment sold to the United Arab Emirates in 2008, The New York Times reported. If confirmed, the transfer of those weapons to Libya would constitute “a serious violation of United States law,” Senator Robert Menendez, the ranking Democrat on the Foreign Relations Committee, said in a letter to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo on Tuesday.

“You are surely aware that if these allegations prove true you may be obligated by law to terminate all arms sales to the United Arab Emirates,” Mr. Menendez wrote.

Any transfer of American arms would also breach a United Nations arms embargo on Libya in place since 2011. Later on Tuesday the Emirati Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a short statement to say that it “denied ownership of weapons found in the Republic of Libya” and supported United Nations-led efforts to broker a political solution to the conflict in Libya.

An Emirati spokesman did not respond to a query about which weapons the statement referred to, but a senior Emirati official familiar with the matter said it concerned the Javelins. The American-made missiles found in Gheryan, 50 miles south of Tripoli, are not from the United Arab Emirates, the official said, speaking on the condition of

anonymity because he was not authorized to speak to the media. He declined to offer further details.

Western officials and some analysts responded to the Emirati denial with a degree of skepticism, noting that they have been repeatedly accused of breaching the arms embargo in favor of their ally, Gen. Khalifa Hifter.

General Hifter's forces have been fighting to capture Tripoli, the capital, since April. They suffered a major setback last week with the loss of their base at Gheryan.

"The Emiratis are clearly stepping up their involvement as Hifter is floundering on the ground," said Tarek Megerisi of the European Council on Foreign Relations, who recently published a paper on Libya's war. "They feel obliged to make sure he wins to protect their investment." In 2017, United Nations investigators said the United Arab Emirates had supplied General Hifter with attack helicopters, about 100 armored personnel carriers and armed Chinese drones. The United Arab Emirates declined to comment to the investigators.

As General Hifter stepped up his assault on Tripoli in recent months, the United Arab Emirates has supplied his forces with more powerful weapons, including a Russian-made surface-to-air missile system known as the SA-22 Greyhound, a senior Western official said. Turkey is supporting the other side in the fight, sending armed vehicles and combat drones to help the unity government.

Mr. Menendez told Mr. Pompeo that the apparent transfer of Javelin missiles to Libya was "particularly alarming" because it came after the Trump administration bypassed Congress to approve arms sales worth \$8.1 billion to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. In a statement, a State Department spokesman said the United States is seeking additional information on the missiles.

4. U.S. Missiles Found in Libyan Rebel Camp Were First Sold to France.

WASHINGTON — A cache of powerful American missiles was sold to France before ending up in the hands of rebel fighters loyal to Gen. Khalifa Hifter, who is seeking to overthrow the United Nations-backed government in Tripoli.

The four Javelin anti-tank missiles, which cost more than \$170,000 each and are usually sold only to close American allies, were recovered last month by Libyan government forces during a raid on a rebel camp in Gheryan, a town in the mountains

south of Tripoli. A French military adviser denied on Tuesday that the weapons were transferred to General Hifter, which would violate the sales agreement with the United States as well as a United Nations arms embargo. It would also put Washington at odds over Libya policy with France, a staunch NATO partner and ally in other hot spots like West Africa.

Over the past several days, the State Department investigated the origins of the missiles, using their serial numbers and other information, and concluded that they had originally been sold to France, which has been a strong supporter of General Hifter. France agreed to buy up to 260 Javelins from the United States in 2010, according to the Pentagon's Defense Security Cooperation Agency.

Two United States officials said the State Department briefed House and Senate foreign relations panels on Monday about its conclusion that the missiles were sold to France. The two officials spoke on condition of anonymity to discuss the classified briefing. Spokesmen for the congressional committees and the State Department declined to comment. On Tuesday, an adviser to the French armed forces minister confirmed that the Javelin missiles found in Gheryan belonged to French forces but said they were damaged and no longer usable. Responding to questions from The New York Times, he said the missiles were being temporarily stored in a warehouse awaiting destruction and were not transferred to local forces.

The French adviser, who under his government's policy was not authorized to be identified by name to discuss the issue, said the weapons were among those that were bought from the United States in 2010, and were intended to protect French troops deployed in Libya for intelligence and counterterrorism operations.

He said they did not violate arms embargoes in Libya, calling it out of the question that the missiles would be sold or otherwise transferred to "anybody" in Libya. But that account left many questions unanswered about how the weapons ended up in a rebel compound near the front lines of a battle that the United Nations said on Tuesday has led to over 1,000 deaths since April, including 106 civilians.

French special forces troops deployed to Libya, including three killed in 2016, have largely been based in the east of the country, far from Tripoli where the fighting has been concentrated.

The issue could come up on Wednesday when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hears testimony from R. Clarke Cooper, the assistant secretary of state in the bureau of political-military affairs. Mr. Cooper is scheduled to testify about the Trump administration's use of an emergency declaration to push through arms sales to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, a plan he defended last month to a House committee.

The Javelin missiles were discovered after forces loyal to the United Nations-backed national unity government carried out a successful surprise attack on June 26 on Gheryan, a mountain redoubt 40 miles south of Tripoli. Gheryan was the headquarters for General Hifter's military campaign to seize control of Tripoli.

After capturing Gheryan, pro-government fighters uncovered Chinese-made attack drones and the stock of four American-made Javelin missiles at an abandoned base. Known in the military as "fire and forget" weapons, the Javelins are guided by infrared technology and are capable of destroying all currently fielded main battle tanks. Markings on the missiles' shipping containers at first appeared to indicate that they were originally sold to the United Arab Emirates, an important American partner, in 2008. Other crates at the captured base, containing 155 mm artillery shells, had markings of the Emirati military, but the Emirati government, one of General Hifter's most committed foreign backers, strongly denied providing the general's forces with the missiles.

The discovery of the Javelin missiles confirmed longstanding fears that foreign sponsorship on all sides of Libya's conflict is amplifying the fighting.

General Hifter, the aspiring strongman based in eastern Libya whose forces were storing the Javelins, relied on military assistance from the United Arab Emirates, France and Egypt in his fight to capture the eastern city of Benghazi, his current headquarters. During the grinding battle for control of Benghazi between 2014 and 2017, the Emiratis supplied attack helicopters, warplanes and drones to General Hifter's air force. Egypt carried out airstrikes against the eastern city of Derna in support of his forces.

Then in July 2016, the then-president of France, François Hollande, said that three members of the French Special Forces had been killed in a helicopter crash in Libya during "dangerous intelligence operations." Days earlier, an Islamist militia fighting

against General Hifter said it had shot down a helicopter 45 miles south of Benghazi. A year later, France told a panel of United Nations investigators that its military activities in Libya conformed to international law.

Critics, though, said it was another example of how the United Nations arms embargo, in place since 2011, has been widely flouted by Middle Eastern and European powers seeking to influence the outcome of the war. United Nations inspectors have documented numerous breaches of the embargo by the United Arab Emirates, which has stationed warplanes on an air base that it runs in eastern Libya, in territory controlled by General Hifter. More recently, experts say, the Emirates has stepped up its military assistance to General Hifter as he presses his assault on Tripoli, including armed Chinese drones and a Russian-made surface-to-air missile system.

On the other side of the war, Qatar and Turkey have funded Islamist factions in Libya since 2011. American officials say the Qataris have scaled back their involvement in recent years, but Turkey has ramped up its engagement. As the fight for Tripoli intensified, the Turks sent armed drones and armored vehicles to the forces of the Government of National Unity, which is backed by the United Nations and was defending the capital against attack by General Hifter.

3. The Washington Post

1. In Libya, fears of full-blown civil war as fighting nears capital Tripoli.

CAIRO — Libya edged closer to full-blown civil war on Friday as forces of an eastern commander clashed with pro-government militias near the capital, Tripoli, and an effort by the U.N. chief failed to stop the offensive.

A battle for control of Tripoli would mark the most significant escalation of violence in oil- and gas-rich Libya since the toppling of Libyan dictator Moammar Gaddafi in 2011 following a populist rebellion backed by NATO bombings.

After meeting Friday with the renegade warlord, Khalifa Hifter, in the eastern Libyan city of Benghazi, U.N. Secretary General António Guterres said in a tweet that he was leaving Libya “with a heavy heart and deeply concerned.”

Hifter reportedly told Guterres that his offensive on Tripoli will continue, according to the al-Arabiya television network.

“I still hope it is possible to avoid a bloody confrontation in and around Tripoli,” Guterres wrote in his tweet.

That hope has dimmed. Hifter’s force, which calls itself the Libyan National Army, pushed forward toward the capital and clashed with militias that support the U.N.-installed, Western-backed government.

By nightfall, Hifter’s troops claimed to have taken an area near Tripoli’s old international airport, but there was no independent confirmation.

With dozens of militias in the heavily populated capital, urban warfare could cause heavy civilian casualties.

It also would deepen the chaos and lawlessness that has turned Libya into a hub for smuggling migrants to Europe and at one time allowed the Islamic State to establish a foothold in the coastal city of Sirte. Increased insecurity could allow the militants to regroup and set off a new rush of people fleeing to neighboring countries or over dangerous sea routes in the Mediterranean.

Hifter’s army is aligned with a separate eastern government. The internationally recognized government is based in Tripoli and controls only parts of the west. But a constellation of well-armed militias in Tripoli, as well as in cities such as Misurata, view Hifter as another potential dictator in the mold of Gaddafi and have mobilized against him.

Hifter was a general in Gaddafi’s army who defected and then spent years living in Northern Virginia. He returned to Libya to take part in the revolution against Gaddafi.

The offensive took the country and the international community by surprise. Guterres had traveled to Libya this week in the hope of bringing the rival sides to a national reconciliation conference scheduled for later this month. Its main goal was to set up a road map for long-delayed elections.

On Thursday, though, Hifter’s force overran and swiftly captured the town of Gharyan, about 60 miles south of Tripoli. The commander then sent out a recorded message to his troops that was posted online, urging them to march toward the capital.

“We are coming, Tripoli, we are coming,” said Hifter, whose forces have pushed toward the city since Thursday.

It remained unclear whether Hifter's advance was intended to gain a stronger negotiation position in any talks over the future of Libya. On Thursday, the United States and other countries called for an immediate deescalation of tensions. France and the United Arab Emirates are widely said to be Hifter's key backers.

Fearing a spillover of refugees, neighboring Tunisia has tightened control over its border, said its Defense Ministry. The U.N. Security Council has also taken up the issue.

"The U.N. is committed to facilitating a political solution and, whatever happens, the U.N. is committed to supporting the Libyan people," Guterres said in his tweet.

Late Friday, the U.N. Security Council called on Hifter to pull back his forces, warning that further advances would jeopardize any hopes for stability in Libya. "There can be no military solution to the conflict," said.

Germany's U.N. Ambassador Christoph Heusgen, the president of the council, reading a statement from the body. Foreign ministers of the Group of Seven nations — the United States, France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan and Canada — also called for a halt to the military actions.

2. Trump's call with renegade Libyan general could signal a shift in U.S. policy.

The White House said Friday that President Trump, in a phone call with renegade Libyan general Khalifa Hifter, praised Hifter for fighting terrorism and protecting Libya's oil, comments that were far afield from the administration's stated policy on Libya.

Hifter, whose militia forces have long controlled eastern Libya, launched an offensive early this month to seize Tripoli, the capital, and oust the U.N.-backed government.

Amid heavy fighting that threatens all-out urban warfare, the United Nations and many countries — including the United States — have called for an immediate cease-fire.

The State Department and the Defense Department have publicly urged Hifter to stand down and join U.N.-led negotiations with the National Accord government headed by Prime Minister Fayez Serraj. In a sharply worded statement last week, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said that the United States was "deeply concerned" and that "we have made clear that we oppose the military offensive" by Hifter's forces.

The White House statement, released four days after Trump's previously unreported call on Monday, made no mention of Hifter's offensive, a cease-fire or the U.N. effort. Referring to Hifter as "Field Marshal," it said he and Trump discussed "a shared vision for Libya's transition to a stable, democratic political system."

The White House declined to respond to questions about the call or how it came about. Calls with the president are normally reserved for fellow heads of government.

A State Department official said Friday that "we have voiced our deep concern at the highest levels about instability in Tripoli" and said that "all involved parties should return to the political process."

At the same time, "we continue to believe that General Hifter can be an important part of a political solution," said the official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity under rules imposed by the State Department.

Acting defense secretary Patrick Shanahan said Friday that the Pentagon "and the executive branch are well aligned on Libya." Asked if the United States supports Hifter's offensive, he said that "the military solution is not what Libya needs."

In a Twitter message, the National Accord government said an arrest warrant had been issued for Hifter and other military officials.

Several Libya experts compared the call, and the White House statement, to previous times when Trump appeared to contradict stated foreign policy. In December, during a call with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Trump said he would immediately withdraw all U.S. troops from Syria. State Department officials and the president's own national security adviser, John Bolton, had recently announced the outlines of a new strategy to keep U.S. forces there indefinitely.

In mid-2017, after a visit to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Trump tweeted his agreement with allegations by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates that Qatar was supporting terrorism, even as his secretary of state and defense secretary were calling for the Persian Gulf countries to settle their differences.

Hifter's primary backers are the governments of Egypt, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia, whose leaders are in close and regular contact with Trump. Egyptian President Abdel Fatah al-Sissi visited Washington last week. On Thursday, Trump

spoke by phone with Abu Dhabi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Zayed, the country's de facto ruler.

All three of those governments, and Hifter, have charged that Libya is a hotbed of political Islam and the Muslim Brotherhood, which the Trump administration has considered designating a terrorist organization.

Russia has also provided Hifter's Libyan National Army forces "with all kinds of equipment, people, training and the like," Marine Gen. Thomas Waldhauser, head of the U.S. Africa Command, told lawmakers last month, shortly before ordering the evacuation of the small contingent of U.S. military forces in Tripoli. U.S. diplomats assigned to Libya are based in neighboring Tunisia.

Hifter has also received backing from France and, in the past, from the United States, at least until the 2014 conflict that broke out following the overthrow and death of Libyan dictator Moammar Gaddafi. Since then, the country has been divided between the U.N.-backed government in Tripoli in the west and a Hiftersupported administration in the east.

Libyan politicians have often been powerless to control militias of all stripes — including those backed by the Islamic State and al-Qaeda — which have warred over power, territory and Libya's oil resources.

Both the United States and Europe have expressed concern about terrorist expansion in North Africa and the extent to which Libyan lawlessness has contributed to the flow of migrants from Africa. Trump has voiced particular interest in international oil production and ensuring that gas prices in the United States are not affected by U.S. sanctions against Iranian oil exports.

But Western allies have also agreed that Hifter's attempt to take control of the country through military force is likely to increase turmoil in Libya, perhaps opening the door to even more terrorist activity, and have supported a negotiated solution.

Trump's call with Hifter "pretty much undermines seven or eight years of U.S. policy," including during Trump's first two years, said Ben Fishman, who served as director for Libya at the National Security Council during the Obama administration. "Our policy was to support a U.N.-backed peace process." By describing Hifter as a counterterrorism partner and "someone who would protect the oil fields," Fishman said, "it sure sounds to me that [Trump] is playing favorites."

Frederic Wehrey, author of “The Burning Shores: Inside the Battle for a New Libya,” described the call, and the White House description of it, as “another flip-flopping reversal, and a case of mixed signals, by Trump’s highly personalized, capricious interventions.”

“I think this is a huge symbolic boost to Hifter, being felt on the battlefield. It emboldens him to ignore even the humanitarian cease-fire” that the United Nations is trying to broker, said Wehrey, a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Maj. Gen. Ahmed al-Mismari, spokesman for Hifter’s Libyan National Army, said American leaders “know well what is going on in Libya. . . . They know the armed forces [under Hifter] are fighting for global stability and international peace.”

He said Trump and Hifter did not discuss potential cease-fires, or ending the current offensive, which he described as the latest phase of a military campaign launched by Hifter five years ago in eastern Libya.

Mismari said the lack of any reference in the White House statement to the U.N.-backed government or a negotiated political agreement was “proof” that the U.S. position was “totally changing in a different direction.”

Deborah Jones, who served as U.S. ambassador to Libya from 2013 to 2015, said she thought that “the president has been influenced by an overly optimistic assessment of Hifter’s ability to take Tripoli,” and that Hifter’s supporters “are gambling that this alleged USA endorsement will turn the tide.”

In a briefing for reporters Thursday, Stéphane Dujarric, spokesman for U.N. Secretary General António Guterres, said that “the number of civilian casualties and attacks on civilian property and infrastructure are on the rise” in and around Tripoli. U.N. negotiator Ghassan Salame has made “impassioned calls . . . for at least a humanitarian pause” in the fighting, Dujarric said.

3. Turkey accuses Libyan commander of detaining Turkish citizens, threatens retaliation.

ISTANBUL — Turkey’s foreign ministry said Sunday that six of its citizens had been detained in Libya by militias loyal to the powerful military commander Khalifa Hifter, and warned that Hifter’s forces would become “legitimate targets” if the Turks were not released.

Later Sunday, forces loyal to Hifter said they destroyed a Turkish drone parked at Tripoli’s only working airport and declared a “general mobilization,” the news agency Reuters reported.

The events threatened to further inflame Libya’s precarious and violent civil conflict. Hundreds of people have been killed in recent months during some of the worst fighting in Libya since the revolt that toppled Moammar Gaddafi in 2011.

It was the latest sign of the deepening proxy war in Libya between rival foreign powers, including Turkey and the United Arab Emirates, which have competed for influence around the Middle East since the revolts of the Arab Spring eight years ago.

Hifter, a former general in Gaddafi’s army, is commander of the self-proclaimed Libyan National Army and aligned with a government operating in eastern Libya. In April, he launched an offensive on Tripoli, the Libyan capital, aimed at ousting the U.N.-backed government there.

Several foreign countries have violated an international arms embargo on Libya, according to U.N. investigators. Hifter has received materiel and direct military support from the U.A.E. and Egypt; Turkey has recently provided armed drones and armored vehicles to the U.N.-backed government.

Qatar also supports the U.N.-backed government, while France, Russia and Saudi Arabia have backed Hifter’s forces.

The Trump administration has sent mixed signals about Hifter’s campaign: While the United States officially supports the U.N.-backed government, President Trump appeared to endorse Hifter’s offensive during a phone call with the Libyan commander in April.

Hifter's offensive scuttled an intensive international effort to reconcile the warring sides, resulting in a bloody stalemate. His forces suffered a surprise defeat last week in Gharyan, about 60 miles south of Tripoli and a city that served as the staging ground for his LNA's attack on the capital.

Hifter's forces blamed the defeat on Turkish military assistance to the U.N.-backed government.

In recent days, the LNA has threatened to target Turkish airplanes or ships and arrest Turkish citizens. Earlier Sunday, Turkey's defense minister warned that any attacks on its interests in Libya would be met with "strong retaliation," Turkish media reported.

Hifter's forces said they hit the drone in an airstrike on Mitiga airport, Reuters reported.

Turkey's threats raised the possibility that Turkey could be drawn into an intensifying military confrontation in Libya with the U.A.E. and Egypt, escalating a feud that had been confined mostly to diplomatic spats and a competition for influence.

Egypt and the U.A.E. have regarded Hifter, a U.S. citizen and a self-styled military strongman, as a counterweight to Islamist forces in Libya supported by Qatar and Turkey.

Hifter, 75, lived for years in Northern Virginia before returning to Libya after the anti-Gaddafi revolt. His vows to stabilize the country have drawn support from many Libyans frustrated by the chaos that followed the NATO-led intervention that removed Gaddafi from power in 2011.

But his offensive on Tripoli has opened a troubling new chapter of violence in the country, with heavy weaponry menacing the capital and fighting that has threatened to spill into neighboring countries.

The United Nations' special envoy to Libya, Ghassan Salame, warned that the fighting could lead to the permanent division of the country. And recent attacks in Libya by a local affiliate of the Islamic State group suggest the militants might be taking advantage of Libya's latest instability to regroup.

4. US missiles found in Libya compound belonged to France.

PARIS — France's Defense Ministry acknowledged Wednesday that U.S.-made missiles captured from the self-styled Libyan National Army belonged to the French military.

A statement said the missiles were originally intended to protect French anti-terrorism forces in Libya and so did not violate an arms embargo. It said they were damaged and no longer operational, and were put into storage for destruction.

The revelation risks being highly embarrassing for France, which has offered support for LNA leader Khalifa Hifter. Hifter controls much of eastern Libya and is fighting militias in Tripoli loosely allied to a weak, U.N.-backed government. Pro-government fighters seized the FGM-148 Javelin anti-tank missiles, UAE-made Yabhon drones, and Russia-made Kornet anti-tank guided missiles in June.

France denied transferring the missiles to Hifter's forces and said the Americans had been informed.

4. Bloomberg

1. Libya Showdown Looms as Haftar Orders Advance on Tripoli.

Libyan strongman Khalifa Haftar ordered his forces on Thursday to advance on the capital, threatening a major escalation in violence that could reshape the country's political map and upend plans for a negotiated settlement to its conflict.

"We hear your call, Tripoli," the commander told his self-styled Libyan National Army, according to recording of a speech he gave to troops. "It is now the time for the great victory. March forward." Haftar, whose stronghold is in Libya's east, urged fighters to show restraint and not fire at anyone who doesn't raise a weapon at them.

Underscoring the seriousness of the escalation, the internationally-recognized Tripoli government of Prime Minister Fayeaz al-Sarraj ordered its forces to mobilize earlier in the day and approved the use of airstrikes if necessary to counter any offensive.

"It's been clear for a long time that Haftar's ambition is to be leader of Libya," said Crispin Hawes, founder of the Idrisi Advisors consultancy in London. "He needs the institutions that control the money," namely the National Oil Corp. and the central bank. Both are based in Tripoli.

The campaign marks the boldest advance yet by Haftar's LNA, the country's most organized military force. International powers have appealed to both sides to avert an armed showdown that could rattle global oil markets and sow further chaos in a divided country already struggling to defeat Islamic State and stem the flow of migrants toward Europe.

The troop movements also coincided with the arrival in Libya of the United Nations Secretary General Antonio Guterres.

The LNA's spokesman, Ahmed al-Mismari, said that Tripoli residents would be safe and urged all to surrender their weapons. "This fight isn't between Libyans," he said in a televised press conference, urging the militias operating in the capital to surrender their weapons. "it's between Libyans and terrorists."

His comments came hours after Haftar's forces claimed they had taken control of Gharyan, a city about 100 kilometers (60 miles) south of the capital. That assertion could not be independently verified, but his push toward Tripoli has been going on for weeks.

The buildup suggested that Haftar would either make a concerted drive to seize the capital or at least strengthen his bargaining position ahead of a UN-sponsored conference on April 14 aimed at taking steps to unify the country. The LNA said he had moved to its control center for western operations.

The developments cast a somber backdrop for Guterres' visit. In Tripoli, he renewed a call for calm, and told reporters that there could be no military solution to the country's conflict. AlMismari, looking to debunk speculation that Haftar was making a grab for power, said the LNA was supportive of the upcoming conference.

Since a NATO-backed war ended Muammar Qaddafi's 42-year rule in 2011, OPEC member Libya has been carved up among militias, with rival administrations eventually emerging in the east and Tripoli. Though it sits on Africa's largest proven reserves of crude, infighting has repeatedly interrupted oil shipments and production, hitting the economy and roiling global oil markets.

Haftar has steadily expanded his hold to most of the country, including southern oil fields, in what he says is a mission to combat "terrorism." A military drive toward the northwest -- home to most of Libya's population -- would be much harder.

While better organized than rivals, Haftar's forces are a disparate collection of moderately trained troops and guns-for-hire. They could face more determined opposition around Tripoli as well as Misrata and Sirte, where local militias jealously guard their hard-won autonomy. The militia from the port city of Misrata said it would back Sarraj's forces.

The latest move reflects one of two possibilities, Hawes said. Either Haftar is serious in taking Tripoli militarily, or he is trying to sufficiently intimidate Sarraj's government "to force it to compromise and essentially allow him to be installed as the effective government of Libya."

"Either way, I think the threat is the most important thing at the moment," said Hawes.

2. Pompeo Warns Libyan Warlord's Forces to Halt Advance on Tripoli.

The Trump administration issued a stern warning to Libyan militia leader Khalifa Haftar to halt his forces' advance on Tripoli, sending oil prices to their highest level in more than four months amid mounting supply concerns.

Secretary of State Michael Pompeo said in a statement late Sunday that the U.S. was "deeply concerned" about the warlord's threat to the internationally recognized capital. He said the military campaign was endangering civilians and undermining efforts to resolve the dispute peacefully.

"We have made clear that we oppose the military offensive by Khalifa Haftar's forces and urge the immediate halt to these military operations against the Libyan capital," Pompeo said. "There is no military solution to the Libya conflict."

Brent for June settlement advanced as much as 0.7 percent to \$70.86 a barrel on the London-based ICE Futures Europe exchange, the highest since Nov. 12. Crude prices have continued to climb after their strongest quarter in almost a decade as OPEC and its allies curb output while economic and political crises squeeze supplies from member nations Venezuela and Iran. An escalation of the conflict in Libya, which pumped 1.1 million barrels of crude a day last month, risks creating a supply shortfall.

Haftar is moving his self-styled Libyan National Army west to Tripoli to fight what he says is "terrorism," after solidifying control of the east and sweeping through the south in January. Clashes have continued on the outskirts of the capital, including air strikes, despite appeals by global powers to halt the offensive.

“A political solution is the only way to unify the country and provide a plan for security, stability and prosperity for all Libyans,” Pompeo said.

3. Libya Says Missile Find Shows France Is Backing Haftar Offensive.

France’s admission that it owned U.S.-made missiles found at a Libyan base seized from strongman Khalifa Haftar’s forces indicates it had operatives on the ground supporting his offensive on Tripoli, the interior minister of Libya’s internationally-recognized government said.

The Javelin anti-tank missiles were uncovered when government forces retook Gharyan from Haftar in late June, a surprise setback for the eastern commander who’d been using the city as a forward operating base for his campaign to take the capital. After wide-ranging speculation over who’d supplied the weapons, France last week acknowledged ownership and said the missiles were left behind by one of its counter-terrorism teams and were no longer operational.

Speaking in an interview in the Libyan city of Misrata, Interior Minister Fathi Bashagha disputed France’s claim that the missiles were inoperable and said his government has asked experts from the United Nations and U.S. to examine the weapons to confirm they are in working order.

“The dung leads to the camel,” Bashagha said, quoting an Arab proverb. “France implicated itself when it said the Javelins were with a French security team. If the Javelins belonged to a French security team, that means France has admitted it was present militarily and officially in Gharyan to support Haftar.”

Haftar’s campaign has ground to a halt on Tripoli’s outskirts, with the fighting leaving at least 1,000 people dead and regional powers backing either side in the Middle East’s latest struggle for supremacy.

4. Putin-Linked Mercenaries Are Fighting on Libya’s Front Lines.

A private army linked to Russian President Vladimir Putin has begun fighting on the front lines of the Libyan war, according to people familiar with the matter, the latest projection of Russian power following a decisive military intervention in Syria.

More than 100 Wagner contractors arrived in early September. Mercenaries are assisting Khalifa Haftar’s raid on Tripoli.

Politics

By Samer Al-Atrush and Stepan Kravchenko September 25, 2019, 10:11 AM GMT+3

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Putin-Linked Mercenaries Are Fighting on Libya's Front Lines

10/11/2019 'Putin's Chef' Deploys Mercenaries to Libya in Latest Adventure - Bloomberg

<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-09-25/-putin-s-chef-deploys-mercenaries-to-libya-in-latest-adventure> 2/5

More than 100 mercenaries from the Wagner group headed by Yevgeny Prigozhin, also known as "Putin's chef" for his Kremlin catering contracts, arrived at a forward base in Libya in the first week of September to support eastern strongman Khalifa Haftar's assault on the capital Tripoli, said the people, who included Libyan and Western officials. All asked not to be named because they weren't authorized to speak with the press.

A Russian mercenary commander also confirmed that Wagner contractors were fighting in Libya, and said that some had been killed in action there. Their arrival this month coincided with an escalation in airstrikes in support of Haftar, who's pushing for decisive gains on the battlefield to strengthen his hand before an international peace conference expected next month. His forces have been bogged down at Tripoli's outskirts since early April.

Russia is distancing itself from the struggling UN-backed administration in Tripoli and expects Haftar now to gain the upper hand after his initial failure to push into the capital, said a person close to the government in Moscow. Russian officials believe there will be a role for ex-dictator Moammar Qaddafi's fugitive son in any future power structure in Libya, though not as leader of the country, the person said.

An official with Haftar's Libyan National Army said no Russian or other foreign fighters were within its ranks. Prigozhin didn't answer emailed questions. Putin's spokesman Dmitry Peskov said they have no information regarding mercenaries in Libya.

Prigozhin has become a key player in Russia's increasingly expansive foreign policy. Last month, Bloomberg reported that his mercenaries in Syria are readying an assault on rebel-held Idlib to end that country's eight-year-long civil war. In the Central African Republic, his contractors are propping up a government that doesn't control most of the country; elsewhere in Africa, his operatives are offering security, arms training and electioneering services. In the U.S., a company owned by Prigozhin was indicted on charges of bankrolling Russian meddling in the 2016 election.

Foreign Intervention

In Libya, his men join an already crowded battlefield. The United Arab Emirates and Egypt also support Haftar, while Turkey backs the United Nations-recognized government in Tripoli. Both sides are attacking each other with armed drones, with the U.A.E. deploying Chinese Wing Loongs and the Tripoli government using Turkish models. Wagner's men have been providing Haftar with artillery support, two Western diplomats said.

Libya's Interior Minister Fathi Bashagha told Libya Al-Ahrar TV on Monday that Haftar's forces had first employed Sudanese soldiers, "and after they failed they relied on the Wagner company."

In Libya, home to the largest oil reserves in Africa, Russia has supported Haftar while also lobbying for a political role for Saif al-Islam al-Qaddafi, the son of the late Kremlin-friendly dictator. In May, two Russian citizens connected to Prigozhin were arrested on charges of seeking to influence possible future elections in Libya and were alleged to have been involved in organizing meetings with Saif al-Islam and his representatives.

RESUME

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