



# THE TRIADIC STRUCTURE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE JAKARTA POST EDITORIALS ABOUT LIBYAN CRISIS

a final project

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by

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# **PERNYATAAN**

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yang saya tulis dalam rangka memenuhi salah satu syarat memperoleh gelar sarjana ini benar-benar merupakan karya saya sendiri, yang saya hasilkan setelah melalui penelitian, pembimbingan, diskusi, dan pemaparan/ujian. Semua kutipan, baik yang langsung maupun tidak langsung, baik yang diperoleh dari sumber kepustakaan, maupun sumber lainnya, telah disertai keterangan mengenai identitas sumbernya dengan cara sebagaimana yang lazim dalam penulisan karya ilmiah. Dengan demikian walaupun tim penguji dan pembimbing penulisan *final project* ini membubuhkan tandatangan sebagaimana keabsahannya, seluruh karya ilmiah ini tetap menjadi tanggung jawab saya sendiri. Jika kemudian hari diketemukan ketidakberesan, saya bersedia menerima akibatnya. Demikian harap pernyataan ini dipergunakan sebagaimana mestinya.

Semarang, 23 Agustus 2011 Yang membuat pernyataan,

> Winda Yuniati NIM. 2250407061



# MOTTO AND DEDICATION

Life is a choice. Once you chose, you don't look back.

(Han, a character in Tokyo Drift movie)



To the Greatest Spirit in My Life, My Mother, To the Biggest Spirit in My Life, My Father, To the Never Dies Spirit in My Life, Myself.



#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Thanks God, finally You trust me to write this. A quite long journey I had taken before I arrived at this place. It is somehow tiring, but I realize that You just want to let me to learn as many things as I am afford to, as my prayers. And I believe this is the answer for my prayers. Thank you.

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I wish also to express my gratitude to my sisters, brothers-in-law, nieces and nephews. My life is nothing without you. Thank you for your prayers and love. Our family is our treasure.



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Overall, this final project is far from perfectness. Criticisms and suggestions are then strongly needed for its betterment. Hopefully, this will not just stand still in the library shelves along with the other collections. Hope this is useful and may inspire its readers to expand their knowledge in any fields.

Semarang, 23 Agustus 2011

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# **ABSTRACT**

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Communication is sending, giving or exchanging information or ideas. To communicate, humans need a means of communication: language realized through texts, written or spoken. The editorial is a writing that states the newspaperos ideas on an issue and plays an important role in shaping publicos opinion. It is an instance of interaction through written text which can be analyzed using a unit called the triad. This study analyzes the structure of The New York Times (NYT) and The Jakarta Post (JP) editorials with the purpose of figuring out the structures and the attitude of the newspapers. Moreover, this study also aimed to find out the similarities and differences of the two editorials.

The objects of this study are editorials of NYT, *Preserving the Coalition*, and JP, *Got a Clear Libyan Agenda?* The approach employed is the *triadic structure* or *three-part structure*. This is a descriptive qualitative study, since the data are in the form of words, phrases, and sentences. The data are gained by downloading the editorials from the Internet, reading them thoroughly, listing all sentences and identifying them. The analysis is done by breaking up the editorials into sentences, finding the turns, triads, movements structures and finally constructing the report.

Based on results of the investigation, NYT editorial shows more variant structure: LV, LFV, and LFLFV. And JP reveals LFV structure dominantly. This shows that NYT editorial negotiates meanings more than JP does. The attitude shown by NYT is clear that it trusts the coalition, though it does not trust it blindly. It acts as other newspapers in general that controls and protects the right process in solving the crisis. JP shows different attitude in that it stands neutrally, and on the Libyan civiliansø point of view who defend their sovereignty in solving the crisis. The similarities and differences can be figured out from the findings above.

NYT editorial becomes the voice of the Americans and its government who agree with the intervention. The Jakarta Post also presents the voice of Indonesians, who oppose the policy. The structures of the editorials are different based on the ideas editors intend to share and assumptions they have about the readersøknowledge about the discussed issue. In writing an English text, a non-English speaking country writer will totally come into the English culture: foreground form. Thus, I suggest conducting a study on linguistics in that we can find the attitude of the writers and the hidden ideas contained in texts. In addition, editorial is a good choice to analyze, since it is smart, critical, and debatable.



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PERPUSTAKAAN UNNES



# **CHAPTER I**

# INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an introduction of the study which contains six sections; they are background of study, reasons for choosing the topic, statements of the problem, objectives of the study, significances of the study, and outline of the report.

# 1.1 Background of the Study

Man is social being, like what an old Greek scholar once said that man is ≟zoon politiconø or political being, who has to live in community. To live in their community, men need to communicate to maintain the relationship. Therefore, man needs a means of communication, which is called ∃anguageø With language man can express his ideas and wishes to other people such as when man needs otherøs help. So, relationships between men can be carried out.

Communication, as defined by Webster dictionary, is osending, giving or exchanging information or ideas. Another definition says that ocommunication is at the core of humanness. How we communicate with each other shapes our lives and our world (Gamble and Gamble, 2002:7). This means that communication is extremely important in human life. Good communication with others may create a good relation to others too. Then, to communicate or to create a good relation to others, as stated in the previous paragraph, man needs a means of communication,

which is called :language@ Therefore, language will decide relationships between men.

### Chapelle proposes that

Language is a systematic resource for expressing meaning in context and linguistics, according to Halliday, is the study of how people exchange meanings through the use of language. This view of language as a system for meaning potential implies that language is not a well defined system not a "the set of all grammatical sentences."

This means that language is not merely about its grammar and structure, but also preliminary about meaning and the context. The purpose of exchanging meanings is supported by the context the language is used. Thus, language exists and therefore must be studied in contexts such as professional settings, classrooms, and language tests.

The use of language is realized through texts, whether written or spoken. Text itself, as defined by Brainyquot.com is õa discourse or composition on which a note or commentary is written; the original words of an author, in distinction from a paraphrase, annotation, or commentaryö. This proposes that texts bring particular purpose: to communicate an idea to the others. From the texts produced, the meanings, messages or purposes of the communication can be delivered. In other words, texts share communicative purposes. It means that different purposes may draw different features of texts, in order to support the purposes people want to share. For example, the words and the features of a wedding invitation will be different from an advertisement. It is because the messages and the purposes of the writing are different as well. The purposes then influence the form or the features of those texts. Even sometimes, the same texts may deliver different

messages and purposes. It depends on the circumstances when the text is delivered. For example, the text õNO LPGö written in front of someoneøs house and in front of an LPG counter. The former means that the house owner runs out of gas and she needs LPG, while the latter means that the LPG counter has no more LPG to sell. This shows that each text delivers different message to the readers or listeners.

In natural real life, texts are created extensively broad. When people are writing diary, telling a story, reporting news, presenting their arguments or opinions, persuading friends or customers, shouting thurrayø for winning games, they are creating texts. At this point, it is crystal clear that texts are indeed important for communication, whether in the written or spoken forms. The former form can be easily found in newspaper and other printed mass media. Newspaper itself has been an important mass media which delivers information to the public. It informs events, issues and cases about some aspects of life, like politics, economy, health, environments, sports, cultures, etc. from around the world to its readers. Since it delivers many aspects, it has some page categorizations realised in columns. For examples are headline, economics, world, health, lifestyle, entertainment, sports, opinions, features, cultures, etc.

Nowadays, newspapers become easier to access, both the domestic and the foreign ones. As technology develops and internet becomes widespread, newspapers are also available on the line, which then is called as online newspaper. With such online newspaper, people who have to work in front of computer all day long and have no time to read printed newspapers can still get



enough information by reading through the online newspaper. Besides that, online newspaper gives another advantage. People from around the world can access the online newspapers from other countries easily. For example, people in Indonesia can still read the newspaper from abroad, like NYtimes, Tokyo Post, The Times, etc. Online newspaper provides the same information as the printed one. It also has the same columns as the printed edition.

One of the columns of a newspaper is editorial. Editorial, according to Hoffman (2007:113) in Ate (2008:6) is õa statement of opinion from an editor or publisher about you and your businessö. Furthermore, Smith in her presentation states that õeditorial is an article that states the newspaperøs ideas on an issue. These ideas are presented as opinion.ö These two statements above mean that editorial represents the editorsø or the newspapersø opinion on recent hot issue. It provides information and evaluation that educates and entertains, as well as persuades the readers. Editorial belongs to õopinionö section, along with the other columns, like opinion, Op-Ed, columnist, and letter to the editor.

Editorial, as mentioned earlier which contains the opinion of the newspapers is one form of Hortatory Exposition text. Its social function is to persuade the reader or listener that something should or should not be the case. It presents announcement of issue of concern along with the reasons for concern which lead to recommendation. This recommendation points out what ought or ought not to happen (Gerot and Wignell, 1994:209).

The study deals with the editorials structure taken from The New York

Times and The Jakarta Post about Libyan crisis. There are two editorials to

compare. Both of them discuss the same issue: Libyan crisis. "Preserving the Coalition" is the editorial from the former source, which was published on March 29, 2011. While the editorial from the latter source is entitled "Got a Clear Libyan Agenda?" that was published on April 1, 2011.

Though the two editorials discuss the same issue, the way the editors constructed them in delivering the newspapersø opinion might be different. The background of the editors and the newspaper might surely affect the study. This is strengthened by the fact that the editors are an American who speaks English as first language, and an Indonesian who speaks English as second language. Kaplan (1988; 1987) in Miller (1997) points out that othe logic expressed through the organization of written text is culture-specific: that is, it posits that speakers of two different languages will organize the same reality in different waysö. This means that the native linguistics background gives significant effect to the way people organize text in communication. Those who speak English as first language and those who speak English as the second or foreign language will show different ways in using English to express or communicate the same topic or issue. The mother tongue of a non-English native speaker will influence his writing styles.

Through these editorials, the differences of both from the side of an English native speaker and a non-English native speaker (in this case is between Western and Eastern speakers) can be figured out. In addition, the background of the bilateral relation between United States of America and Libya, also between Indonesia and Libya may influence the writing of both editorials as well. The



policy of the United Nation supported by the United States of America and its allies to invade Libya as the crisis develops in the country between the government and the protesters has been a hot debatable issue. Indonesia, as a country which has no negative bilateral relation with Libya has shown its attitude to be neutral upon the invasion. These facts, therefore, might govern the ideas that the editors performed in the editorials.

Editorial is a writing which contains a spoken discourse, and can be analyzed through a structural analysis. Bolivar in Coulthard points out that õexchange is the minimal interactive unit most amenable in linguistic structural analysisø(Stubbs 1981:9) and the unit that concerned with the transmission of informationø(Coulthard and Brazil 1981:99) and, in fact, the primary unit of language interactionø(Sinclair and Brazil 1982:49). This suggests that exchange is indeed plays an important role in delivering ideas and transmitting information. The media the exchange happens might be analyzed structurally. The way speakers or writers construct the information to share might draw them writing in particular structures.

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) as cited by Bolivar suggest that the term -exchangeø particularly refers to structures that consist of up to three elements: an initiation (I), a response (R), and a follow-up (F). Initiation is informing, eliciting or directing, and also consists of an informing move. Response follows it. It contains a second move that fits the initiation. The third, follow-up, closes the structure. However, it is seen obligatory in some contexts, and not in others. (Coulthard, 1994:276) Bolivar in Coulthard (1994:276) points out that onewspaper editorials as the instances of interaction through written text, can be analyzed using a unit called triadö (Bolivar 1996). Triad has a system which quite similar to exchange. It has three elements of structure and constitutes the minimal unit of interaction in written text. In editorial, the third element which functions as a closing element is still important because this element presents the evaluation of the writer through his point of view.

An editorial has three layers of structures contained. In its internal structure, it can be described in terms of three fundamental turns (Tn), which covers lead (L), follow (F), and valuate (V). In the next structure, it governs the triad (Td) structure, which consists of Situation (S), Development (D), and Recommendation (R). Larger than triad, an editorial contains the movement (Mov) structure. It covers the movement A, B and C. These movements altogether construct the largest unit of structure, artefact.

Generally, newspaper editorials contain triadic or three-part structures. The difference which exists between editorials is in the way the editors (newspapers) views the issue. In addition, their assumptions about their readersøknowledge on the issue or event might also govern the structure of editorials they write. This means that since Indonesia and United States stand on different spot in seeing the Libyan crisis, the editorials of both countries might reveal different structures as well in presenting information.

# 1.2 Reasons for Choosing the Topic

The reasons behind the choice of this topic are:

First, editorial is a significant part of a newspaper. It provides critical information, evaluation, interpretation and presentation of significant current issue in society. It is clearly knowledgeable and supports the development of the society to be more critical and educated.

Second, the crisis in Libya has become the centre of attention of the people around the world since the rebels are radical and strong enough, the government is persistent, and the aim of intervention by NATO is still debatable. The United States of America plays important role in the intervention and has direct relation to the intervention itself, while Indonesia does not have direct relation to it. Therefore, it is interesting to analyse the editorials of both countries English newspapers on the same subject -Libyan crisis- in how their structures are revealed, and how the structures present the attitude of the newspapers.

# 1.3 Statements of the Problem

Editorial is a significant writing which has important influences in society. In addition, the two editorials to be analysed contain different backgrounds which may influence the editors in writing them. Therefore, the study is conducted to answer the following problems:

(1) What is the structure of editorials in The New York Times and The Jakarta Post, and how are the newspapersø attitudes revealed by the structure?



(2) What are similarities and differences between the editorials in The New York Times and The Jakarta Post?

# 1.4 Objective of the Study

Based on the statements of the problems, the objectives of this study are:

- (1) To analyse the structure of editorials in The New York Times and The Jakarta Post, and their attitudes revealed by the structure of the editorials.
- (2) To find out similarities and differences between the editorials in The New York Times and The Jakarta Post.

# 1.5 Significance of the Study

Theoretically, the study provides us an understanding of the structure of newspaper editorials, especially the editorials of an English speaking country and a non-English speaking country. We will notice how editors deliver different point of views toward an issue, a case or an event through the structure they reveal. This will thoroughly educate the readers in judging an issue, case or event develops in society. Moreover, we can also find out what influences that influenced the editors in writing the editorials.

The results of the study will give more knowledge, not only about the discourse, but also the structures of editorials as such research had not been conducted before by the students of English Department in this university.

Pedagogically, this study will be advantageous for those who interested in discourse study, and those who are studying journalism. Understanding language, sentences, its structures and the meaning is inevitable important. It is strongly needed in communication, so that the meaning and the purpose of communication itself can be conveyed perfectly.

# 1.6 Definitions of Terms

There are some terms used in this study that need defining, as provided below from the simplest to the highest rank:

1. sentence (s) : ordered sentences after the editorials are broken up into sentences, which are conceived as the product of ordinary language behaviourø and not as system sentencesø

- turn (Tn) : the smallest unit or the internal structure of editorial analysis.
- 3. lead (L) posture or modality.
- 4. follow (F) : turn which responds to this initiation, keeping the same topic and evaluating the preceding piece of information.
- 5. valuate (V) : turn which closes with an evaluation of the preceding two turns.



6. triads (Td) the larger unit of editorial analysis.

7. Situation (S) : triad which refers to the current event being

evaluated.

8. Development (D) : triad which functions to develop the reference

to and the evaluation of the event introduced

in the S triad.

9. Recommendation (R) : triad which occupies the final position in the

sequence function to close the reference and

the evaluation of the event introduced by the

S triads that initiates the sequence.

10. movement (Mov) : the larger unit than triad in editorial analysis.

11. movement A (Mov A) : movement type A which refers to the actual

world, a world that is or was.

12. movement B (Mov B) : movement type B which refers to the world

of possibilities or the world of that might be.

13. movement C (Mov C) : movement type C which presents the world

that should be, and constitutes the major

evaluation that refers back to movement B

and A.

14. artefact : The whole text (editorial) or the largest unit

of structure or the higher rank.



# 1.7 Outline of the Report

The report is conducted in five chapters. It begins with introduction in chapter one. This chapter consists of six elements; they are general background of study, reasons for choosing the topic, statement of the problem, objective of the study, significance of the study, and the outline of the study.

The second chapter presents review of related literature, which will be clearly divided into three parts. The first part is review of previous studies. The second part is review of theoretical studies which discusses about the structure of newspaper editorials, Newspaper, Editorial and Libya. The third part is theoretical framework.

The third chapter contains methods of investigation. The subchapters to elaborate are the approach used in conducting the study, object of the study, role of the researcher, procedure of collecting data, and how the data is being processed and analysed based on the appropriate theory is presented in the procedures of analysing the data.

The fourth chapter is the result of the study which consists of the analysis of the editorials, and the similarities and differences. In the first part, I present the structure of the editorial, continued with the analysis of its attitude. I start to analyse The New York Times editorial first, and then The Jakarta Post editorial follows. Finally, I present the similarities and differences of both editorials based on the analysis in the previous part.

The last chapter presents conclusions and suggestions.



# **CHAPTER II**

# REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In this chapter, the discussion focuses on three major parts; they are review of previous study which presents research finding by the previous researcher; review of theoretical studies which presents the references used in conducting this study; and theoretical framework.

## 2.1. Review of Previous Studies

Since editorial is a writing which has important role in society, it is necessary to analyze editorial in how it is structured to deliver the newspaper's view on an issue. However, the study conducted upon the three-part structure of editorial can rarely be found. Even the studies of editorial on the other approaches are also hardly available.

Thomas Hawes (2010) conducted a study on *Thematic Progression and Rhetoric in Sun and Times Editorials: 1991-2008*. This study examines the development of thematic progression in The Sun and The Times from 1991 to 2008. It offers tentative conclusions as to the rhetorical strategies behind the changing progression choices. Since by 2008 a good proportion of the data cannot be accounted for by Danesø types, new progression categories are proposed: C Type, C Gap, and G Rheme. C Type or Constant Type Progression is a strategy of repeating not the same referent but the same theme types. C Type underlines the



fact that lexical repetition can function through empty -grammarø words and can repeat several elements at once. C Gap or Constant Gap Progression is the repetition of a theme that occurs two or more clauses previously in the text, i.e. not the immediately preceding ones. This may be represented in the equation Th1+n-Th2, Th2+n-Th3, Th3+n-Th4, etc. C Gap provides a dynamism that is less obviously demagogic than constant and allows for alternation between referents. C Rheme or Constant Rheme Progression is based on the principle of repetition but repeats the rheme of a previous clause instead of its theme. It could be represented by the equation Rh1-Rh2, Rh2-Rh3, Rh3-Rh4, etc, while its variant, C Gap Rheme Progression, would be Rh1+n-Rh2, Rh2+n-Rh3, Rh3+n-Rh4, etc. C Rheme Progression achieves a foregrounding effect by placing -givenø material where the reader expects to find -newø as provided in Danesø three types: constant, simple linear and derived.

Muhammad Ashraf Khan and Somia Sakhir (2011) conducted a study on *A Comparative Study of Editorial Treatment on Indo-Pak Conflicts in Daily Dawn and the Nation: A War and Peace Journalism Perspective.* This research explores a comparison of War and Peace framing in editorials of Daily õDawnö and õThe Nationö in coverage of Indo-Pak conflicts. Analysis of 107 editorials from both dailies during six months is presented here. It establishes that the issue of terrorism was at the top priority in both the dailies. The issue of terrorism is covered in 83% of daily õDawnö editorials, and 16% of daily õThe Nationö editorials. The Kashmir is the second priority (Dawn 15%, The Nation 30%), and the dispute over Water was the third most important issue highlighted by both



dailies (Dawn 2%, The Nation 4%). John Galtung model for war and peace journalism and the theory of social responsibility provide the theoretical framework of this study. Theory of social responsibility provides the ground for using the war or peace frame in news. Results indicate that the daily õDawnö used both war and peace frames in equal amount i.e. 40% each while the neutral frame was 20%. Daily õThe Nationö used war frame more profusely (46%) as compared to peace frame (30%), while the neutral frame was 16%. Thus, this study shows that both newspapers used war frame more profoundly than the peace frame while covering the three major conflicts between Pakistan and India.

Hasan Ansary and Esmat Babaii conducted a research on *The Generic Integrity of Newspaper Editorials: A Systemic Functional Perspective*. This research explores the local linguistic and the global rhetorical patterns of particular genres in order to identify their recognizable structural identity, or ogeneric integrityo. It employed Swalesos move-analytic models of text analysis to investigate whether or not the generic prototypical patterns that he has introduced exist universally. This paper considers the application of Systemic Functional (SF) theory of language to genre analysis. This paper looks at distinctive rhetorical features of English newspaper editorials as an important public occinderellao genre and proposes a generic prototypical pattern of text development for editorials or what Halliday and Hasan (1989) refer to as *Generic Structure Potential (GSP)* of a genre. The results of this study should benefit both genre theory and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and will be, it seems, of



interest not only to applied linguists, but to those involved in education, journalism, and the media.

Considering the previous studies above which analyzed newspaper editorials, and the fact that the study conducted on triadic or three-part structure which involved the context of cultures is still rarely found, the field of analyzing editorials structure by using the approach is still largely open. Thus, I analyze the structure of editorials on an interesting issue, Libyan crisis.

# 2.2. Review of Theoretical Study

In conducting the study, a number of theories and resources are applied. At first, I focused on the linguistics theory, the Structure of Newspaper Editorials: the triadic or the three-part structure. Then I intensified on the object of study which explores newspapers, narrowed into the description of The New York Times and The Jakarta Post; an understanding about editorial, and finally the information about Libya.

### 2.2.1. Triadic or Three-part Structures

Triadic structure which is also known as three-part structure is a structure that consists up to three elements and constitutes the minimal unit of interaction in written text. The function of triadic structure analysis is to find out how the transmission of information and evaluation of written text is negotiated. It is a model of analysis which fits to analyze a written text as an interaction media. Three-part structure starts from the simplest to the largest analysis.



Analyzing written text by using this approach starts from its internal structure. In this stage, there are three fundamental turns (Tn): lead (L), follow (F), and valuate (V). This is realized through sentences (s) which is conceived as #the product of ordinary language behavior of and not as #a system sentences of (Lyon, 1977:30 in Bolivar in Coulthard, 1994:279). Lead here introduces the aboutness of the triad and a posture or modality. The follow functions to respond the information introduced in the initiation. It may also evaluate the piece of information. The third triad, valuate, closes the unit with an evaluation of the topic delivered in the two preceding triads. Valuate has a particular status: it ends the smallest communicative cycle with an evaluation, though the other turns may also make evaluation. The difference from the other turns is that while the lead presents new information and the follow refers to it, the valuate refers to both of them. Therefore, this turn is called as a content triad. In the content triad, the valuate is obligatory. This does not mean that the triad must consist of three turns. Triad may consist of more than three triads, for instance in the sequence of LFLFV or LFLFLFV. In such sequences the writer delays giving evaluation and tries to negotiate meanings more with the readers (Bolivar in Coulthard, 1994: 279). Furthermore, Bolivar provides the example below which shows a complete triad.

Tn	S	
L	1	Britain and Ireland are now trying, at long last, to work out a less

		artificial link between them than that which binds two foreign states.
F	2	This is the most helpful departure of the past decade because it opens for inspection what had lain concealed for half a century and goes to the root of the anguish in Northern Ireland.
V	3	The two countries now recognise that though they are independent of one another they cannot be foreign.

Valuate turns can be classified into three groups: concluders, prophecies and directives. The function of concluders is to intimate that a conclusion has been reached, with reference to the present time, in this case is the time of publication of the newspaper. Concluders can be sub-classified into logical conclusion or result, temporal result, and informative comments. The first two can be indicated by signals such as *Therefore, Thus, Now, As a result, If...then, In general, At the moment*, etc., but the last one consists of sentence in the past or present tense used by the writer to offer new information that evaluates the preceding turns. Prophecies are valuate turns that consist of declarative sentences whose function is to predict future events in life. These allow the writer to make evaluation of the discussed event and also to indicate the assessment of probabilities for future developments. While directives in valuate turns have the function of proposing or suggesting desirable occurses of action. Directive can be sub-classified into direct and indirect. Direct directives can be defined as declarative turns consisting of

sentences which carry signals that indicate the agent, the kind of action performed, and optionally the circumstances of the action. The use of *should* and *need* are usually found in direct directives. The directive is indirect when the suggestion for action has to be inferred from the context of the discourse. The indirect directives are usually indicated by the use of *It is essential* that, and the construction of *If* ... *then*.

The larger size of the triad analysis can be classified according to position and function into Situation (S), Development (D), and Recommendation (R). S triads are presented in the initial position and have the function of referring to an event and evaluating it. The first S triad in an editorial refers to a current event being evaluated, while the next S triads refer back to the main event, though they may introduce other related events. D triads come after S triad. Its function is to develop and evaluate the preceding triad. R triads occupy the final position in this sequence. It closes the reference and evaluation of the event introduced in the S triad of the sequence (Bolivar in Coulthard, 1994: 281). Below is the example of the analysis:

Td	Tn	S	PERPUSTAKAAN
S	L	1	Britain and Ireland are now trying, at long last, to work out a less artificial link between them than that which binds two foreign states.
	F	2	This is the most helpful departure of the past decade because it opens for inspection what had lain concealed for half a

			century and goes to the root of the anguish in Northern
			century and goes to the root of the anguish in Northern
			Ireland.
	V	3	The two countries now recognise that though they are
			independent of any another they connect be found as
			independent of one another they cannot be foreign.
	т	4	
D	L	4	It is a large task they have taken on, for each side has its
			privy jealousies and each is aware that a false step, or even a
	4		false reading of a right step, could bring out the worst of the
	//		Northern paramilitaries into a communal war.
1		Δ	
#	F	5	Someone in the Northern Ireland Office mentions a defense
П	Ą	7	
и	5		and the Dail is in uproar.
Н	2	6	Someone in the Dail mentions federalism and Mr. Paisley
М	$\supset$		
1/		11.	stopms the mountains calling up the ghost of Carson to save
A.	١.		the holy counties from Rome.
	\		
1	V	7	But the process has begun of seeing where the islands went
	II.		wrong in the first place and making whatever corrections are
	7	P,	now feasible to a series of mistakes and misconceptions.
		7	now reastore to a series of mistakes and misconceptions.
R	L	8	Is Benelux a model?
		9	Is the Nordic Union?
	F	10	Probably not, because nothing elsewhere quite simulates the
			petulance and lopsidedness of the partners of Iona, the island
	1	l	

	1	
		of the North Atlantic.
	11	Whatever emerges, though, has to make irrelevant for all
	11	whatever emerges, though, has to make hierevant for an
		time both the ruthlessness of the Republicans, even when it
		time both the ruthlessness of the Republicans, even when it
		is directed assingt themselves and the grand delusions of
		is directed against themselves, and the grand delusions of
		1'4 11 1'4
		embittered loyalists.
1		

The three triads (Td) made up a movement. Movement is the second largest unit of the model, where the combination of movements made up the largest unit of analysis, artefact. A movement may be the whole part of an artefact; its size is not determined by the number of paragraphs, because movement and paragraph are two different types of organization. How the events elaborated in the triads determines the size of a movement. A movement must contain at least one content triad, since it is the basic unit of interaction in written text. (Bolivar in Coulthard, 1994:282)

There are three types of movement. The first one is called type A, which refers to the actual world, a world that is or that was. The movement following it is type B. This type refers to the world of possibilities, or the world that might be. The last movement is type C, which refers to the world that should be and, in fact constitutes a major evaluation that refers back to movement B and A (Bolivar in Coulthard, 1994:283). the following is the example of a full artifact analysis, so that we can see the sequence of triads and their function in each one of the movement:

# Behind closed Irish door

Mov	Td	Tn	s	
A	S	L	1	Britain and Ireland are now trying, at long last, to work out a less artificial link between them than that which binds two foreign states.
		F	2	This is the most helpful departure of the past decade because it opens for inspection what had lain concealed for half a century and goes to the root of the anguish in Northern Ireland.
	JANO	V	3	The two countries now recognise that though they are independent of one another they cannot be foreign.
	D	L	4	It is a large task they have taken on, for each side has its privy jealousies and each is aware that a false step, or even a false reading of a right step, could bring out the worst of the Northern paramilitaries into a communal war.
		F	5	Someone in the Northern Ireland Office mentions a defense and the Dail is in uproar.
			6	Someone in the Dail mentions federalism and Mr.  Paisley stopms the mountains calling up the ghost of

			T	
				Carson to save the holy counties from Rome.
		V	7	But the process has begun of seeing where the islands
				went wrong in the first place and making whatever
				wont mong in the mass place and maning manerer
				corrections are now feasible to a series of mistakes and
				misconceptions.
			_	
	R	L	8	Is Benelux a model?
			/_	G NEGER!
			9	Is the Nordic Union?
1		2	10	
11	1	F	10	Probably not, because nothing elsewhere quite
	Li	7	a i	
П	5			simulates the petulance and lopsidedness of the
и.		- 41		partners of Iona, the island of the North Atlantic.
и.	2	A.		
	5	V	11	Whatever emerges, though, has to make irrelevant for
17.		V		
1.0		7		all time both the ruthlessness of the Republicans, even
				when it is directed against themselves, and the grand
				delivations of ambittaned levelists
. //				delusions of embittered loyalists.
D	G	т	10	
В	S	L	12	The end of the Republicansø dirty protest, which has
		1		kept them confined and surrounded by filth for years on
				and muchably has no next in the Dritish Irish
				end, probably has no part in the British-Irish
				conciliation.
			13	More likely it is designed to prevent it from taking a
				form which the IRA would not like.
				form which the IXA would not like.

		F	14	By one means or another the Republicans want to focus
				on their demand for political status, which those who
				committed their offenses before a certain date still
				enjoy.
		V	15	They have had no success with the European
				Commission on Human Rights, or with public
			18	generally in either country, yet there is just enough
1		3	1,	truth in their assertion to stimulate the Anglo-Irish
	/ /	3.		negotiators to feats of invention.
lſſ	D	L	16	In Sundayøs communiqué announcing the fast of Bobby
Ш.	N	Λ		Sands, the Republicans described their crimes as
	5			∹selflessø
11		F	17	In that they did not blow up innocent people entirely
				for personal gain there is fragment of tortured reason
1	/			there.
	1	V	18	They oscillate between demands for political status and
	1.3	1.		simpler requests about clothes and degrees of prison
				work.
	R	L	19	At Christmas the authorities and the prisoners were
				within range of a settlement.
L			<u> </u>	

		F	20	They could be again before Mr. Sands comes to his
				crisis.
				CHSIS.
		L	21	But if they are, what will Mr. Paisley and the UDS say?
		F	22	Treachery?
			23	Connivance?
			23	Commodities.
	1		24	Capitulation?
			1	- J.
		V	25	Anything to keep hatred on the boil?
С	S	L	26	Mr. Humphrey Atkins has said all he can to conciliate
Ш	2	.70		the Protestants, not all of whom in any case rise to Mr.
и.	Ž	A		Paisleyøs heights of indignation.
ш	5			Taisley in lights of margination.
11		V	27	Mr. Haughey in Dublin has not contradicted him.
18	3	7		
		F	28	At the end of 11 years of almost unremitting bloodshed
1				and disruption calls for patience soup limp.
	61	V	29	Yet unless London and Dublin can work out a series of
	7	Ň	29	Tet unless London and Dublin can work out a series of
		F		agreements ó a bill of rights, a supervisory council of
		ľ		ministers or judges, a guarantee of traditions, an
				incentive towards mutual respect ó perhaps a more
				formal association embracing all those things ó the
				prospects for extremism seem bright.

			30	Patience in negotiation is the only way of rescuing  Northern Ireland from the hell on which it so often seems bent.
	D	L	31	Mr. Paisley would not deny that he adjoins the Irish Republic or, as Mrs. Thatcher puts it, Britain has a land frontier with a fellow-member of the EEC.
		F	32	That is a starting point from which the crooked triangle, Dublin-London-Belfast, can be straightened.
K	3/2	V	33	Allow time.

# 2.2.2. Newspaper

A newspaper is a regularly scheduled publication containing news, information, and advertising and current events. Newspaper has become an important part of the society as it serves information to its readers. Moreover, it also represents the voice of public about the issues develop in society, whether it is about politics, economics, health, education, etc.

The daily newspaper, in its role as the free press, serves several functions in the community:

- a. A newspaper informs by supplying facts, figures, charts, maps, photos and illustrations.
- b. A newspaper educates, going beyond the basic facts to in-depth analysis in opinion pieces, feature stories, columns and editorials.

- A newspaper entertains with humorous columns, leisure features, comics and puzzles.
- d. A newspaper provides a print marketplace for advertisers and prospective customers.
- e. A newspaper provides a record for historians and members of a community researching local history.

In a country, there are more than one newspapers that are published. Usually, there are national and regional newspaper. For example in Indonesia, there are Kompas, Media Indonesia, Seputar Indonesia (Sindo) whose range in national. Whereas, the regional newspaper is different in each region. For examples, there are Suara Merdeka, and Wawasan, which are published only in Semarang, Central Jawa.

Each country also has at least one English newspaper. For instances, The Jakarta Post (Indonesia), The Tripoli Post (Libya), Japan Times (Japan), etc. These English newspapers are published to provide a reding for the foreigners who lives in a country. Beside that, those are also aimed to provide an international standard reading for the citizens.

Newspaper consists of some categories. They are headline, environment, culture, lifestyles, world, sport, people, opinions, etc. Different newspaper somtimes provides different categories. However, the basic parts of a newspaper are headline, articles of opinion or commentaries and views, local and foreign news, business and finance section, sport page, entertainment section, travel and tourism page, ads section.



Opinion section in The New York Times consists of some sub-parts. They are opinion, editorial, op-ed, columnist, letter, opiniator, topics, and room for debate. While in The Jakarta Post, it consists of opinion and editorial.

#### 2.2.2.1. The New York Times

The New York Times is an American daily newspaper. It was firsly founded on September 18, 1851, by journalist and politician Henry Jarvis Raymond. The owner of this newspaper is The New York Times Company, which also publishes 18 other regional newspapers including the *International Herald Tribune* and *The Boston Globe*. Based on Wikipedia, this newspaper publishes 876, 638 sheets on Monday to Saturday, and 1,352,358 sheets on Sunday. The company's chairman is Arthur Ochs Sulzberger Jr., whose family has controlled the paper since 1896.

Its headquarters is in The New York Times Building, 620 Eight Avenue, Manhattan, New York. In addition to its New York City headquarters, *The New York Times* has 16 news bureaus in New York State, 11 national news bureaus and 26 foreign news bureaus.

The newspaper is organised in three sections: news, opinion, and features. In the news section, readers can find International, National, Washington, Business, Technology, Science, Health, Sports, The Metro Section, Education, Weather, and Obituaries news. The newspaper presents Editorials, Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor in the opinion sections. Then, in the third section, it presents Arts, Movies, Theatre, Travel, NYC Guide, Dining & Wine, Home &



Garden, Fashion & Style, Crossword, *The New York Times Book Review, The New York Times Magazine*, and Week in Review.

#### 2.2.2.2. The Jakarta Post

The Jakarta Post is a daily English language newspaper in Indonesia. It was firstly launched on April 25, 1983, by PT Bina Media Tenggara, who owns the newspaper up to now. This is the largest English language newspaper in Indonesia, with an average circulation of around 50,00 copies per day. The headquarters of this newspaper is at Jl. Palmerah Barat 142-143, Jakarta 10270.

This newspaper is just a small newspaper. However, the newspaper could represent the voice of Indonesia to the international community. The newspaper also aims to provide an Indonesian perspective to counter the highly unbalanced Western-dominated global traffic of news and views.

The Jakarta Post also plays an important role in providing an English reading for the English-speaking community, as well as the expatriates and diplomatic community.

There are two main sections in the newspaper organisations: News and Views, and Life. The news and views sections provide Editorøs choice, National, Archipelago, Business, Jakarta, World, and Sports which belong to News, and opinion as well as Readerøs forum which belong to Views. While in the Life sections, the readers can find Science-Technology, Environment, Body and Soul, Art and Design, Culture, Lifestyle, Entertainment, People, Features and Travel as



its subsections. While the editorial of the newspaper can be found in the opinion subsection, which has two branches: editorial and opinion.

#### 2.2.3. Editorial

Editorial is a part of a newspaper. It serves an analysis of a current issue which draws great attention by the society. This is written by the editor to represents the newspaperos ideas or views upon the issue. Okoro and Agbo (2003:125) in Ate (2008:6) considers editorial as a critical evaluation, interpretation and presentation of significant, contemporary events in such a way as to inform, educate, entertain and influence the reader.ö Therefore, editorial has a significant role in society. This is also completed with the pros and cons opinion toward the issue being editorialized. In short, if newspaper is the voice of community, editorial is the voice of newspaper.

The editorial topic or issue must be a topical issue that has been reported in mass media, and attracts public attention and debatable. Through the editorial, the editor tries to serve the discussion and evaluation about the issue. The discussion delivers different point of views. It means that pros and cons or any possibilities might exist about the issue which develops greatly in community.

Editorial is one form of Hortatory Exposition text. Its social function is to persuade the reader or listener that something should or should not be the case. It presents announcement of issue of concern along with the reasons for concern which lead to recommendation. This recommendation points out what ought or ought not to happen (Gerot and Wignell, 1994:209).

Newspaper also provides õletter to editorö for its readers to response the editorial. Since the topic being editorialized is a topic which attract public attention, the editorial itself will attract renponses from the readers. Then, this will be a good feedback in educating the society. This means that, the society will think twice to judge or evaluate an issue or event, or they will be more careful to see an issue from not only one point of view.

There is also assessment toward an editorial. According to Ate (2008:8),

Every editorial writer must know the general hints guiding the concept of editorial writing. some of these hints are:

- a. An editorial must carry an institutional flavour. The media establishment should be heard õspeakingö in an editorial and not an individual business.
- b. The language of the editorial should be plain and unambigous. Whether the purpose of an editorial is to influence the audience, educate or entertain them, the language must be understood by the target audience. If not, the mission of an editorial will not be accomplished.
- c. In writing an editorial, the editorialist should always be exact. Say what you want to say without beating about the bush. There should be no room for verbosity and circumlocution.
- d. An editorial must be rich in human interest. This is because people are interested in the affairs of their fellow human beings.
- e. An editorial or leader must be catchy and attention arresting. Dull and weak editorials cannot create the desired effects on its target audience. Persuasive techniques and other appeals can be used for this purpose.
- f. Every editorial must be original in tone and substance. A newspaper house should not go and dub another paper editorial in the name of being trendy.
- g. An editorial must be well researched. Newspaper should factor timeliness or recency into qualitative and quantitative research if an editorial master piece is to be produced.
- h. Editorials must be based on concrete facts, not speculations. An editorial writer who knows his/her onions must endeavour to cross check his/her facts so as to ensure high credibility of the editorial.



This means that, editorial is a real writing which is certain and trusted. It is not just an any writing by anyone. The writer must be someone well-educated and has experience in journalistic and writing. The writing must be based on the topic being discussed recently, and based on research, so that it is totally knowledgeable.

#### 2.2.4. Libya

Libya is the fourth largest country in Africa. It lies on the north coast of Africa, on the Mediterranean Sea, and is bordered by Tunisia, Algeria, Niger, Chad, Sudan and Egypt. It is a low-lying country, much of which is desert. The population is 6.4 million with 97% of the people are Sunni Moslems. It major industries are oil and gas, petrochemicals.

The country is led by Colonel Muammar Al Qadhafi as the Head of State. While the Prime Minister is Dr Al-Baghdadi Ali al-Mahmudi. There is no major political party in Libya, for it has been led by the present leader since September 1, 1969.

Muammar Al Qadhafi toppled the monarch of King Idris. The ideological basis of his regime is his own philosophy, Third Universal Theory. Drawing heavily on Islam, socialism and Bedouin tradition; the Third Universal Theory calls for a system of direct rule by the people through a series of committees or 'Jamahiriyaø Qadhafi intended this as an alternative to capitalism and communism, arguing that it is applicable to all countries.



Since 1969, Colonel Muammar Al Qadhafi has determined Libya's foreign policy. His principal foreign policy goals have been Arab unity, elimination of Israel, advancement of Islam, support for Palestinians, elimination of outsideô particularly Western (European and United States)ô influence in the Middle East and Africa, and support for a range of "revolutionary" causes.

Because of its foreign policy and its support to international terrorism, the relation between Libya and the western, pasticularly the United States increasingly strained. This conditions lasted until 2003, when finally Libya determined to change its policy.

The condition in the country becomes unstable in the beginning of February. The people who demand total democracy in the government and politic demonstrate the leader. Such sort of movement occured also in Egypt and Tunisia where the demonstrans successfully beat the government. However, such ending has not appeared in Libya. The supporters of the leader is extremely strong, that so many civillians are killed in this chaos. This fact forced the United Nation to do something to end the suffer of the people.

Three weeks after the chaos, the United Nation sent NATO troops to control the condition in Libya. This intervention is motored by the United States, and led by France. This intervention aims to protect the civillians, as well as to force Al Qadhafi to leave his position and let the democracy grows fairly in Libya. However, this mission does not run easily. Qadhafi is too strong to beat. Consequently, the intervention cannot stop the chaos develops in Libya.



Many parties support as well as decline this intervention. The former believes that Qadhafi must leave the position, like the leader of Egypt and Tunisia. While the later argues that there is another mission behind this intervention, since Libya has a relatively bad relation to the westerns. Therefore, this intervention is extremely still debatable for the society.

# 2.3. Theoretical Framework

Language is inevitably important in human life. This is significantly needed in communication. Communication itself, actually, is not only through speaking or chatting. In other words, it is known that there are two ways of communication: spoken and written.

Either spoken or written, text has particular structure. In English, the structure developed in a spoken or written text is three-part structure, which generally consists of an initiation, development and evaluation. In written text, the three-part structure is elaborated in three different sizes which each focus on sentences. The sizes of analysis from the smallest one are turn (Tn), triad (Td), and movement (Mov). Through the structure, the attitude of the editors or mainly the newspapers can be figured out. Therefore, to uncover the attitude of the newspapers, I would like to analyze the structure of the editorials.

Editorial as the voice of newspaper, must be an excellent professional writing. It covers discussion and evaluation about an issue which develops in community. It is also provided with clarity about the development of the issue, as well as pros and cons opinions. Through editorials, readers can learn more about



the issue from any point of view. Therefore, editorials can educate, entertain, inform, and is extremely needed for society development.





#### **CHAPTER III**

#### METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

This chapter discusses how the investigation of the study is conducted. It focuses on the approach used in conducting the study, object of the study, role of the researcher, procedure of collecting data, and how the data is being processed and analysed based on the appropriate theory.

## 3.1 Approach

This study analyses the structure of The New York Times and The Jakarta Post editorials about the same issue: Libyan crisis. The editorial from The New York Times is õ*Preserving the Coalition" and the editorial from The Jakarta Post is* "Got a Clear Libyan Agenda?". In conducting the study, I use textual analysis. Alan McKee (2003:1) proposes that:

Textual analysis is a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world, it is a methodology ó a data-gathering process ó for those researchers who want to understand the ways in which members of various cultures and subcultures make sense of who they are, and of how they fit into the world in which they live. Textual analysis is useful for researchers working in cultural studies, media studies, in mass communication,, and perhaps even in sociology and philosophy. When we perform textual analysis on a text, we make an educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made of that text.

This means that, textual analysis helps us to reveal information contained in a text, whether it is the cultures, the writers, the sociological background, the philosophy, etc. By conducting this research, we can also interpret what the



message contained in a text. Thus, we might be able to find the writer's argument and finally catch the writer's intended purpose in writing the text.

I also use qualitative research in conducting the study, since the data is not numerical. Miles and Huberman (1984: 28) point out that:

Qualitative study is a conceptual framework explains either graphically or in narrative form, the main dimensions to be studied. The key factors or variables and presumed relationship among them. Frameworks come in several shapes and sixes. They can be rudimentary or elaborate, theory-driven or commonsensical, descriptive or casual.

So, the analysis of the research is delivered in narrative or graphically form. The result is elaborated well, so that the reader can get it easy to read the result of the research.

Furthermore, the method used is descriptive method. i.e. a method in which I collect, analyse data, and finally draw general conclusion. This means that I present the editorials structures report descriptively based on the investigation done.

#### 3.2. The Objects of the Study

The study is about the structures of The New York Times and The Jakarta Post editorials about the same issue: Libyan crisis. The two editorials are *Preserving the coalition (The New York Time) published on March 29, 2011 and Got a clear Libyan agenda?* (The Jakarta Post) published on April 1, 2011. The data of analysis is in the form of sentences taken from the editorials. The data are gained by downloading them from the Internet.

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#### 3.3. Role of the Researcher

The researcher plays a role as a data collector in the process of investigating the data. At the next stage of conducting the study, the researcher plays the role as an analyst, since the researcher analyses the structures of the data. In this stage, the researcher analyses how the editorials are structured. Finally, the researcher arranges the conclusion of the analysis to complete the report of the study.

#### 3.4. Procedure of Collecting Data

The data in the study is two editorials: *Preserving the Coalition (The New York Time) and Got a Clear Libyan Agenda?* (The Jakarta Post). The data were collected by downloading them from the Internet. The following are the steps of collecting the data:

- Documentation
   Collecting by downloading the data involved from the Internet.
- (2) Observation

  Reading both editorials: *Preserving the Coalition (The New York Time) and Got a Clear Libyan Agenda* (The Jakarta Post).
- (3) Listing All Sentences

  Breaking up the sentences of the editorials. This means that the analysis is at the level of sentence.



(4) Identifying Sentences

Categorizing and identifying the triadic structure revealed in the clauses of the editorials. In addition, the discourse of the editorials is identified.

#### 3.5. Procedure of Analysing Data

There are several procedures in analysing the data:

- (1) The first is breaking up the editorials into sentences.
- (2) The second is finding out the structure of the editorials in the level of turn. In this stage, I analyze the lead (L), follow (F), and valuate (V) construction of the editorials.
- (3) The third step is analyzing the editorials in the level of triads. This means that I find out the construction of Situation (S), Development(D), and Recommendation (R).
- (4) The fourth is finding out the movement construction. I analyze the movement A, B and C contained in the editorials.
- (5) The last step is constructing the report of analysis of the research done.

The following is the example of the editorial analysis by using the triadic structure:

Mov	Tr	Tn	S	Sentences
A	S	L	1	The United States, its allies and Libyan rebels all want
				to see Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi out of power and

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support United Nations-mandated military action to keep him from slaughtering innocent civilians.

V 2 But as an international conference of those allies proved on Tuesday, they are going to have to work hard to maintain that unity of purpose, and they have a long way to go to flesh out a long-term strategy for Libya.

In movement A, the editor really presents what the event was. He explores the information about the event, and gives his evaluations at the end of the turn analyses. The editor, at first, explains what the topic is all about. In the lead turn, he elaborates the information in one single long sentence. He does not add more information as no follow turn found in the Situation (S) triad. He directly closes the triad. In the V turn, the editor uses discourse adjunct -Butø to begin his sentence. However, it does not function to deliver a contradicting idea, rather than a reminder. It seems that the editor would like to remind the United States and its allies, as well as the readers, that the goal the United States plans cannot be easily achieved. The editor strengthens his view by saying that '...they are going to have to work hard...' and '...a long term strategy...'. These quotations reveal that their goal is definitely not easy to realized, even the crisis seems will last long.



#### **CHAPTER IV**

#### **RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS**

In this chapter, I present results of the analysis. I start the analysis from the lowest rank, the turn. Then, I continue to the higher rank in the second step, the triad. In the final step, I analyze the movement constructions in both editorials. The analysis of each editorial is presented in one single table, so that it is easier to examine the development of the structure of each editorial.

After analyzing the data, I present the elaboration of the findings. The analyses of the structures are presented together with the discourse analysis. The following is the results of the analysis. The first analysis presented is the analysis of the New York Times editorial. Afterward, the analysis of The Jakarta Post editorial is presented. In the last part of this chapter, I provide the similarities and differences of both editorials.

#### 4.1. The Analyses of the Editorials

In this subchapter, I present analyses of the editorials. The following is the result of the analysis and the elaboration of the finding.

#### **4.1.1. PRESERVING THE COALITION (NY TIMES)**

The following table presents the analysis of the first editorial. Some words are printed differently to identify the assigned meanings:

1. Bold : discourse adjunct

2. Italic : editor comments or attitudes

3. Bold and italic : world of possibilities

4. Dotted underline : valuate - concluder

5. Dashed underline : valuate - prophecy

6. Double underline : valuate - directive

Mov	Tr	Tn	S	Sentences
A	S	L	1	The United States, its allies and Libyan rebels all want to see Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi out of power and support United Nations-mandated military action to keep him from slaughtering innocent civilians.
		V	2	But as an international conference of those allies proved on Tuesday, they are going to have to work hard to maintain that unity of purpose, and they have a long way to go to flesh out a long-term strategy for Libya.
	D	L	3	The London meeting, which drew leaders of four dozen countries and international organizations, was

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				a_useful attempt to intensify pressure on Colonel
				u_isegui unempi to intensity pressure on estoner
				Qaddafi and magnify his diplomatic isolation.
		F	4	But the results were limited.
		L	5	It set up a contact group to coordinate political
				efforts on Libyaøs future and backed an offer by
				Qatar to sell oil produced by the rebel-held parts of
				Libya to pay for humanitarian needs.
		F	6	The meeting also resolved to keep up the pressure
	10	9	1	for Colonel Qaddafi to quit.
	4	V	7	But it announced no significant new steps to aid the
	7.			rebels and no broader vision for helping them
11:	Z			establish an alternate government either now or
1/ :	)			once Colonel Qaddafi is gone.
В	S	L	8	The United States and its partners were right to
W			d	make clear that ô even as their forces attack
				Libyan targets ô exile remains an option <i>if</i> Colonel
1	11			Qaddafi ends the bloodshed.
	-	F	9	A United Nations envoy will visit Libya soon to
				explore that <i>possibility</i> .
		V	10	<b>However,</b> there is no serious sign the <i>erratic leader</i>
				might abdicate.
				nngne aotheac.
	D	L	11	Although allied airstrikes helped rebels regain

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					battlefield momentum, pro-Qaddafi forces on
					Tuesday halted a westward push by the rebels and
					began a counteroffensive.
			V	12	The allies <u>should</u> arm the rebels <i>if</i> needed, and both
					the United States and France said that is <i>possible</i> .
		R	L	13	We understand their desire to learn more about the
			4)		rebels ô a disparate, disorganized and largely
			1	P.	unknown group ô before making that decision.
		/ ^	F	14	Ahead of the conference, the interim rebel National
í		W			Council issued an eight-point statement on its
		4			blueprint for the future, including a constitutional
		N			democratic system that guaranteed elections and
		0			human rights.
			V	15	That is encouraging.
	С	S	L	16	There is a lot more the world needs to know about
		\			whom the council represents and how widely those
					principles are embraced.
		7	F	17	On Tuesday, Prime Minister David Cameron of
					Britain also promised that the international
					community in time would õput right the damage
					that Qaddafi has inflicted.ö
			V	18	That will be a tall order.
L			<u> </u>	<u> </u>	

D L 19 The United States and its allies have taken on a huge burden and lofty goals.

V 20 They have *a lot more to explain* about what they mean and how it all will be carried out.

In this analysis, the triadic or three-part structures are presented in various steps. In the movement A, the event is clearly defined. It has only two triads (S-D) without any Recommendation (R). The Situation (S) only consists of LV, which means that the editor is giving a direct initiation that is also directly evaluated - without delaying his evaluation. The structure of the Development (D) consists of LFLFV. This time, the editor presents more information and tends to delay his evaluation.

In this movement, the editor really presents what the event was. He explores the information about the event, and gives his evaluations at the end of the turn analyses. The editor, at first, explains what the topic is all about. In the lead turn, he elaborates the information in one single long sentence. He does not add more information as no follow turn found in the Situation (S) triad. He directly closes the triad. In the V turn, the editor uses discourse adjunct  $\pm But \emptyset$  to begin his sentence. Here is the valuate turn:

**But** as an international conference of those allies proved on Tuesday, *they are going to have to work hard* to maintain that unity of purpose, and they have a long way to go to flesh out *a long-term strategy* for Libya. (sentence 2)

However, it does not function to deliver a contradicting idea, rather than a reminder. It is evidenced by the words that I italicize. Moreover, the valuate here

belongs to prophecy. It is shown by the words I marked with dashed underline. I assume that the editor would like to remind the United States and its allies, as well as the readers that the goal the United States plans cannot be easily achieved, even the crisis seems will last long. Such evaluation can also be found in the second triad. This time, the editor expands his information by providing follow turn and delaying his evaluation. The attitude of editor appears here. He assesses their attempt as 'a useful attempt' (sentence 3). This means that he respects the United States attempt in solving the problem. He does not oppose his government and its alliesø policy. He writes the results of the meeting in detail: 'It set up a contact group' (sentence 5) and 'keep up the pressure' (sentence 6). However, he admits that there is no significant result of their attempts, as seen in the V turn of D triad. In this valuate turn, the editor presents a prophecy again. I assume that the editor is questioning the ending of the steps they had taken.

In the next movement, movement B, the world of possibilities is explored. The triad in this movement is complete. There is SDR structure. In the Situation, there is a complete turn structure: LFV. This time, the editor tries to explore the lead. He strengthens the possibility issued in the lead in the follow turn, as both evidenced by the words printed in bold type. And then, he closes the triad by giving his evaluation which once again a prophecy. In the Development, the editor provides more information about the development of the crisis. Moreover, he inserts the possibility in the valuate turn which this time is a directive valuate turn. Then, he closes this movement by presenting a Recommendation (R) which consists of LFV structure.

In this movement, the editor still moves in the same attitude. It is clearly shown in the first and second triads. He keeps providing the coalition assaults. He also provides the possibility. And he closes it by using a discourse adjunct—however which functions as the previous discourse adjunct used. Furthermore, the editor shows his personal (newspaper) assessment toward Muammar el Qaddafi. In the V turn of the Situation (S), he called Muammar el Qaddafi as an 'erratic leader'. This proves that this editor has the view as the United States government who does not have any respect toward this leader. The editor attitude also appears in the L turn of the Recommendation triad. The lead is opened by a clear attitude as evidenced by:

We understand their desire to learn more about the rebels ô a disparate, disorganized and largely unknown group ô before making that decision. (sentence 13)

The italicized words emphasize the editor attitude. This means that the editor understands and trusts the coalition. He supports the coalition to observe the rebels first before making a decision whether to arm them or not. So, we might draw a conclusion that if the finding leads them to arm the rebels, the editor will support them. And also, if they decide not to arm the rebels, the will still be on the coalition side. However, this attitude can smoothly be delivered to the reader. It is supported by the follow turn which presents their plan in the future. Finally, the editor gives a concluder valuate turn which also states his view. This shows that he is waiting for what will come in the future.

In movement C, the editor returns to the triadic structure of the first movement, that is SD structure. The Situation (S) has an LFV turn structure. In

that #he world needs to know...' (sentence 16). I assume that he reminds the readers not to judge this coalition and its policies quickly. The readers need to observe it seriously that they will not make a wrong judgment towards it. The follow turn supports the lead. The editor shows that the allies would 'put right the damage that Qaddhafi has inflicted' (sentence 17). It means that the editor is showing the alliesø responsibility in facing this crisis. Moreover, the valuate turn which is a prophecy strengthens the editorøs attitude. He said that the decision taken by the allies will be 'a tall order' (sentence 18). The Development triad still presents the same idea. In the lead, the editor reminds that the United States and its allies have done great actions. Then in the valuate turn which is also a prophecy, the editor behaves more neutral by asking for the United States and its alliesø explanation towards their policies as well as waiting to witness the realization to solve the problem.

Finally, overall the analysis, the general attitude of the editor, especially the newspaper is clear. Through this editorial, the editor shows that the newspaper trusts the government. They believe that the United States and its allies will think twice in making a decision and will be responsible. This newspaper also shows that it does not support Muammar el Qaddafi in this battle. However, it does not show any exaggerated hatred towards Muammar el Qaddafi, nor exaggerated support to the coalition. This newspaper acts more as a mass media should be, that is controlling and protecting the right process in solving the problem.

#### 4.1.2. GOT A CLEAR LIBYAN AGENDA? (THE JAKARTA POST)

The following table presents the analysis of the second editorial. Some words are printed differently to identify the assigned meanings:

1. Bold : discourse adjunct

2. Italic : editor comments or attitudes

3. Bold and italic : world of possibilities

4. Dotted underline : valuate - concluder

5. Dashed underline : valuate - prophecy

6. Double underline : valuate - directive

Mov	Tr	Tn	s	Sentences
A	S	L	1	Now that NATO is taking the lead in enforcing the UN-sanctioned no-fly zone policy over Libya, what's next?
		V	2	This question can only be answered if the United  Nations knows what the endgame of its intervention  in the Libyan civil war is.
	D	L	3	Resolution 1973 of the Security Council issued on March 17 called for the imposition of a no-fly zone to protect civilians.
		F	4	Two days later, the United States, Britain and France launched air strikes against military forces

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				loyal to Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi,
				supposedly to prevent the massacre of civilians.
		V	5	Since the world very well knew about the horrible
				things Qaddafi's henchmen were capable of doing
				to his own people, not surprisingly, there was no
		1		opposition to the resolution, although there were
			D's	reservations expressed.
В	S	L	6	As the conflict drags on, it becomes clear that the
	S	-		civilians have armed themselves, not only in self-
M.	5'			defense but also in order to defend and capture
H	141			towns and territories.
1/ -	)	F	7	The game has changed from what was initially a
				peaceful popular uprising into an outright armed
W				rebellion.
		V	8	At this stage, the question becomes when would it
				be appropriate for the world to intervene in what
				are essentially the domestic affairs of a UN
				member, and to what extent should it intervene?
	D	L	9	US President Barack Obama, facing criticism at
				home for his decision to engage the United States in
				the military action against Libya, cited



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				humanitarian reasons.
				numamtarian feasons.
		F	10	He also stated that Qaddafi should leave to make
		(V)		way for democracy in Libya, but has ruled out any
				direct US role in bringing down the regime, and
				then he left the <b>possibility</b> of arming the rebels
				vague, saying itos not on the table but itos not off the
		7	D.S	table either.
С	S	L	11	President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyonoøs position is
	,9	7	4	similarly unclear as he calls for a ceasefire and
ľ	3			offers Indonesia to be part of the deployment of UN
Ш	// A	$\langle \cdot \rangle$		peacekeeping forces.
		A	JE 2	
17.	,	F	12	He is moving ahead of the United Nations in giving
11		1		legitimacy, implicit or otherwise, to the rebel
W			(	forces.
-		V	13	This position may seem progressive, but it could
1			1	backfire on Indonesia, which has had a long history
	7		_	of insurgencies, including an ongoing one now in
				Papua.
		т	1.4	A C' 1.1 C 1 ' C
	D	L	14	A ceasefire and the presence of peacekeeping forces
				raise the specter of splitting Libya into two
				countries.

	F	15	The world is now caught between the need for a
			humanitarian intervention and the need to respect
			the sovereignty of the Libyan government under
			Qaddafi.
	V	16	There are just no easy answers.
	- 1		

In this editorial, there are three movements (A, B and C). Movement A has an S-D triad structure. In the Situation triad, the editor presents LV turn. He welcomes the readers with a firm attitude. He opens the editorial with an interrogative form. This is a kind of eliciting triad. This question needs an answer. And the answer which actually is still unclear is presented in the V turn. The editor does not expand the information in F turn with an assumption that the readers know well enough about the case being discussed and its development as reported in many mass media recently. Therefore, he does not delay his evaluation which proposes a prophecy. Then, in the Development triad, the editor tends to explore more information. He provides the F turn in this triad. This means that he wants to share as many information as possible, hope that the readers keep in touch with the development of the crisis. Even in the V turn, the editor still inserts more information at the beginning of the sentence before finally closes the triad with a concluder.

In this first movement, the readers can easily figure out the editorøs attitude towards the intervention of the United States and its allies to Libya. By presenting an interrogative syntax 'what's next?' at the beginning of the editorial, I assume



that the editor wants to show his disappointment towards the United States decision to intervene Libya. He, then, continues showing his disappointment in the V turn, where he said \(\ddots...\) if the United Nations knows what the endgame of its intervention in the Libyan civil war is' (sentence 2). This means that the editor does not trust the United States with that decision.

Movement B consists of incomplete triad as well. Like in the first movement, there is only SD construction there. In the Situation, the editor presents an LFV turn structure. The starting point of this movement is not as firm as in the first one. The editor begins by sharing a new topic which no longer focuses on the intervention, but the Libyan rebels and their action. He expands the discussion by providing the development of the crisis. However, ultimately, he closes the triad with a prophecy which is a quite firm statement in the form of interrogative. Such kind of rhetorical question will lead to a critical thinking of the readers. The editor presents the world of possibility in triad D. In the lead turn, he issues a new topic. This shows that he tends to create an editorial which can deliver as many information as possible to the readers. However, he tries to simplify his sentences that the editorial will not be a too-long-writing which might cause boredom. This can be observed through the second part of triad D which I label as turn F(V). It means that in the turn, response toward the lead, as well as the directive evaluation towards the lead and follow are presented at once. At the end of the movement, the editor leaves the readers to give their own evaluation towards the United States attitude in overcoming this crisis. The editor writes that the United States even is facing criticism from its own people. Moreover, he



shows that the US government still does not have a certain plan to solve the problem.

The world that 'should be' is well presented in movement C. This movement is quite loyal to the two preceding movements, by containing only two triads. The first triad shares an LFV turn construction. The editor starts this triad by providing a new topic in the lead. He inserts the role of Indonesia here. This turn structure works as it should be. It means that the lead starts the topic, the follow response it, the valuate closes the triad. The Situation triad shows Indonesia@s position in this crisis. A firm concluder valuate is presented as the reminder to the government to take the right action which gives more advantage to Indonesia and Libya as well. The second triad shares the same turn construction. This triad surely develops the Situation. It provides a lead, which contains a new idea. This introduces the worst impact might appear because of the intervention-'splitting Libya into two countries' (sentence 14). The editor, then, provides the response which talks about the need for a humanitarian intervention and the need to respect the sovereignty of the Libyan government under Qaddafi. 'Sovereignty' (sentence 15) must be something forgotten when someone or parties that support the intervention talks about this intervention. However, the editor successfully discusses about this in his editorial. This signs that the editor aims to share as many ideas he could effort to share. Then he closes this triad and the artefact with a concluder valuate. Such editorial indeed builds a more educative and critical readers. In addition, the closing of the editorial which does not have any Recommendation triad leaves the readers to choose their own point of view to



finally create a great opinion even suggestion to help solving the crisis.

The whole editorial, eventually, shows its attitude towards the intervention of the United States and its allies in Libya. The firm opening of the editorial shows that the editor, who is in this case as the representation of the newspaper, does not agree with such kind of intervention. I assume that the editor would like to present the reasons why it should have not been taken, since he presents the fact that the United States still cannot find the right formula in its intervention to finish the crisis. Moreover, the editor serves the point of view towards the crisis and the intervention as someone who is not directly involved in the battle. Such point of view will enable readers to see the crisis not only from Qaddafiøs side or the rebels and the United States side, but also the side of the real civilians who actually wants to solve the countryøs internal problem with their current leading government and the people. In sort, this editorial serves more information and ideas to help the readers to understand the conflict develops in Libya.

#### 4.2. The Similarities and Differences

Based on the analyses above, the similarities and the differences of the two editorials can be figured out. The following are the findings of the similarities and the differences of the structure and the discourse of both editorials.

#### 4.2.1 The Similarities

There are some similarities found based on the result of the analysis. The following are the similarities found:

#### 1) The movement construction



The two editorials have complete movement construction which consists of ABC movement. This means that both editorials present the explanation about the event, provide the possibilities which might appear along with the development of the crisis, and give the major evaluation that refers back to the movement A and B.

#### 2) The Situation in movement A

In the Situation of movement A in each editorial, there is only an LV turn structure. This means that both editors tend to begin the writing without giving too many information with an assumption that the readers know the case well enough. The editors evaluate the L turn immediately to bring the readers into a quick thinking whether they would agree with the intervention or not.

#### 3) The Situation in movement B

The Situations in movement B contain the same turn structure, LFV. This shows that both editors try to serve more information and some possibilities that help the readers to view this crisis from different side. Moreover, the editors also help the readers to be more critical and sensitive to any possible things.

#### 4) The construction of movement C

Movement C in both editorials consists of only Situation and Development triads. It seems that the editors want to leave the readers without any Recommendation. By doing so, the readers would be



independent in deciding their attitude towards the crisis, without any doctrines delivered by the editors.

#### 4.2.2. The Differences

Some differences also exist between the editorials. The differences are then presented as follows:

#### 1) The Development in movement A

The New York Times and The Jakarta Post editorials have different turn construction in triad D of movement A. The New York Times has an LFLFV construction, while The Jakarta Post has a simpler one, LFV. This means that the New York Times editor presents more information in the first Development than the Jakarta Post editor. In other words, it means that by delaying the evaluation, the New York Times editor tries to negotiate the meaning with the readers a little longer.

#### 2) The lead in triad S in movement A

The two editors begin their writing in different ways. The New York Times editor begins by giving an overview about the intervention policy. While The Jakarta Post editor begins his writing with an interrogative syntax, without telling about the intervention. It seems that this editor understands that the readers know well enough about that policy. In addition, an interrogative is also more firm. So, the attitude of the editor looks clear here that he does not agree with the policy.



#### 3) The Development in movement B

The New York Times has only an LV construction, while the Jakarta Post has an LF(V) structure. I assume that The Jakarta Post editor is still trying to negotiate the meanings more with the readers.

#### 4) The Recommendation in movement B

The New York Times editorial contains this triad, while The Jakarta Post does not. This means that the editor of the New York Times gives evaluation toward the Situation and Development sequence in this movement. This may function to help the readers to view this crisis more accurately. However, the editor of The Jakarta Post prefers leaving his readers without any Recommendation. I assume that he wants the readers to construct their own opinion by themselves.

#### 5) The Development in movement C

The Development in movement C of the New York Times editorial is simpler than the Jakarta Postøs. It can be seen from the structure, where the New York Times has an LV structure, while The Jakarta Post has an LFV structure. It means that the New York Times editor wants to make a simple closing with strong sentences in L and V turn. While the Jakarta Post editor tends to give more information, aims that the readers would carefully decide their opinion.



#### 6) The function of valuate turns

The valuate turns presented in both editorials show different attitude of the editors. The New York Times which has seven V turns vary in that five of them are prophecies, and two others are concluder and directive V turns. While The Jakarta Post has six V turns. Three of them are concluders, two of which are prophecies and the rest is directive V turn. This indicates that The New York Times predict more than The Jakarta Post. It has a strong belief of probabilities for future developments. On the other side, The Jakarta Post tends to make concluders which is to intimate that a conclusion has been reached, with the reference to the present time.

#### 7) The newspapersøattitude

The New York Times shows that it supports its government decision. It trusts the United States and the allies, though it realizes that the goals cannot be easily achieved. However, it does not blindly put its trusty. It still asks for explanation about their plans and how they will end the crisis. On the other hand, The Jakarta Post tends to stand on the civilians position. It does not support the intervention, since it believes that the United States and its allies still cannot find the right solution to end the crisis. Moreover, it sees that the civilians as the real victims of the crisis prefer solving the crisis by themselves to experiencing an intervention by those who do not definitely know what is good for their future.

Overall the analysis, we can see that the two editorials show different tendencies in the structures as well as the attitude. The New York Times tends to



show variation of turns structures. This indicates that the editor builds a creative writing in order to negotiate meanings with the readers. By doing so, the readers will find it more and more interesting in following the editor guidance instead of finding a boredom. The readers will also grow more emotion and critical thinking when reading this editorial. On the other hand, the constant turn structure in The Jakarta Post will lead the readers to find it less attractive. With a relative constant structure, it is not impossible that the readers will feel bored. However, with a larger point of view proposed by the editor, the relative boring structure will be covered. This means that, though the structure is not attractive, the readers will still be able to enjoy reading the editorial because the content presents a wide overview.

The analysis of the editorials also shows that the English culture exists. The Jakarta Post, which is an editorial written by an editor from a non-English speaking country, does not show its native writing culture which is background form. In writing this English editorial, the editor has dropped that culture and totally come to the nature of writing an English text which is a foreground form. Therefore, this writing can be categorized as a qualified and professional writing.



#### **CHAPTER V**

#### **CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS**

In this chapter I present the conclusions I drew from the analysis conducted. Some suggestions also provided for those who are interested in conducting a linguistic study, especially on the same material and approach.

#### 5.1. Conclusions

After conducting the whole analysis towards the two editorials as presented in the previous chapter, I present the conclusions. The followings are the conclusions I drew based on the result of the analysis.

Editorial is a part of newspaper which serves an analysis of a current issue. It discusses the issue, provides the newspaper view towards the issue and aims to educate the readers to be more critical and smarter. Therefore, editorial plays an important role in shaping the public opinion.

Editorials have triadic structures which consist of up to three elements: an initiation that introduces an idea, a response to the initiation, and an evaluation towards the initiation and its response. These elements constitute the minimal unit of interaction in written text. The New York Times shows more variant structure than The Jakarta Post does.

The triadic structures of editorials vary based on the ideas the editors intend to share and the editorsø assumptions. These may be caused by the background of



the editors which influence their point of view and eventually influence their writing. In addition, the assumptions of the editors about the readersø knowledge on the issue might also influence their writing.

The attitude of both newspapers on Libyan crisis is clear. The New York Times tends to trusts the United States and its alliesø decision. However, it does not simply support them, but still asks for their explanation and waits for the solution to end the crisis. The Jakarta Post shows different attitude. It tends to stand as the neutral party and on the civiliansø point of view. It does not agree with the United States and its alliesø decision to invade Libya. It believes that they even do not have a certain solution to the crisis. It also presents the civiliansø expectation to solve the crisis with the current leading government without any intervention from other parties. These facts evidence that the presumptions I suggested earlier are proven.

English culture appears in both editorials. The Jakarta Post editorial does not show any influence of the native language cultures: background form. Both editorials are foreground form. Thus, the editor of The Jakarta Post who speaks English as second language has totally come into the English culture, leaving his native language culture when speaking English.

#### **5.2. Suggestions**

Conducting a study on editorial to find its attitude towards current issues is very interesting. Working with texts which may influence their readers is definitely attractive and I hope this study will be advantageous to its readers. Here I present



some suggestions for everyone who is also interested in analyzing editorials, especially the triadic structure of editorials.

- 1) As I said earlier, working with texts is definitely attractive. We can figure out many things conveyed in them, even sometimes the hidden ones. There is no other reason why this is attractive, besides that human continually produces texts in everyday life to communicate. Therefore, I strongly suggest analyzing texts, so that we will be more alert and better in using language.
- 2) Editorial has become one significant writing recently. It discusses current hot issues, provides much information, and helps its readers to be smarter and critical. However, each editor may have different writing styles based on his individual background and newspaperøs point of view. Thus, if you are really interested in analyzing texts, especially the discourse, editorial is an excellent choice. You will find totally smart, critical, debatable, and challenging thinking.





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# **APPENDIX**





The editorials of The New York Times and The Jakarta Post.

# The New Hork Times

## **Preserving the Coalition**

March 29, 2011

The United States, its allies and Libyan rebels all want to see Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi out of power and support United Nations-mandated military action to keep him from slaughtering innocent civilians. But as an international conference of those allies proved on Tuesday, they are going to have to work hard to maintain that unity of purpose, and they have a long way to go to flesh out a long-term strategy for Libya.

The London meeting, which drew leaders of four dozen countries and international organizations, was a useful attempt to intensify pressure on Colonel Qaddafi and magnify his diplomatic isolation. But the results were limited.

It set up a contact group to coordinate political efforts on Libyaøs future and backed an offer by Qatar to sell oil produced by the rebel-held parts of Libya to pay for humanitarian needs. The meeting also resolved to keep up the pressure for Colonel Qaddafi to quit. But it announced no significant new steps to aid the rebels and no broader vision for helping them establish an alternate government either now or once Colonel Qaddafi is gone.

The United States and its partners were right to make clear that ô even as their forces attack Libyan targets ô exile remains an option if Colonel Qaddafi ends the bloodshed. A United Nations envoy will visit Libya soon to explore that possibility. However, there is no serious sign the erratic leader might abdicate.

Although allied airstrikes helped rebels regain battlefield momentum, pro-Qaddafi forces on Tuesday halted a westward push by the rebels and began a counteroffensive. The allies should arm the rebels if needed, and both the United States and France said that is possible. We understand their desire to learn more about the rebels ô a disparate, disorganized and largely unknown group ô before making that decision.

Ahead of the conference, the interim rebel National Council issued an eight-point



statement on its blueprint for the future, including a constitutional democratic system that guaranteed elections and human rights. That is encouraging. There is a lot more the world needs to know about whom the council represents and how widely those principles are embraced.

On Tuesday, Prime Minister David Cameron of Britain also promised that the international community in time would õput right the damage that Qaddafi has inflicted.ö That will be a tall order.

The United States and its allies have taken on a huge burden and lofty goals. They have a lot more to explain about what they mean and how it all will be carried out.





# The Jakarta Post

## Got a clear Libyan agenda?

Fri. 04/01/2011 8:47 AM

Now that NATO is taking the lead in enforcing the UN-sanctioned no-fly zone policy over Libya, what next? This question can only be answered if the United Nations knows what the endgame of its intervention in the Libyan civil war is.

Resolution 1973 of the Security Council issued on March 17 called for the imposition of a no-fly zone to protect civilians. Two days later, the United States, Britain and France launched air strikes against military forces loyal to Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi, supposedly to prevent the massacre of civilians. Since the world very well knew about the horrible things Qaddafi henchmen were capable of doing to his own people, not surprisingly, there was no opposition to the resolution, although there were reservations expressed.

As the conflict drags on, it becomes clear that the civilians have armed themselves, not only in self-defense but also in order to defend and capture towns and territories. The game has changed from what was initially a peaceful popular uprising into an outright armed rebellion. At this stage, the question becomes when would it be appropriate for the world to intervene in what are essentially the domestic affairs of a UN member, and to what extent should it intervene?

US President Barack Obama, facing criticism at home for his decision to engage the United States in the military action against Libya, cited humanitarian reasons. He also stated that Qaddafi should leave to make way for democracy in Libya, but has ruled out any direct US role in bringing down the regime, and then he left the possibility of arming the rebels vague, saying it not on the table but it not off the table either.

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono¢s position is similarly unclear as he calls for a ceasefire and offers Indonesia to be part of the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces. He is moving ahead of the United Nations in giving legitimacy, implicit or otherwise, to the rebel forces. This position may seem progressive, but it could backfire on Indonesia, which has had a long history of insurgencies, including an ongoing one now in Papua. A ceasefire and the presence of peacekeeping forces raise the specter of splitting Libya into two countries.

The world is now caught between the need for a humanitarian intervention and the need to respect the sovereignty of the Libyan government under Qaddafi. There are just no easy answers.