

**A Contrastive Analysis of Newspaper Opinion Pieces in English  
and Spanish: A Cultural Perspective**

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**Abstract:**

*The aim of this analysis is to compare and contrast two sets of newspaper opinion articles, one in English and one in Spanish, in order to find signs of cultural differences between the two sets. The corpus was analyzed from the Genre Analysis Theory drawing from BTU methodology and Systemic Functional Analysis. The results show that there is no significant difference among the two groups in terms of move and step segmentation, as well as of rhetorical and linguistic differences. However, we can perceive slight variation of move and step segmentation among the Spanish group as opposed to the English one. Also, while rhetorical and linguistic features seem to be predominantly homogeneous, there seems to be variation according to the register of the newspaper and of the writer in particular, as it has been mentioned in previous studies. This appreciation should be further analyzed in subsequent studies, perhaps singling out aspects to be analyzed in isolation and in greater detail than was the scope of the present work.*

**Key words:**

**Newspaper editorials, Op-ed, culture, linguistics, contrastive rhetoric, systemic functional analysis, genre analysis, move analysis.**

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<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YMyofREc5Jk>

*“Para persuadir hay que tener en cuenta a la persona que se quiere considerar, conocer su espíritu y su corazón, los principios con los que acuerda, qué cosas ama; luego tomar en cuenta el asunto que se trata, qué relaciones tiene con los principios sostenidos. El arte de persuadir consiste en agradar y en convencer, los hombres se gobiernan más por el capricho que por la razón.”*

*Pascal*

*“The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group.”*

*Edward Sapir*

## **Introduction:**

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is arguably one of the most fascinating and at the same time controversial theory in linguistics. Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf suggested the possibility that grammatical differences among languages reflected differences in the way speakers of different languages perceive the world. The interaction of language and thought has been studied and researched since the earliest philosophers. No one can deny that language and thought interact in many different ways.

Linguistic determinism, as the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis became to be known, argues that differences between languages influence the ways people think—perhaps the ways in which whole cultures are organized. Whorf proposed: 'We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way—an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language' (Whorf, 1940; in Carroll, 1956, pp. 213-4). And, in the words of Sapir: 'Human beings...are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. ...The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a

large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group' (Sapir, 1929; in Mandelbaum, 1958, p. 162).

However, linguistic determinism has been widely challenged and eventually it has given way to linguistic relativism, or a much weaker version of this idea, which claims that linguistic categories and usage *influence* thought and decisions.

In the past decade, cognitive science has made some progress analyzing the concepts of time, space and causality in different languages. An interesting example is the case of the Pormpuraau aboriginal community in Australia. Their language lacks the words for “right” and “left”. That doesn't mean they cannot express these concepts; rather, they relate their concepts to absolute cardinal directions (north, south, east and west). For example, if they were to say “There is a spider to your left”, they would express it as “There is a spider to your southwest”. This means, the members of that community have very developed orientation skills due to their linguistic training. Whereas, when a speaker asked an English speaking audience in an auditorium to close their eyes and point to the North, the result was indexes pointing at every possible direction.

So, how far do language and thought influence each other? Most of the linguistic studies delving into this matter have focused on linguistic characteristics which define languages, such as the presence or absence of certain signifiers correspondent to a certain signified. For example, the second person singular pronoun in English as opposed to the formal and the familiar second person singular pronoun in Spanish of Argentina (*You* vs. *vos / usted*), or the many nouns describing a greater variety of types of snow in Inuit languages.

But what about the conscious or unconscious selection of words and phrases in place of other possible options? Why do we get the feeling that some societies are “more polite” than others from a linguistic point of view? Do habits influence language and thought? And does language encourage or constrain attitude?

A social dimension must come into consideration when one is to address these questions. If we consider the expression in English “Would you be so kind as to...” is it “socially” equivalent to “Serías tan amable de...” Where does this

phrase in Spanish stand in the “politeness” scale, and where in the “usage” scale? Do they correlate one to one in English and Spanish?

So far these issues have been addressed and analyzed mostly from the cognitive point of view and results have been quite mixed. Our suggestion is to apply a sociolinguistic framework and incorporate the perspectives of Genre Analysis. This study aims at looking into comparable texts in English and Spanish, written by their respective native speakers in the hope of finding differences that would point towards cultural variation.

Newspaper opinion articles have been selected to comprise the corpus of this study since they are considered the “voice of the time” in that they express the current issues at stake in a society at a given time. Van Dijk (1995) states that editorials are public types of opinion pieces which play a definitive role in the formation and altering of public opinion. Their argumentative line of thought is intended to persuade, therefore they very much need to appeal, or be familiar to their audience, and draw upon models that have become normal within their culture. O’Keefe (2002) suggests that “Persuasion involves changing persons’ mental states usually as precursors to behavioral change. It has often been conceived of as fundamentally involving attitude change either in the valence or in the extremity of evaluation.” (p.32). All this brings us to believe that there might be traces belonging to a specific culture in texts produced within this particular environment. Bhatia (1993) mentions that “it has been well known for some time that various cultures organize and develop ideas differently when writing expository texts”.

We believe results on this line of research have a direct impact not only on ESP language classes, but also on the translation practice and even on Spanish language studies, as well as in the academic and professional environments.

## **Theoretical Framework:**

*“Culture refers to dynamic social systems and shared patterns of behavior, beliefs, knowledge, attitudes and values. Culture provides the environment in which languages develop, even as it influences how they are used and interpreted. For example, in many European cultures a “good day” is a sunny day, while in many African cultures a “good day” is a rainy day. Different culturally shared values provide the context for interpreting the term for “good.”*

From [www.sil.org](http://www.sil.org)

*Contrastive Rhetoric* (CR) started in 1966 when Robert Kaplan analyzed the role of transfer from native language to the target language, in a study on ESL students writing in English. The main focus of CR has been on second language writing, analyzing text patterns in L1 and comparing results to L2. Kaplan stated that different cultures organize their discourse in different ways and using different strategies, therefore the results of his studies became instrumental in ESL teaching: “He believed that if students could see and become conscious of the way they organize their text in their native language and the way typical English texts are organized, then they could better approximate the text characteristics of English and apply it in their L2 writing” (Farrokhi, 2015).

In the work of Connor we can see an expansion of CR from the product of ESL students to genres and texts from different cultures written by their native speakers. The aim was to focus on specific features of discourse and analyze different L1 texts from different cultural backgrounds to determine usage and frequency of these features.

### *Systemic Functional Analysis*

In 1994 Hallyday published his detailed functional grammar of modern English, where he showed how simultaneous strands of meaning are expressed in clause structure. The ultimate focus of his analysis is on "authentic products of social interaction (texts), considered in relation to the cultural and social context in which they are negotiated." "Hallyday's interest has always been with the meaning of language in use in the textual processes of social life, or the 'sociosemantics of texts'. (Egins, 2004). Systemic Functional Linguistics



consists of a functional-semantic approach to language which explores how people use language in different contexts and how language is structured for use as a semiotic system. Its ultimate aim is to develop a theory about language as social process and an analytical methodology which allows for a systematic description of language patterns.

While genre analysis' main focus is identifying the schematic structure of genres, systemic functional analysis (SFA) is fundamental in analyzing the realization of each element within the schematic structure. This is the reason why we will draw from SFA theory in order to complement and enrich our analysis of the corpus.

### *Genre Analysis*

During the past two decades there has been an increasing interest in the study of genre. First mostly thought of as applicable to literary genres, genre has lately become a popular framework for analyzing the form and rhetorical function of non-literary discourse, such as research articles, news reports, editorials, etc. As Bhatia points out, "Genre Analysis as an insightful and thick description of academic and professional texts has become a powerful and useful tool to arrive at significant form-function correlations which can be utilized for a number of applied linguistic purposes".

Genre analysis is essentially based on the assumption that "the features of a similar group of texts depend on the social context of their creation and use". (Hyland, 2002, p.114). Swales provides a definition of genre that focuses on the communicative purpose of discourse:

*A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style. Communicative purpose is both a privileged criterion and one that operates to keep the scope of a genre as here conceived narrowly focused on comparable rhetorical action. In addition to purpose, exemplars of genre exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content, and intended audience. If all high probability expectations are realized, the exemplar will be viewed as prototypical by the parent discourse community. The genre names inherited and produced by discourse communities and imported by others*

*constitute valuable ethnographic communication, but typically need further validation. (p.58)*

Swales (1981) analyses a corpus of 45 research article introductions and finds the majority of them follow a 4-move rhetorical pattern:

- Establishing the field,
- Summarizing previous research,
- Preparing for present research, and
- Introducing present research.

In later work, Swales reviews this model and proposes a more specific analysis: a 3-move Create a Research Space (CARS) model:

- Establishing the territory,
- Locating a research niche, and
- Occupying the niche.

Later work on genre analysis has applied Swales Move Analysis to other genres, including the newspapers editorials.

#### *Analysis of Newspaper Editorials*

Newspaper editorials have been researched extensively in the study of ideology, but little has been said about their linguistic behavior from a cross-cultural perspective with respect to structural and functional strategies.

Bhatia (1993) proposed a model for the editorial's structure, which involves moves such as:

- Presenting the case,
- Discussing alternatives,
- Reaching a verdict, and
- Recommending action.

Van Dijk (1993) analyzes the rhetorical structure of editorials dividing editorials into three sections containing arguments. These sections could contain several stages with each their own function. The sections are: the Introduction section, the Intermediate section and the Coda.

Katajamaki and Koskela (2006) have followed this same pattern in order to analyze editorials in English, Swedish and Finnish business newspapers to find that they mostly followed the proposed three-party structure with minor variations.

Bolivar (1994), analyzing editorials from an English newspaper, also found a three-move structure (Situation, Development, and Recommendation), but he signaled three steps under each move, which he called a “triad”, consisting of Lead, Follow and Value.

In another study on the rhetorical structure of the Washington Times editorials, Ansary and Babaii (2005), found a four-move structure which they named:

- Run-on headline,
- Addressing and Issue,
- Argumentation, and
- Articulating a Position.

Bonyadi (2010) analyzed editorials from The New York Times and Teheran Times, and compared them in their structure. He identified three rhetorical moves in both groups: The Introduction, The Body and The Ending. His findings agreed with previous studies in that both papers used similar sections in their editorials. However, what he found different were the strategies writers used to achieve their communicative purpose. For example, “in the Introduction part, the NYT editorials were more evaluative than those in TT while TT editorials Introductions were more factual. Also, use of personal pronoun in NYT outnumbered that of TT. And in the Ending, TT editorials ended by an informative comment but the NYT editorials did not suffice to that and besides providing information, went further to make a prediction or state a necessity.” (Sabzevari, 2013)

While all these studies have shown a relative homogeneity of the overall rhetorical structure of editorials, they have mostly remained either too broad and generic in their analysis, or they have remained within a discourse community, i.e. English.

Therefore, this paper attempts to compare and contrast the rhetorical structure of two diverse discourse communities, as are English-American and the Argentinean Spanish, not only in the macro level (moves), but also at the micro level (steps). We hope for this kind of analysis to provide a comprehensive framework to distinguish linguistic factors that may be determined by the socio-cultural environment rather than conventionalized genre forms.

**Statement of the Problem:**

Are there cultural differences in the rhetoric of newspaper opinion articles written in English and in Spanish by their respective native speakers?

What linguistic differences can be perceived, if any, and what is their effect?

**Significance of the Study:**

Most of discourse studies have focused on either the quantitative analysis of specific linguistics features and their incidence and distribution, or the analysis of higher level structures in a limited amount of texts samples, remaining rather general and vague. Here we attempt to look into and describe the defining and optional structures of the genre (moves), as well as to go into more detailed analysis of the steps within the moves and the linguistic features that realize these moves and steps. The study aims at comparing and contrasting the two groups of opinion pieces in English and in Argentinean Spanish, so as to show possible cultural differentiations between them.

**Objectives:**

To compare and contrast newspaper opinion articles written in English and Spanish by native speakers, within and for their respective cultural environments. To analyze their similarities and differences from the theory of Genre Analysis and drawing from SFA Theory, in order to find patterns that could eventually be related or not to cultural traces.

**Hypothesis:**

Newspaper opinion pieces draw upon and promote modes of expression typical of the culture they belong in.

**Materials and Methods:**

**Corpus:** The corpus of the present study consists of 20 opinion articles from the Opinion or Op-eds sections of daily newspapers: 10 written by English and American authors for their respective English and American newspapers, and 10 from Argentinean writers, written for Argentinean newspapers. All selected within a four-month timeframe from June to September 2016.

The newspapers analyzed were randomly chosen among the best known in their respective countries. The newspapers are characterized as follows:

English	
United Kingdom	
The Telegraph	Broadsheet. 494,675 copies a day.  Conservative. Its reporting is considered to be quite good regardless of its strong political bent.
Express	Mid-Market Tabloid. 457,914 copies a day.  The first to report on gossip and sports to any significant degree. These days, though, it's best known for its demonization of immigrants to the point of straight-up racism.
Independent	Broadsheet. 61.338 copies a day.  The Independent is considerably younger than the other broadsheets and was set up to be genuinely independent compared to the other papers. It didn't exactly work out; it stopped print publication entirely in March 2016, although it's still available online.  It's become outspoken; it just took a third option and went more or less with the Liberal Democrats. It's also particularly outspoken on environmental issues, obsessing over them in much the same way the right-wing tabloids cover immigration.
Mirror	Red-Top Tabloid. 992,235 copies a day.  The Daily Mirror is a generally left-wing tabloid, though as a populist paper it can veer to the right on issues like crime.
United States of America	
New York Times	Switched to tabloid format in 2005, and back to broadsheet for international issues in 2015  Founded in 1851. Daily read of the East Coast intelligentsia, Despite its fame, it's still not recession-proof — for the first time in history, it now runs ads on the front page. Despite nominally being a New York paper, a national edition of it is easily available in most parts of the country, if only by being the paper sold at most Starbucks (which also gives a hint as to its readership).
USA Today	Broadsheet. 1.021.638 daily prints. 2.477.194 print and digital.  Has the widest circulation of any American newspaper. While it is

	frequently derided as lightweight journalism (it's sometimes called the "McPaper"), it has broken a few important stories in recent years.
Spanish	
Argentina	
La Nación	<p>Broadsheet. 159,486 copies a day.</p> <p>One of the most prestigious newspapers in Argentina. Tends to lean center-right with a liberal and conservative ideology. Housed many prestigious writers. Considered most important newspaper in the country.</p>
Clarín	<p>Tabloid. 229,633 copies a day.</p> <p>Highest circulation in Argentina and one of the first tabloids in the world. Started as a more independent newspaper and balanced in its views. Yet considered second most important newspaper after La Nación.</p>
El Cronista	<p>Started as broadsheet, then a tabloid.</p> <p>First business newspaper in Argentina. Since 1986 a widespread newspaper.</p>
Infobae	<p>Digital format.</p> <p>News and economics. Conservative.</p>

From: <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/Newspapers> and Wikipedia

**Instrumentation:** In order to compare and analyze probable differences in rhetorical characteristics in English and Spanish newspaper opinion pieces, Genre Theory Analysis will be applied to provide a broad framework of analysis, within which Move Analysis becomes instrumental.

A corpus based approach has been chosen to find general discourse patterns that are typical in each set of texts, and/or in all texts, but at the same time analyze the quantitative distribution of grammatical features. Therefore, we attempt to combine a quantitative and a qualitative approach of analysis, starting by defining the general and specific text organization structures. These structures will be defined applying Swales Move Analysis, as a top-down method, where “each move represents a stretch of text serving a particular communicative function.” (Upton & Cohen, 2009). Swales and Bhatia’s analysis will be taken as starting points in order to establish an analytical framework, applying their moves typology to the identification and description of the move

types that can occur in the genre in a few texts. This will allow us to segment selected texts into moves, and describing the move type. Therefore the overall discourse structure will be noted regarding the sequence of move types. This structure will be analyzed in the subsequent texts in order to find defining and optional moves within the genre. Once all texts have been segmented and analyzed in their high-level structures, and their steps within this moves, the typical linguistic characteristics will be analyzed so as to find the strategies used by the two groups of texts.

Most analysis applying move theory, including even Swales' have focused mainly on the move level, therefore the conclusions have remained rather vague. Subsequent works --as stated in the literature-- have remained at a high level structure analysis, or have misinterpreted the concept due to the lack of a detailed description of its application. Upton and Cohen, in their "An Approach to Corpus-Based Discourse Analysis: The Move Analysis as Example" provide a detailed application of Move Analysis combining Swales' concepts and Biber's detailed description of its application. The Bieber Connor Upton (BCU) Approach, as it has been known, provides seven major analytical steps that must be followed to better achieve discourse structure descriptions. Table one (extracted from Upton & Cohen, 2009) shows the BCU Approach:

Table 1: *BCU Approach: top-down corpus-based analysis of discourse organization*

<i>Required step in the analysis</i>	<i>Realization in this approach</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Communicative / Functional categories</li> </ul>	Develop the analytical framework: determine set of possible functional types of discourse units, that is, the major communicative functions that discourse units can serve in corpus.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Segmentation</li> </ul>	Segment each text into discourse units (applying the analytical framework from Step 1)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Classification</li> </ul>	Identify the functional type of each discourse unit in each text of the corpus (applying the analytical framework from Step 1)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Linguistic analysis of each unit</li> </ul>	Analyze the lexical / grammatical characteristics of each discourse unit in each text in the corpus
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Linguistic description of discourse categories</li> </ul>	Describe the typical linguistic characteristics of each functional category, based on analysis of all discourse units of a particular functional type in the corpus
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Text structure</li> </ul>	Analyze complete texts as sequences of discourse units shifting among the different functional types
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Discourse organizational tendencies</li> </ul>	Describe the general patterns of discourse organization across all texts in the corpus



Upton and Cohen claim that the BCU application to Move Analysis renders “more thorough and informative results” (2009)

The following table describes the application of the BCU methodology:

Table 2: *BCU Approach: Application to corpus-based move analysis*

<i>Required step in the corpus-based discourse analysis (See Table 1)</i>	<i>Application to move analysis</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Communicative / Functional categories</li> </ul>	Determine rhetorical purpose of the genre Determine rhetorical function of each text segment in its local context: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identify the possible move types of the genre.</li> <li>Group functional and/or semantic themes that are either in relative proximity to each other or often occur in similar locations in representative texts. These reflect the specific steps that can be used to realize a broader move.</li> <li>Conduct pilot-coding to test and fine tune definitions of move purposes</li> <li>Develop coding protocol with clear definitions and examples of move types and steps.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Segmentation</li> </ul>	Segment full set of texts into moves. (This step in a move analysis is done concurrently with step 3: Classification) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Run inter-rater reliability check to confirm that there is clear understanding of move definitions and how move/steps are realized in texts.</li> <li>Identify any additional steps and/or moves that are revealed in the full analysis</li> <li>Revise coding protocol to resolve any discrepancies revealed by the Inter-rater reliability check or by newly “discovered” moves/steps, and re-code problematic areas.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Classification</li> </ul>	Classify all moves by move type
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Linguistic analysis of each unit</li> </ul>	Conduct linguistic analysis of all moves representing each move type.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Linguistic description of discourse categories</li> </ul>	Describe move types in terms of the linguistic features of the moves.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Text structure</li> </ul>	Analyze the move structure of each text in terms of move types.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Discourse organizational tendencies</li> </ul>	Describe the corpus of texts in terms of typical and alternate move structures.

The major methodological problem we find in the practice (as well as in the literature) is to define the units of analysis (the move) that segment the texts, being either defining or optional to the genre. Studies which have concentrated on quantitative use of a certain grammatical feature have relied on the researcher or even on computational mechanisms. In the present study, qualitative analysis is not as easy: for the researcher, in the attempt to segment and define moves and steps, some degree of subjectivity is likely to pervade the analysis. To minimize this factor, previous studies have adopted different methodologies, such as running a survey to analyze data and draw generalizations, or use specialists that would control the researcher's definitions, and in case of disagreement, solve it by discussions or bringing in a third party. In the present study, two informant specialists were consulted so as to verify the researchers' criteria of analysis and description.

**Procedure:** 20 newspaper articles were chosen randomly from American, English and Argentinean newspapers. 10 were extracted from English or American newspapers and written by English and American authors; 10 were extracted from Argentinean newspapers and written by Argentinean authors, as follows:

English		Spanish (Argentina)	
The Telegraph (UK)	1	La Nación	3
Express (UK)	2	Clarín	2
Independent (UK)	2	El Cronista	2
Mirror (UK)	1	Infobae	3
New York Times (USA)	1		
USA Today (USA)	3		

The opinion pieces were analyzed from a Genre perspective applying Swales and Bhatia move analysis to compare and contrast main structures and

functions, following the BCU approach described in Table 2, and drawing from SFA theory.

The following are the texts analyzed (See Appendix 1):

English:

- 1.- German voters are rejecting open-door immigration policies. When will Angela Merkel start listening? The Telegraph
- 2.- Vanessa Feltz: The wisdom of age is a terrible waste. Express
- 3.- Kristie Allsopp's advice for young women to ditch university shows society needs to change. Mirror
- 4.- Happy Mondays: We can all learn to be a little kinder to ourselves. Express
- 5.- Donald Trump is painting a new image of himself –and it may just secure him the presidency. Independent
- 6.- While Clinton, Trump brawl, Obama raises: Our view. USA Today
- 7.- Pay to Play, Mr Trump? The New York Times
- 8.- Mother Theresa wasn't a saintly person –she was a shrewd operator with unpalatable views who knew how to build up a band. Independent
- 9.- Force the debate against Obama: Opposing view. USA Today
- 10.- We need a border fence, and more: Opposing view. USA Today

Spanish:

- 11.- Los derechos humanos de las personas mayores. La Nación
- 12.- El viaje de Macri a China: mucho más que una cumbre del G20. La Nación
- 13.- El lado B de un justiciero por mano propia. La Nación
- 14.- Esperando al segundo semestre... como Beckett. Clarín
- 15.- El respeto por las reglas de juego pesa tanto como una economía sana. El Cronista
- 16.- La verdad sobre los subsidios energéticos en Argentina. Infobae
- 17.- Una pequeña reflexión para los indignados con Pokémon Go. Infobae
- 18.- San Martín, héroe y ejemplo para los argentinos. Infobae
- 19.- Inseguridad: la ley del más débil. Clarín
- 20.- Los desafíos de Brasil y un cambio de época en América latina. El Cronista

**Results and Discussion:**

- *Register Description: Field, Tenor and Mode*

Based on the lexico-grammatical analysis, aspects of Field, Tenor and Mode were perceived as follows:

Text	Source	Field	Tenor	Mode
1	The Telegraph	Politics	Neutral	Written to be read
2	Express	Life style	relatively Informal	Written conversational tone
3	Mirror	Life style	Informal, Familiar	Written. Oral conversational tone
4	Express	Life style	Informal	Written to be read
5	Independent	Politics	Informal, familiar	Written conversational tone
6	USA Today	Politics	Neutral	Written to be read
7	New York Times	Politics	Formal	Written to be read
8	Independent	Profiles	Informal, familiar	Written conversational tone
9	USA Today	Politics	Neutral	Written to be read
10	USA Today	Politics	Neutral	Written to be read
11	La Nación	Society	Neutral	Written to be read
12	La Nación	Politics	Neutral	Written to be read
13	La Nación	Society	Relatively Informal	Written to be read
14	Clarín	Politics	Neutral	Written to be read
15	El Cronista	Politics	Neutral	Written to be read
16	Infobae	Politics / Economy	Neutral	Written to be read
17	Infobae	Lifestyle	Relatively Informal	Written oral tone
18	Infobae	Society	Formal	Written to be read
19	Clarín	Society	Neutral	Written to be read
20	El Cronista	Politics	Formal	Written to be read

- *Definition of Move Types*

The texts were analyzed in order to determine the set of possible functional types of discourse units or moves. The following move types were defined as the most generalized discourse units in the genre:

- 1.- Presenting the Case
- 2.- Argumenting
- 3.- Concluding
- 4.- Recommending Action

- *Segmentation Into Moves*

Texts were analyzed to check for the general categories found above or any additional moves not previously identified. Then they were segmented into their move structure.

Text	Move 1 Presenting the case	Move 2 Argumenting	Move 3 Concluding	Move 4 Recommending action
1	√	√	√	√
2	√	√	√	
3	√	√	√	√
4	√	√	√	√
5	√	√	√	√
6	√	√	√	
7	√	√	√	
8	√	√	√	
9	√	√	√	√
10	√	√	√	√
11	√	√	√	
12	√	√	√	
13	√	√	√	
14	√	√	√	√
15	√	√		√
16	√	√	√	
17	√	√	√	√
18	√	√	√	√
19	√	√	√	√
20	√	√		

From our analysis, we could observe that the move categories previously developed as possible functional types of discourse units were mostly present in all text with very little variation in two categories. No other functional units were recognized at this level. As shown in the chart above, Move 1 and Move 2 are present in all texts; Move 3 is present in almost all texts and Move 4 in the majority of them. This shows a consistency in the structure of the genre: Move 1

and 2, considered as the two fundamental categories to the genre, are present in all texts, Move 3, the conclusion, is not present in only a few texts, but otherwise mostly present, and Move 4, Recommending action, appears as the most dispensable of all categories.

The two contrasted groups (English and Spanish) showed consistency in the categories that were present in all texts (Moves 1 and 2) but in the less-occurring categories we can see a difference in Move 3, Conclusion, where although present in all texts in English, we find a few Spanish texts where the move is not present. Regarding Move 4, Recommending action, we find a very similar percentile incidence in variation. At this point in the research, the result of this study agrees mostly with previous works in finding consistency in the genre structure across cultures with a demarcation for required and non-required moves. Yet, we do see a difference in Move 3 in that texts in Spanish do not seem to be as rigorous including this stage in the argumentation, while all texts in English seem to regard this move as required of the genre. What's more, while a consistent variation in the occurrence of moves between texts addressed to different social segments has been informed in previous works, this difference has not become apparent within the scope of this analysis.

- *Move Sequencing*

In a further stage of analysis, moves were sequenced to show their pattern of occurrence in each text. Likewise, their internal structure of each move of each text was analyzed to find rhetoric steps and the linguistic features that composed them. This stage of analysis allowed to look into more detail and to confirm or correct any doubt in the segmentation process described above. If a need for correction were to be found, the necessary adjustments were performed to previous work. It is in this more detailed stage of analysis that we presumed further differences could arise.

The following table shows the sequence of occurrence of moves for each text:

Text	Move order						
	1º	2º	3º	4º	5º	6º	7º
1	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3	Move 4			
2	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3				
3	Move 1	Move 2	Move 4	Move 3	Move 2	Move 4	Move 3
4	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3	Move 4			
5	Move 1	Move 2	Move 4	Move 3			
6	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3				
7	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3				
8	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3				
9	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3/4				
10	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3/4				
11	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3				
12	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3				
13	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3				
14	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3	Move 4			
15	Move 1	Move 2	Move 4				
16	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3				
17	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3/4				
18	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3	Move 4			
19	Move 1	Move 2	Move 4	Move 3			
20	Move 1	Move 2					

As can be seen in the previous table, moves have a defined sequence within each text, with the difference laying on either omission or repetition. No significant differences were found regard sequencing.

- *Internal Structure Analysis of Moves:*

Move 1: Presenting the Case

Text	Steps	Rhetorical devices / linguistic features	Lexical choices
1	Step 1: Describe political scenario	Structure repetition Markedness (focus)	For the... is... / For the... is...
	Step 2: Emphasize possible scenario	Emphasis	even
2	Step 1: Describe usual life struggle at a young age	Listing usual situations Structure repetition Markedness	..that our mother... / that burning... / that the chap... Agonizingly.., we... / Painfully gradually, we...
	Step 2: Slow learning	Listing Structure repetition	We come... / We work... / We comprehend... / We grasp...
	Step 3: Addressing the issue	Questions addressing audience. Supposedly quotes reader's questions. Addressing reader directly.	Conversational tone: Of course.. / I hear you ask...
3	Step 1: KA's sparked a debate	Quoting source	She told... "At the moment..."
	Step 2: Reasoning behind KA's idea	Direct speech report	Darling, do you know what? I'll help you...
4	Step 1: Two types of people	Generalization / categorizing	Those who... / those who...
	Step 2: Personal experience: self-blame	Examples	
	Step 3: General statement: wish to change		If only we could...
	Step 4: British outlook	Statement as general belief	To accept.. is to...
5	Step 1: New Trump? New advisor	Rhetorical questions Short categorical sentences	
	Step 2: New strategy?	Informal tone Irony Quotes	Surely; "Factual inaccuracies"; his beautiful wall
6	Step 1: Obama's rating low	Time sequence Poll results	As this year begun... / These days...
	Step 2: Obama's rating high	Citing sources (poll)	
	Step 3: Thesis statement: Remarkable recovery	Statement	This is...
7	Step 1: Contrast	Quote sources	



	situation and quote		
	Step 2: Thesis statement: Trump and Ms Bondi violated public trust	Concession Quote sources	While... there is little doubt...
8	Step 1: Mother Theresa being made a saint	Quote Emphasis	I do intend...
	Step 2: Reason: Thesis statement: She is a "brand".	Rhetorical questions Irony	Why is this particular...? confirmed miracles ( don't get me started)
9	Step 1: Two reasons for Obama's rising poll numbers	Implicature	There are two ways... :
	Step 2: Accomplishments	Listing	The first... Everything else Obama <i>touts</i> ...
	Step 3: Writer's thesis: Lack of serious legislative action	Listing	The second
10	Step 1: Fences in the world.	Numbers	65 countries...
	Step 2: Fences are important	General statement Contrast	Fences do not.. but are..
	Step 3: Congress acknowledges need	Past tense	In 2006, .. acknowledged..
	Step 4: No action taken now	Contrast in time	A decade later.. unfulfilled
	Step 5: Writer's thesis: Need to enforce immigration laws	Contrast / state the need Contrast / criticism State position	While..., we must Instead of, we... Those incentives.. more enticing -on purpose.
11	Step 1: Respetar a los mayores. Leyes.	Listing common experiences Generalizations	Hay situaciones...
	Step 2: OEA Protección personas mayores	Markedness Examples Statements as general truths Description Listing Consequence	Son las leyes las que... OEA, Constitución Nacional El respeto... incluye.. exige...  Es asi como...
	Step 3: Constitución Nacional	Quote sources	para la seguridad...
	Step 4: Antecedentes internacionales	Description / reference	leves Mandela Al respecto..
	Step 5: Naciones Unidas	Description	adoptaron... Sus principios fueron... Prohíben...
	Step 6: Juez rechazó	Situation	Días pasados

	pedido prisión domiciliaria adulto mayor	Quote	La atrocidad no tiene edad.
12	Step 1: Resultados cumbres presidenciales	Statement as general truths Emphasis Contrast	Se sabe que... Más bien... Pero
	Step 2:	General/specific situations	
13	Step 1: China siglo XIII	Hypothetical situations. Narration	frente a... un hombre corta..
	Step 2: Fuego y las armas	Contrast	Domina el fuego / No domina armas de fuego
14	Step 1: Waiting for Godot	Example: Parallel situation. Quote	Samuel Beckett escribe.. ...aguardan al costado.. "aparentemente no vendrá..
	Step 2: Comparison Becket - Govnt	Comparison	Guardan paralelismo.. dos actos.. semestre
	Step 3: Government	Hypothesis Questions Quotes	Expectativas serían.. Aguardar a qué o a quién? "el clima de negocios"
15	Step 1: Reinserción de Argentina	Future time means	Dentro de seis días.. creará.. A través de un evento..
16	Step 1: Ejemplo Padre educador	Hypothetical situation Addressing audience	Imaginemos... Un día... no sé bien qué pensará el lector...
	Step 2: Informe FMI: subsidio energía	Rhetorical question Statement	A qué viene..? La gran mayoría... destina..
	Step 3: Utilización de la información	Involvement of audience in writer's opinion Rhetorical question Statement. 1st person Emphasis	Obviamente..  La pregunta es si.. Mi respuesta es... negativa Rotundamente
17	Step 1: Pokemon Go: última noticia	Past tense  Confront  Short sentences. Strength	En los últimos días.. fue.. causó .. en todo el mundo.. en Infobae.. Como la mayoría de las notas..
	Step 2: Repercusiones	Lexical chains Listing  Short sentence	lectores.. comentaristas.. criticaron, denostaron y repudiaron.. Y también a los que..
18	Step 1: San Martín, gran prócer americano	Location. Time  Degree Background. Past events	hoy 17 de agosto conmemoramos.. máximos Nació.. se trasladó.. arribó..

19	Step 1: El rol del estado, la justicia y la sociedad	Example Necessity	El reciente caso... .. que obliga..
20	Step 1: Brasil necesita restablecer credibilidad	Statement Necessity Reference	Brasil empieza un ciclo.. ..la necesidad de.. Todos objetivos.. Proceso traumático.. temporariamente afectada...

### Move 2: Argumenting

Text	Steps	Rhetorical devices / linguistic features	Examples
1	Step 1: Background information.		
	Step 2: Reason: Merkel immigration		
	Step 3: M's position on Immigration Vs voters'	negative stance	Insists (-); willfully ignored (-); insisted on (-)
2	Step 1: Describe present situation: old age	Structure repetition	We know... but... / We've learned... but... / We've cracked... but...
3	Step 1: Katie Hind's stance for KA.	Rhetorical questions Conversational tone	
	Step 2: Gemma Aldridge's stance against KA.	Conversational tone Quotes Irony Addressing opponent directly	What, and then we say, yes sir... "I think if you're a man..." When do we women get to have fun", K?
4	Step 1: Self blame	General statement	To accept ourselves., is to..
	Step 2: Advice: Past does not define you	Advice	Remember... You don't have to..
5	Step 1: Presentation: Mexico City. Positive Phoenix. Negative	Informal tone: Surprise Contrast	Heaves, one thought... But... / Yet...
	Step 2: Positive: Trump's policies Vs Obama's		
	Step 3: Negative: Trump not acted on results of economy	Contrast Rhetorical question	But previously... Where was Trump?
	Step 4: Positive: Trump reacted on	Contrast Time sequence	End of July... / On Friday...

	unemployment figures		
	Step 5: Negative: Still behind Hillary	Contrast	Yet
	Step 6: Positive outlook on Trump	Contrast	Nonetheless... / But,,
	Step 7: Negative: Same strategy	Contrast	But... / but...
6	Step 1: Neutral. Obama's achievements in last year in office	Listing	He became..., requested..., created...
	Step 2: Comparison with candidates	Listing characteristics	classy, mature, scandal-free...
	Step 3: Rumors on Obama dwindled	Contrast	we accused.. but.. the focus...
	Step 4. Voters take stock of his presidency. Listing achievements	Listing	Obama got... took... oversaw... brought...
	Step 5: Listing blunders	Contrast Comparing Concession	On the downside, Obama... Like other presidents Despite..., he wasn't
7	Step 1: Foundation contribution violation tax law.	Statement	Mr Trump's contribution... violated...
	Step 2: Tump's accusations against Clinton		spent days accusing
	Step 3: Trump lies about not making contact with Bondi	Irony	Trump said oddly
	Step 4: Trump admits he buys politicians	Quotes	When you give... When I call...
	Step 5: Bondi did not explain why she accepted donation		
	Step 6: Florida allegations against Trump	Listing	are not the first... In 2013 and 2014.. A 2014...
8	Step 1: Public opinion	Command Emphasis	Ask... and they will answer... Absolute sympathy
	Step 2: Hitchens' opinion	Quote	a lying...
	Step 3:MT's views on Contraception	Quote	In destroying...
	Step 4: MT's views on abortion	Rhetorical question Quote	Abortion? I always say...

	Step 5: MT on gay ppl.	Irony Quote	Perhaps... friends of Jesus
	Step 6: Writer's view: "brand"	1st Person Maximizer Irony	I submit... greatest RP victory.. Enjoyed her level of profile
9	Step 1: Negative aspects	Listing Contrast	--, --, --, and -- yet
	Step 2: Worst aspects	Emphasis	Most poorly
	Step 3: Example	For example...	
	Step 4: Use of legislative action	General statement	exposes...
	Step 5: Contrast with reality. GOP not acting	Contrast Manner	But ..Ignoring...
10	Step 1: Jobs. Lack of law enforcement	Contrast / criticism Negative actions	While..., we do nothing Abandoned... refuses to...
	Step 2: Law enforcement only for crime	Action plan Alternatives	will only enforce.. convicted Other...
11	Step 1: Necesidad de respetar detenidos	Need	La necesidad de respetar..
	Step 2: Leyes que sustentan	Description / Quote Listing cases	La ley... establece.. "el juez... Mujer embarazada, madre de..
	Step 3: Juez no decide quién, ley establece	Reference Contrast	Ests condiciones Podria disponer En cambio
	Step 4: Ley no discriminación	Description	La ley adopta principio.. supone...
	Step 5: Condición ancianos en Este	Location Contrast	En oriente.. Pero..
12	Step 1: Introducción: Muchos aspectos	General statement Quantity	Hubo para todos lados... / amplio
	Step 2: UE y EEUU no dejan proteccionismo	Statement Emphasis / expansion Addition	no van a cambiar.. De hecho No sólo.. China.
	Step 3: Comercio Argentina China	Addition Contrast Lexical chains Reference Quote	A su vez.. Pero.. empresas.. CEO's de cinco gigantes.. Vine a China...
	Step 4: Relaciones China y Rusia	Addition Quantity Contrast	Hay más.. Enorme diferencia China dice... la aduana dice..
	Step 5: Conflicto	Contrast	..acuerdo dio por superado.. pero...

	base militar china	Necessity	deberà tratarse en el Congreso
	Step 6: Comercio Rusia	Quote Positive Contrast	enorme producción.. abrazó la idea El problema..
	Step 7: China apoya Malcorra	Quote Rhetorical question	Vamos a apoyarla.. Implicará..?
	Step 8: Macri y Temer	Agreement Hedging	Acordaron.. Claro que no quita que..
	Step 9: Juliana lucha	Listing Quote	Para terminar Entre todos..
13	Step 1: Gatillo no hay regreso	General statement Contrast Resuming	Todos los días estamos.. Sin embargo / Pero.. De todo esto
	Step 2: Ex 1: Ing. Santos	Past time Describing past events	16 de junio de 1990 No fue preso.. perdió.. casi funde..
	Step 3: Ex 2: Lino Villar	Past time Life description	Semana pasada.. origen humilde..
	Step 4: Opinión de especialistas	Statements /Parallel construction	Ser robado deja.. Ser robado...deja..
14	Step 1: Inversiones	Figures Quoting Addition	UD\$ 32.200 Ministerio de Hacienda Más aún
	Step 2: Cuándo	Contrast Rhetorical questions	Sin embargo Las inversiones aceptarán..?
	Step 3: Otros ingresos. Sinceramiento fiscal	Direction	giro del gobierno... hacia una fase màs...
15	Step 1: Envergadura	Addition Listing	no sólo por los visitantes.. sino gobernadores, las autoridades...
	Step 2: Locación	Explanation Contrast	señales: ser vista como... ..y no para..
	Step 3: Fecha	Sequence of events	es la continuidad.. G20 que a su vez.. próximo 19.. ONU
16	Step 1: Subsidios no aplican ahogares en general	Listing Giving reasons Reformulation Contrast: Hedging	En primer lugar... Porque... Es decir.. Argentina vs países avanzados Casi ninguno
	Step 2: Quinto entre avanzados	Listing Contrast	Por otro lado,.. Y no con países..
	Step 3: Propósito real del FMI: reducir subsidios	Comparison Markedness	relacionando con el ejemplo... lo que no dicen...
	Step 4: Ventajas de reducir los	Quote report Possibility	"Eliminar los subsidios... podría reducir..."

	subsídios		
	Step 5: Problema fiscal	Statement Figures Quote Result	El problema fiscal es la clave. 6.3% del PBI... 2.9%... .. según datos... Como resultado
17	Step 1: No lean	Markedness Addressing audience 1st person Emphasis Lexical repetition	A los indignados, les digo...  no lo miren ni se acerquen.. Tienen todo el derecho... Todos tenemos derecho..
	Step 2: No agresiones	Addition Rhetorical question Conditional Hypothesis Command	Por otra parte... sino.. Cuál es el objetivo? Si algunos... entonces... Y si realmente.. Háganlo...
	Step 3: Insultos	Addition Addressing audience Conditional  Quote	también merecen.. Les pido.. Si es linda... Si es fea.. Que mejor se consiga..
	Step 4: Jugar hace bien	Conversational tone Short sentences Example Reinforcement Contrast	Claro Pero esto no es nuevo. por ejemplo.. De nuevo.. no son las nuevas... sino...
	Step 5: Contra notas banas	Addition Condition Command Consequence Conversational tone Rhetorical question	Por otra parte Si... entonces.. no miren lo que no.. Asi que... en serio.. en qué quedamos?
18	Step 1: Logro: jefe del ejército	Sequence 1st person	Luego.. reemplazó.. he tenido..
	Step 2: Logro: Gobernador Cuyo	Time sequence Past events  Nominalizations  Markedness Achievements	En 1814 fue designado.. fue ejemplar..hizo gala.. austeridad, honestidad, inteligencia, ingenio Fue desde la gobernación.. Impulsó.. planificó..
	Step 3: Logro: Liberar Argentina y Chile y ceder el mando a Bolivar	Time sequence Past achievements Suggestion	Luego de liberar.. Cedió.. demostró.. Ejemplo que debemos seguir...
	Step 4: Logro: No desenvainaría espada.	Time sequence Past events Contrast Reason	En 1824.. marchó.. intentó.. Pero.. dado que...

19	Step 1: Ley del más débil	Citing Situation	Luigi Ferrajoi.. sostiene... "ley del más débil" Una vez detenido, el más débil es..
	Step 2: Legítima defensa	Definition Draw attention Contrast	La legítima defensa se configura... Emerge ante situaciones.. Hay que tener en cuenta que.. el que delinque tiene un tiempo... en cambio el que..
	Step 3: Ejemplo: el médico	Hypothesis Definition	pensar... implica dejar de ver.. La repudiable justicia... requiere de...
20	Step 1: Elecciones y posición de Temer	Quote Reference	"la más incansable oposición..." Las expresiones..
	Step 2: resultados	Obligation Listing  Lexical chain  Resuming Reference	deberá producir.. una grave crisis., la corrupción y la peor.. recesión económica.. previsiones económicas...datos..economía.. proyecciones de mercado.. Todos los caminos.. este panorama..
	Step 3: Cambio de época	General vs particular Contrast  Lexical chain  Quote	El giro político... Temer.. Lula da Silva y Dilma fueron.. el ancla... pensamiento de izquierda.. Reacción del eje bolivariano.. Bolivia... Caracas.. "congela las relaciones políticas..."
	Step 4: Crisis del Mercosur	Markedness Contrast Possibility	La incógnita es qué ocurrirá.. Sin embargo.. Quizás...
	Step 5: Relaciones bilaterales Arg-Brasil	Statement Lexical chain	continuará siendo de privilegio.. privilegio... aliados principales... sintonía...similares...

### Move 3: Concluding

Text	Steps	Rhetorical devices / linguistic features	Examples
1	Step 1: Dangerous stance: lose votes	negative consequences	unwise (-); dangerous (--)
2	Step 1: Statement: Once we've learned to live, it's late.	Short sentence. S sounds	Swizz; sussed; passed
3	Step 1: KH reinforces opinion	Suggestion Emphasis: structure; lexis	Shouldn't They're not. In fact..
	Step 2: GA's No perfect formula for happiness	Emphasis: structure	Because every time...



4	Step 1: Ideal situation	Hypothetical situation	When we drop..., we can...
5	Step 1: No change. Long shot.	Conclude	Hence... / Thus...
6	Step 1: Reason for raise in polls	Good reason Contrasting	As he should be ... not by...
	Step 2: Conclude	Statement: prediction	...are gonna miss him...
7	Step 1: Bondi may be charged of crime	Conditional	If... it could be..
	Step 2: Tump may face voter's consequences	Condition	Unless
8	Step 1: Church benefit	Emphasis Irony	Considerable capital Even devout secularists "honoring"
	Step 2: Question sainthood	Rhetorical question	was a woman...?
9	Step 1: GOP lack of action empowers Obama	Negative	Not acting..
10	Step 1: Suggest solution	Hypothesis / obligation	If we want... we must not... we must...
11	Step 1: Justicia debe ser independiente	Negative / command Adjetivization	No se puede seguir.. caprichoso e ideologizado proceder
12	Step 1: Refuerzo consecuencias visita Macri	Concluding remarks	fuè muchos màs allà Despuès de todo..
13	Step 1: Resistirse es peor	Probability Statement Examples	Quizás.. Resistirse suele ser peor Ringo Bonavena..
14	Step 1: Dirección correcta	Contrast Obligation	Pero..sinceramiento Por el contrario debe..
	Step 2: Hacer camino	Contrast  Wish	En contraposición.. A diferencia de la obra.. Que no sea..
15	Step 1: Lo que falta	Statement of opinion	Proponer.. es un mensaje..
16	Step 1: Reducción de subsídios energéticos: política de gob.	Means  Conclude Rhetorical question	La reducción.. fue la vía.. para.. A modo de conclusión.. Mi pregunta.. qué

			proponen?
	Step 2: Cómo achicar déficit fiscal	Contrast Markedness	No es relevante.... / Lo relevante es
17	Step 1: Reflexionar	Rhetorical question Negative	Y todo esto por un juego No, para nada.
18	Step 1: Figura ejemplar	Statement Example Listing	..es una figura.. por ejemplo.. su pensar, su sentir, su actuar..
19	Step 1: Ausencia del estado es catastrófica	Statement  Example Modality	La notable ausencia del Estado destroza.. El médico.. Lamentablemente...
20	-----		

#### Move 4: Recommending Action

Text	Steps	Rhetorical devices / linguistic features	Examples
1	Step 1: Recommending		should
2	-----		
3	Step 1:	Suggestion	Perhaps... need to change... need to amend their views...
	Step 2:	Emphasis: Command.	Do us women a favor.
4	Step 1: Coaching tips	Listing: infinitives	Learn...; accept...; give...; write...; speak...; hug...
5	Step 1: Suggest strategy	Suggestion	He's got to... / must...
6	-----		
7	-----		
8	-----		
9	Step 1: Hypothetical situation	Hypothesis / Suggestion Result	If..., have to... That will
10	Step 1: Suggest solution	Hypothesis / obligation	If we want... we must not... we must...

11	-----		
12	-----		
13	-----		
14	Step 1: Sugiere rumbo	Obligation	debe sustentarse en una política..
15	Step 1: Actores internos políticas serias	Negative Emphasis	es un mensaje que no contribuye.. tan necesarias..
16	-----		
17	Step 1: Reflexión	Suggestion	oportunidad para reflexionar
18	Step 1: Expectativas	Wish Purpose	esperamos con ansias... para rendir homenaje...
19	Step 1: Estado debe actuar con justicia	Concession Parallel structure Obligation	Aún... Aún... aún.. que el estado recuerde..
20	-----		

From the analysis above, we perceive that both groups maintain correspondence regarding defining and dispensable move types: Moves 1 and 2 are present in all texts, while moves 3 and 4 vary in their sequencing and occurrence.

While there are no significant differences between texts of the two cultures in their move and step segmentation, there is slight more variability in the move and step segmentation in Spanish texts than among those in English in that Move 3 is always present in English texts but not in the Spanish ones, and that Move 4 is more frequent in the English texts than in the Spanish ones. Therefore we may infer that texts in English remain closer to a more formal and structured organization.

Regarding the rhetorical and linguistic devices, they appear to be quite homogenous with a dominance of empathic and persuasive strategies in both groups of texts. Variation in this regard seems to be more due to text and writer's register than to cultural reasons.

### **Conclusion:**

The results of this study show that there are slight differences among the two groups in terms of move and step segmentation and occurrence, whereas rhetorical and linguistic devices seem to remain more homogeneous. This slight variation of move and step segmentation and occurrence among the Spanish group as opposed to the English group of texts is seen to happen in Move 3, where the English texts fill every niche, unlike the Spanish ones, and in Move 4, where more texts in English use this functional unit as opposed to the Spanish ones. Also, while rhetorical and linguistic features seem to be predominantly homogeneous, there seems to be variation according to the register of the newspaper and of the writer in particular, as it has been mentioned in previous studies. This appreciation should be further analyzed in subsequent studies, perhaps singling out aspects to be analyzed in isolation and in greater detail than was the scope of this work.

Perhaps one thread of analysis to be followed in subsequent studies should be an in depth application of SFA in a more limited corpus so as to first confirm or refute these findings, and to draw a line between general opinion pieces and editorials in particular. Also, we suggest analyzing special linguistic and rhetorical features in isolation applying SFA so as to compare and contrast the relation between grammatical structures and their correlation to encoded significances.

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Appendix: Corpus

# German voters are rejecting open-door immigration policies. When will Angela Merkel start listening?

- TELEGRAPH VIEW

4 SEPTEMBER 2016 • 10:00PM



Time to listen, chancellor

M1

For the Alternative for Germany (AfD) party to even compete with Angela Merkel's Christian Democrats in a regional election is remarkable, given Germany's cultural and institutional aversion to parties outside the consensual centre-ground. For the AfD to best the CDU, as exit polls in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania suggest, is extraordinary.

S1

S2

M2

The AfD began as a scholarly protest party focused on economic policy, but has been transformed into a populist anti-immigration movement. Much of that transformation is down to Mrs Merkel and her open-door policy towards migrants from the Middle East and Asia.

S3

S2

M3

The Chancellor, largely supported by the German political establishment, insists that this policy is right for Germany and must continue. Yet she and her fellow mainstream politicians have wilfully ignored the mounting evidence that German voters do not agree: the AfD has been gaining ground for months, yet Mrs Merkel has insisted on disregarding its supporters and their concerns. That stubborn stance is not just politically unwise, it is potentially dangerous.

S3

S1

M4



Leif-Erik Holm, the AfD leader in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania

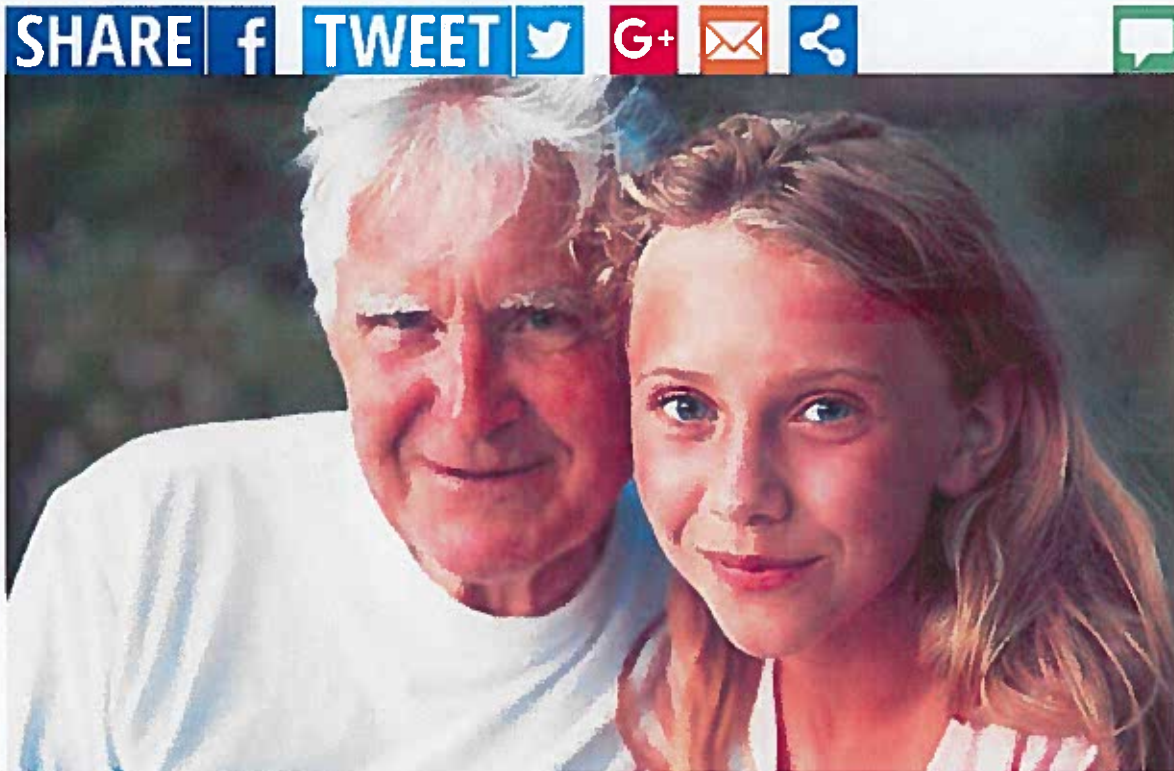


# Vanessa Feltz: The wisdom of age is a terrible waste

HOLIDAYS mean far too much time to ruminate. Here's the result of my cogitations.

By VANESSA FELTZ

PUBLISHED: 09:11, Tue, Sep 6, 2016 | UPDATED: 09:44, Tue, Sep 6, 2016



Childhood can be a treacherous time as th young seek to make sense of the world

We spend chunks of our lives falling flat on our beetroot red faces, making appalling choices, selling ourselves short, being betrayed by those we thought had our interests at heart, squirming in embarrassment, wishing the ground would open and consume us and variously riddled with regret, longing, envy and despair. S1

Agonisingly slowly, in titchy weeny increments, we start to make a little bit of sense out of the nonsense. S2  
Painfully gradually, we come to realise where we went wrong, that our mothers were right, that burning the candle at both ends results in an unpleasant paucity of candle, that the chap with the snarl, cigarette glued to his bottom lip and a swagger won't necessarily make the ideal father for our descendants and that we should never, ever, make a business partner out of a family member.

We come to understand the difference between spontaneity and impetuosity. We twig that "not being good with money" equals being a disempowered pauper. We work out that calories in and calories out must carve out harmonious balance in the body if we don't want to blimp out to the point that children point to us in the street and shudder. We comprehend what the older generation was banging on about when they insisted

M1 ↑ "blood is thicker than water". We're more than ready to engage Prime Minister May in debate over the phrase "Brexit means Brexit". We grasp the importance of pensions, accountants, geography and viruses. We don't contemplate sex unless it's safe, and sometimes not even then. We wax lyrical over herbaceous borders, Elgar's cello concerto and bricks and mortar but don't give a fig for designer labels, selfies or HRT.

What, I hear you ask, is Vanessa's problem? Why does she take issue with the time honoured adage, older →3 and wiser? Of course maturity breeds understanding and with age comes experience, empathy, patience and sagacity. Dear reader, let me tell you what the issue is: we spend our entire lives accumulating knowledge, growing wiser with every passing minute and by the time we're fully evolved individuals it's too damned late.

M2 We're old. We now know how to conduct ourselves romantically but no one wants to whisk us to Deauville for lunch and clandestine clinches. We've learned the cut and thrust of our chosen career but those we could finally impress are poised to put us out to pasture. We've cracked the code of marital relationships but our Other Halves have either scarpered or are snoozing so profoundly they no longer care less. We're canny with cash but realise consumerism is bunk and can't enjoy spending it. We are veritable fountains of wisdom but we haven't the energy or the opportunity to use it. [In other words, life is a swizz and by the time we've sussed S1 it we're past it. M3

# Kirstie Allsopp's advice for young women to ditch university shows society needs to change

15:07, 3 JUN 2014

OPINION



BY KATIEHIND

The television presenter's opinions about fertility declining in mid 30s raises real emotion, write Katie Hind and Gemma Aldridge



Divided: Kirstie Allsopp has split opinion

Kirstie Allsopp's advice to young girls to ditch university and focus on motherhood has sparked a furious debate. 51

M7 The Location, Location, Location presenter said she wanted to speak 'honestly and frankly' about fertility declining when a woman hits her mid 30s. 52

But the focus has remained on the property guru's guidance to stay away from university, find a man and have a baby.

She told the Daily Telegraph: "At the moment, women have 15 years to go to university, get their career on track, try and buy a home and have a baby. That is a hell of a lot to ask someone.

M1 "I don't have a girl, but if I did I'd be saying "Darling, do you know what? Don't go to university. Start work straight away, stay at home, save up your deposit - I'll help you, let's get you into a flat. And then we can find you a nice boyfriend and you can have a baby by the time you're 27."

Katie Hind and Gemma Aldrige sit on very different sides of the fence.

**The years we spend climbing the career ladder and trying to prove we are as good as our male colleague are years we lose sorting out our personal lives, writes Katie Hind...** S1

When I was at school the girls, as we were then, were defined into two groups. There were those who left, got a job and after a few years, had children.

Then there were the others, the ones who the teachers liked - the ones who were destined for university and then hopefully, a successful career. I fell into the latter.

I did my A levels at my state comprehensive before heading off to university. I got a degree and then I got a job, a job that sucked up my entire 20's. Today, I'm 33, still working, no kids anywhere in sight.

M2 My sister Kelly, on the other hand, is 25. She got a mortgage at the age of 18, has an adorable son who turns two next week and she's due to give birth to another little boy next month. She's 25, she has so much of her life ahead, to do whatever she so wishes.

Who would you rather be? According to staunch feminist and TV presenter Kirstie Allsopp, my younger sibling has done it correctly.

And despite loving my job, having a group of delightful, fun friends, being able to do what I damn well like, whenever I want without a kid biting at my ankles, I quite agree with her.

I went off to university at the age of 18, it was great. My biggest concern was paying my £35 per week rent in a halls of residence that resembled a 1950's Swedish prison, or where I was going to party of an evening. To say I made the most of student life would be a massive understatement - a huge one, in fact.

Meanwhile, when Kelly was that age she was a home-owner and, frankly as it would turn out, not far off getting married. But, according to society (and my teachers) I was the successful one.

Kirstie quite rightly points out that women have 15 years to go to university, get their career on track, try and buy a home AND have a baby.

Those years we spend grafting to get on the career ladder, staying there and proving we are as good as our male colleagues are years we lose sorting out our personal lives.

We simply don't have time to find love, get married and become a mummy.

Most are lucky, they get in there just in the nick of time. However, the hours/days/weeks we spend worrying over our vast amounts of Pinot over whether we'll have our fertility intact by the time we meet The One is immense, ludicrous, in fact.

So I go back to the other group of girls at school. In many a teacher's eyes, they were failures. Utter failures. Even as a teenager I remember watching some treat these girls with disdain, while I was invited for lunchtime English lessons to make sure I got an A rather than a B in my GCSE exam.

Perhaps then, this is where things need to change. Teachers, and indeed society as a whole, need to amend their views.

Young girls shouldn't be made to think that unless they're clutching a degree certificate at the age of 21, they're useless. They're not.

In fact, every single time I hang out with my sister and my nephew Harry, I'm not only in awe of her but also mildly jealous. She's got what I, or my "successful" gang may never, ever have.



Guru: Kirstie Allsopp said she would advise her daughter to stay at home

Twitter is awash with irate people bashing craft queen Kirstie Allsop for her outspoken comments, again, says Gemma Aldridge...

This time the Location Location Location presenter has urged young women to abandon higher education in favour of getting on the property ladder and popping out a baby by the age of 27.

There's no worse fate than living in rented accommodation while your ovaries shrivel up and render you completely worthless to society, after all. >2

Ordinarily I'd yawn at the plummy predictability of her strident opinion over-shares. If only she weren't so completely ignorant to how damaging her latest outburst really is...

MZ The mum-of-two frequently calls herself a feminist yet in today's Telegraph she has single-handedly undermined the struggle of generations of women who fought to be given the same academic and employment opportunities as men.

More than that, she undermines the modern woman's right to chose - either or both - when it comes to the old career Vs family debate.

Kirsty says in the piece: "I don't have a girl, but if I did I'd be saying 'Darling, do you know what? Don't go to university. Start work straight after school, stay at home, save up your deposit - I'll help you. Let's get you into a flat.

And then we can find you a nice boyfriend and you can have a baby by the time you're 27.

"I think if you're a man of 25 and you're with a woman of 25, and you really love her," she continues, "then you have a responsibility to say: 'Let's do it now.'

What, and then we say "yes, sir", drop everything and start sprogging up the second the mood takes him? Sorry, I thought it was 2014 not 1954.

She goes on to say that women should save their "learning" up and go to university when they're 50!

"We have all this time at the end. You can do your career afterwards. We have to readjust. And men can have fun after they have kids," she says.

Excuse me for being ignorant, but when do the women get to "have fun", Kirsty? Presumably when they're done buying property and finding a man in their twenties, raising a family in their thirties, building a career in their forties and nipping back to uni just in time to graduate before retirement age.

The staggering sexism and patronising tone isn't even the worst of it. It just all smacks of such blinkered privilege.

The idea that a woman - or anyone, for that matter - can leave school and walk into a job that allows them to buy their own property in their early twenties is a very nice.

But sadly it makes Kirsty's claim that women aren't "honest" enough with themselves about the post-35 drop in fertility seem utterly ridiculous.

How about some honesty about the job market, Kirsty? Or the property market? You do claim to be an expert in that area, after all...

I'm sure that with your kind of money - old and new - most parents would want to help their kids to get on the property ladder. Good for you.

But what about the rest of the world? How exactly do you propose they keep up with your perfect schedule for females?

How do you propose girls leaving education in line with your exacting timetable get a job that allows them to save a flat deposit in time to meet a man and get to work on a family by 27?

If they don't come from a family of titled aristocrats and "old money", that is. And if they don't have mummy on hand to double their savings, then help them find A Suitable Boy.

You're a bright woman. Think about what you're saying. Think further than your own back garden and your own bank balance before you speak for an entire gender group and a generation of which you're not even a part.

How dare you lead young girls to believe they owe it to themselves - and their partners - to put their education, their careers and their dreams on hold.

How dare you let them think that nothing else matters if they don't have a three-bed semi and 2.4 children to come home to at night?

How dare you make them believe it's a choice that has to be made in the first place?

This is the 21st century and there are a hundred ways to live a happy life. Some involve children, some don't. Some involve a university education, some don't.

Some are lived out in chintzy Holland Park homes like yours and others in equally happy rented flats like mine in Deptford. The point is choice.

I imagine when you decided not to go to university it wasn't for financial reasons or because you hadn't been to the right school. It was because you chose not to, and that's how it should be. Not everyone should go.

## TEXT 3

[www.mirror.co.uk](http://www.mirror.co.uk)

From Mirror

- M2 { But for most, the very right to chose is the result of decades of grass-roots feminism that has forced academic institutions, employers and importantly - as you strongly assert - male romantic partners to see us as equals.
- M4 { So, do us women a favour. Next time you remove the silver spoon from your perfectly glossed S2 lips to speak, think about that first.
- M3 { Because every time someone in the public eye buys into the idea that there is some perfect S2 formula for female happiness, it does a disservice to how far we've come.



Carole Ann Rice



Leading life and happiness coach

# Happy Mondays: We can all learn to be a little kinder to ourselves

UP UNTIL his last movie Hugh Grant was sold on the idea of quitting acting forever. Notoriously hard on himself, he would watch his films with “gnashing teeth” or through the filter of a few beers.

By CAROLE ANN RICE

PUBLISHED: 00:01, Mon, Sep 5, 2016



Hugh Grant is someone who could learn to be kinder to himself

The world is split between types of people: those who keep chocolate in the fridge and those who like it at room temperature. There are those who find it easy to forgive themselves and those, like Hugh, who live permanently in the psychic A&E department of self-flagellation. S1

M1

I've been known to groan audibly in a supermarket as some old misdemeanour or foot-in-mouth moment causes me to stop, wince and fold in on myself like human origami. S2

It is not so much about being a perfectionist but being super aware of our faults and fallibility which, viewed through the brutal lens of hindsight, brings forth new insights with forehead-slapping clarity. If only we could drop the cranial boxing gloves and get that this is about the lifelong journey of self-love and not self-excoriation. S3

M2

In British life self-love is about as socially acceptable as leaving the loo seat up yet it is an essential part of our life survival kit that would make Bear Grylls give the thumbs-up of approval. To accept ourselves in all our cranky humanity, our lumps and nodules, cluelessness and clumsiness, is to be real and authentic. S4

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We talk to ourselves as if we were some lowly cur, disabuse any compliments as lies or flim-flammery and act as a though we are never good enough at this life malarkey. It seems the truly heinous who commit serious crimes against the innocent or humanity either seem to live in denial or have some sort of iron-hard reasoning that somehow they still are not that bad deep down.

Meanwhile the rest of us who did not meet our own standards of social acceptability give ourselves the sort of torturous once over that would make the Marquis de Sade grin with glee. We find it hard to forgive our goofs, gaffs and general fallibility.

Remember, you don't have to be defined by your past. It is just a moment in time, not a life sentence. We forget the stress and emotional landscape we were in when we made the misdemeanour, which retrospect has erased and in the clear light of day makes our actions seem random and malformed.

S2



We should be less harsh on ourselves and move on

But it could have been fear, anxiety or simply a flash of anger or immaturity that led up to the moment that now seems oddly outrageous.

When we drop perfectionism and allow for the possibility that mostly we are doing our best, but even the best of us fall far of the mark, we can grow and get wiser and even more compassionate about this imperfect and challenging journey we are all on.

S1

Here are a few coaching tips to help you get over yourself:

Learn from the mistake, make amends and move on.

Accept that you are not perfect.

S1

M2

M3

M4



The sooner we realise we're not perfect, the happier we will be

Give your hurt and stumbling inner goofball a hug and speak to it like a wayward child.

Write down at least 50 to 100 things you know are good about yourself, things you have done, what people have said about you and read it regularly.

Speak to yourself with kindness.

And Hugh, if you are reading this, some of us think you are rather good. Time for you to try that on too. And that goes for the rest of us.

---

M4

## *Donald Trump is painting a new image of himself - and it may just secure him the presidency*

There was Trump on the world stage, saying the right things at the joint press conference afterwards, the personification of diplomacy and politeness. Heavens, one thought, maybe he wouldn't be so bad after all, maybe he wouldn't press the nuclear button at a perceived insult during an international summit

- [Rupert Cornwell](#)
- [@IndyVoices](#)
- Saturday 3 September 2016
- 

Donald Trump greets the Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto *Reuters*

A new [Donald Trump](#)? It can't be. The arrival last month of the right wing iconoclast Steve Bannon as his new campaign chief was held as proof of a reversion to the "Let Trump be Trump" formula that had annihilated every opponent in the [Republican](#) primaries. A definitive end, surely, to the efforts of Paul Manafort – the man Bannon replaced – to house-train the Manhattan businessman in the ways of conventional politics? S1

And this theory was only vindicated by the snarling immigration speech Trump delivered in Arizona on Wednesday, studded with his trademark lies (or "factual inaccuracies" as they are known) and in which he extolled deportation task forces and vowed to build his beautiful wall, paid for "100 per cent" by Mexico, to keep the illegals out. Look a little closer however and a new method may be emerging from the madness. S2

A few hours earlier Trump had been in Mexico City, neatly upstaging Hillary Clinton, as he held talks with the Mexican president Enrique Pena Nieto. Admittedly he was helped by a stunningly feeble performance from his host. But there was Trump on the world stage, saying the right things at the joint press conference afterwards, nodding sagely at points made by his interlocutor, the personification of diplomacy and politeness. Heavens, one thought, maybe he wouldn't be so bad after all, maybe he wouldn't press the nuclear button at a perceived insult during an international summit. S1

### Trump Vows Again That Mexico Will Build That Wall

Yet, back in Phoenix, he seemed his old self – behaving, it could be argued, like the classic bully: fawning when on foreign soil and out of his comfort zone, but hectoring, mendacious and vicious when safely returned to home turf, addressing his adoring followers. M2

However forget the presentation. Forget too the playing fast and loose with facts (no amount of fact-checking will overcome the eternal human truth that people believe what they want to believe.) Instead, parse the speech more S2

↑ closely. Set aside the Mexican-financed wall, and Trump's policies are not so different from those of Barack Obama, the supposed immigration softie who in fact has deported or prevented from entering the US more people than any president before him. Like Obama, Trump would focus on criminal elements, leaving the fate of the 11m illegals who pursue a law-abiding if precarious existence for a later date.

In essence, Trump is not ruling out the bargain at the core of various attempts at immigration reform on Capitol Hill over the last few years: a truly watertight border, coupled with *de facto* amnesty and a path to citizenship for those who are already here – and without whom, everyone knows, swathes of the US economy would cease to function. Or take the economy, by far the most important consideration for ordinary voters (for all Trump's fulminations, only 8 per cent of Americans regard immigration as the election's most important single issue). He's had plenty to plenty to work with these last few months: feeble growth, still stagnant earnings and a pervasive feeling that things are not as good as the employment statistics imply.

But previously he's blown it. At the end of July, the government announced some pretty lousy GDP news, a bare 1.2 per cent annual growth in the second quarter, which any self-respecting Republican candidate would have leapt on. And where was Trump? Bugged down in a disastrous, unwinnable quarrel he had picked with a Muslim-American couple whose son had died fighting for the US in Iraq.

On Friday, when some uninspiring August unemployment figures were released, Trump didn't make the same mistake. He responded instantly with a tweet blaming the "Obama-Clinton" administration for failing to create jobs and boost pay in American industry.

A small detail, but a sign perhaps of a new Trump focus. It all adds up to the best week Trump's had since the conventions. Admittedly that's not saying much. With Hillary Clinton largely confining herself to lavish summer fundraisers among her friends in the Hamptons, he's had the field pretty much to himself. Yet he still trails her by several points overall and – more important – by larger margins in most of the swing states where the election will be decided. In terms of money and state-by-state organisation Clinton leads by a country mile.



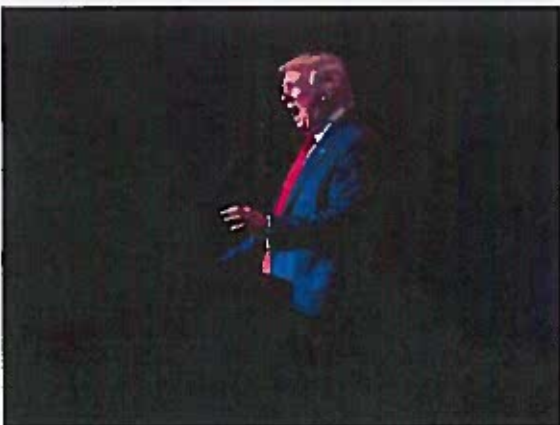
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**This isn't the last straw for Donald Trump**

Nonetheless, on the eve of the Labor Day holiday that traditionally marks the start of the general election campaign proper, Trump has clearly narrowed the gap since the dark days of early August, when a Democratic landslide looked on the cards. Finally, things are moving in the right direction. 56

But is it too late? In this bizarre campaign, nothing is certain. Last week Clinton's approval rating sunk to an unprecedented low, underlining the miserable paradox that underlies this contest between the great unloved. Clinton, given all her baggage, is probably the only Democratic candidate Trump has a chance against – while he, even more flawed, is probably the only Republican she could be confident of beating. 57

But for Trump the bottom line hasn't changed. He and his advisers still appear to believe that victory lies in turning out in record numbers America's white silent majority, the "forgotten people," trampled on by globalisation and diversification, the people who attend his mass rallies. But that ignores the huge numbers of white women, and white people with university degrees, who can't abide him, not to mention Hispanics and black people.



**Donald Trump is right – election fraud will happen in America**

M4 [ Somehow, he's got to allay fears. Trump must persuade voters to give him a second look, to turn at least some "Never Trumpers" into "Well, Maybes," without upsetting true believers by toning down his message. Hence the M3 [ apparently conflicting messages on immigration: the red meat in Phoenix, the projection of moderation and statesmanship in Mexico City. And thus, the Steve Bannons of this world calculate, a New Trump, who hasn't changed, but who's perhaps not so bad after all. After everything Trump has said and done these last 12 months, it's a long shot. But barring some terrible new revelation about Hillary or the Clintons, it's the best shot he's got. S1 S1

# While Clinton, Trump brawl, Obama rises: Our view

[The Editorial Board](#) 6:11 p.m. EDT September 6, 2016

*President's poll numbers are up because he's being judged by his record.*



(Photo: Made Nagi, epa)

M7

As this year began, President Obama's approval ratings were in the tank. Polls showed him stuck in the low-to-mid 40s, with a disapproval rating topping 50%. S1

These days, those numbers are reversed. In recent weeks he has averaged above 51% in the [Real Clear Politics average](#) of polls. That's a remarkable recovery for someone who has frequently been pushed out of the news by the 2016 presidential race. S2 S3

As has been the norm with previous presidents, Obama's final year in office has been relatively quiet. Among other things, he became the first president since Calvin Coolidge to [visit Cuba](#), required [investment advisers](#) to represent the interests of their clients, created a [wildlife refuge](#) in the Pacific and quietly negotiated a [plan](#) with Republicans to deal with Puerto Rico's debt problems. S1

MZ

Not inconsequential, but hardly earthshaking stuff.

And yet here he is, over 50%. A number of commentators say Obama benefits from comparisons with this year's candidates to succeed him. There's probably some truth to that. Obama has been a largely classy, mature and personally scandal-free presence in the White House. S2

But a couple of other explanations are also plausible.

One is that the rise of Obama's poll numbers should be seen as a scathing indictment of contemporary politics and news media. To be in office these days, particularly the presidency, is to be cut down and called all manner of things. Obama was accused of not having been born in the USA and of being a socialist, among other things. But as the focus has shifted to the next president, much of this nonsense has abated. S3



A second reason for Obama's rising numbers might be that voters are actually taking stock of his presidency.

M2

Obama got the economy through the latter stages of a terrifying financial crisis, rescued the auto industry in a way that made it more competitive than it had been in decades, took out Osama bin Laden, oversaw a long though uneven economic expansion, and presided over a 50% decline in the unemployment rate and a 10,000-point gain in the Dow Jones industrial average. He brought an expansion of health care that, while far from perfect, provided coverage to millions of uninsured people and had been a goal of presidents for decades. Just this last weekend, he formalized a plan long in the works to put the weight of both the U.S. and China behind combating climate change.

S4

On the downside, Obama's blunders in Syria, Iraq and Libya helped give rise to the Islamic State terror group in those nations and beyond. Like other recent presidents, he will leave his successor a much larger federal debt and virtually no progress on curbing the benefit programs that drive deficits. And, despite his 2008 campaign pledges, he wasn't able to change the way Washington works or radically improve racial relations.

S5

M3

As Obama enters his final four months in office, he is finally being judged as he should be: by his successes and failures, not by invented conspiracies or apocalyptic predictions. The latest polls suggest that lots of people, to paraphrase the song, are gonna miss him when he's gone.

S1

S2

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The Opinion Pages EDITORIAL

Pay to Play, Mr. Trump?

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD SEPT. 6, 2016

Donald Trump with Pam Bondi before he spoke at a campaign event in Florida in August.

Credit Damon Winter/The New York Times

In light of the suspicions hanging over Donald Trump and Pam Bondi, the Florida attorney general, this opening quote from her Republican National Convention speech is particularly rich. "Nov. 8 is a day of reckoning for all those who have abused their power," she said. "Winning this election means reclaiming something to which I've dedicated my entire career: the rule of law."

S1

M1

While it hasn't been proved that Mr. Trump or Ms. Bondi violated bribery law, there's little doubt that they abused the public trust in 2013, when Ms. Bondi received a \$25,000 campaign contribution from Mr. Trump four days after her office announced that Florida was "reviewing the allegations" in a lawsuit filed in New York against his Trump University. Attorneys general in New York and California are pursuing separate class-action suits alleging that Trump University bilked consumers of tens of thousands of dollars they each paid for a worthless real-estate investment course. In the end, Ms. Bondi's office did not take any action against Trump University.

S2

Mr. Trump's contribution from his family foundation to Ms. Bondi violated federal tax law barring tax-exempt charities from engaging in political activity. The Washington Post reported last week that Mr. Trump paid a \$2,500 penalty to the Internal Revenue Service for the violation.

S1

News of the fine came as Mr. Trump has spent days accusing Hillary Clinton and the Clinton Foundation of similar pay-to-play schemes. Confronted on Monday, Mr. Trump said oddly that he hadn't spoken to Ms. Bondi. The Associated Press reported in June that an adviser to Ms. Bondi confirmed that Ms. Bondi had spoken to Mr. Trump and asked for the contribution.

S2  
S3

M2

Mr. Trump has made a point of saying that he's in the habit of buying politicians. He said in July 2015, "When you give, they do whatever the hell you want them to do." And during a Republican debate the next month, he said: "I was a businessman. I give to everybody. When they call, I give. And you know what? When I need something from them, two years later, three years later, I call them, and they are there for me." In Iowa in January, he said: "When I call, they kiss my ass. O.K.?"

S4

Ms. Bondi's office did not respond when asked for an explanation of why she would accept a \$25,000 donation from Mr. Trump just days after her office announced that it was reviewing New York's allegations against him.

S5

The Florida allegations are not the first of their kind. In 2013 and 2014, Mr. Trump gave a total of \$35,000 to the campaign of Greg Abbott, Texas' attorney general, now the state's governor. In 2010, Mr. Abbott's office had dropped its investigation of Trump University. A 2014 series in The Times recounted in detail how many attorneys general, including Ms. Bondi, accepted travel, luxury accommodations and other perks from corporations targeted by their offices. This behavior is practically built into a campaign finance system in which nearly limitless cash engulfs both parties.

S6

M3 [ If Ms. Bondi promised to back off the Trump University suit in exchange for campaign money during that 2013 phone conversation, it could be a crime. As for Mr. Trump, the \$2,500 I.R.S. fine is a tiny penalty, unless voters impose consequences of their own. S1 S2

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A version of this editorial appears in print on September 7, 2016, on page A22 of the New York edition with the headline: Pay to Play, Mr. Trump?. [Today's Paper](#) [Subscribe](#)

## *Mother Teresa wasn't a saintly person – she was a shrewd operator with unpalatable views who knew how to build up a brand*

I'm not going to go down the well-trodden route of criticising a person that Christopher Hitchens once famously dubbed 'a lying, thieving Albanian dwarf' – but I do intend to let you know about the truth surrounding this mysterious saint (and it's not all peace and love)

- [Douglas Robertson](#)
- [@d0ug7a5](#)
- Sunday 4 September 2016
- [851 comments](#)

Mother Teresa accompanied by children at her mission in Calcutta, India 05/12/1980 Getty S1

M1 The news has hit the headlines of pretty much every British newspaper this morning: Mother Teresa has officially been made a saint. Following two successive confirmed miracles (don't get me started), she is today being officially recognised.

With everything that's happening in the world, why is this particular person getting so much posthumous airtime? S2  
The Catholic Church, after all, doesn't enjoy the same [access to our political system](#) as the Church of England, so what's the relevance here? Well, it's quite simple really – Mother Teresa was a celebrity, with a very well-managed brand.



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**Mother Teresa orphanages in India stop adoptions after liberal reforms**

Ask most people what they think about Mother Teresa and they'll say something vague about what a "good person" she was, how benevolent, self-sacrificing and generally lovely. I have absolute sympathy with this stance; that's been the pretty consistent thread throughout the news coverage of her, both in life and after death. S1

I'm not going to go down the well-trodden route of criticising a person that Christopher Hitchens (who played the role of devil's advocate in the discussions surrounding her canonisation) once famously dubbed "a lying, thieving Albanian dwarf" – that's been done before, and by people with gifts of expression far superior to my own. S2

Much of the criticism levelled at Mother Teresa centres around the way she promoted views of the Catholic Church that many would see as dogmatic. Take her stance on contraception: "In destroying the power of giving life, through contraception, a husband or wife is doing something to self. This turns the attention to self and so destroys the gift of love in him or her." S3

Abortion? She didn't hold back with that either: "I always say one thing: If a mother can kill her own child, then what is left of the West to be destroyed? It is difficult to explain, but it is just that." M2

Perhaps not the most enlightened of views, to put it lightly (and somewhat ironically). The Roman Catholic Church, however, famously has no qualms with either of them, so it's not surprising that they work in her favour. She wasn't perhaps quite as vitriolic in her criticism of gay people as they might have liked, but I suppose nobody's perfect. She in fact famously once stopped an interview when the interviewer used the word "homosexuals", saying that they should be referred to as "friends of Jesus". Cute. S4

I submit however that the reason she is being acknowledged by the Vatican in this ostentatious and rather costly fashion is much more to do with the fact that she represents the greatest PR victory of the Church in the past hundred years. A suitably charismatic appearance, a penchant for photo opportunities with Princess Diana (an incredibly successful and symbiotic brand collaboration if ever there was one), and a global fundraising brand (Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity has raised and deployed billions of dollars across the world) – this, all this combined with the public's belief that Mother, or Saint, Teresa preached a deliciously palatable message of peace and love which bordered on the hippie. I'm not sure when the Roman Catholic Church last had an advocate who enjoyed her level of profile, at least not in a positive sense. I'm fairly sure that most members of the public would much more readily recognise an image of her than any of the last few Popes. S5

Perhaps even devout secularists such as I shouldn't be too surprised that Mother Teresa is now being made a saint – the Church, in "honouring" her in this way, is ensuring the longevity of a brand that continues not only to raise the profile of their mission and messages, but surely raises considerable capital into the bargain. The question is: was a M3 S2

M3 | woman who preached virtue in suffering rather than trying to alleviate it and took money from dictators really that saintly at all?

# Force the debate against Obama: Opposing view

Michael A. Needham 6:04 p.m. EDT September 6, 2016

*GOP congressional leaders avoid 'dysfunction' by ignoring the president.*



(Photo: Saul Loeb, AFP/Getty images)

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There are two ways to look at President Obama's rising poll numbers. The first is that Americans see the value in stimulus, Obamacare, the Iranian nuclear deal and everything else Obama touts as accomplishments. The second, and more accurate, is that a lack of serious legislative action has denied Americans the opportunity to see an optimistic and more attractive alternative to Obama's failed agenda.

S1  
S2  
S3

M1

According to nearly two-thirds of American adults, our country is on the wrong track, and yet over the past eight months Obama's poll numbers increased by roughly 8 percentage points. Terrorists are attacking abroad and at home. Workforce participation rates remain at levels not seen since the 1970s. Health care costs are increasing as choices are declining. And the president's priorities are an unpopular trade deal and ensuring middle-school boys identifying as girls can use the same locker rooms as their female classmates.

S1

M2

The political battles in which Obama has fared most poorly have been notable, not merely because they generated perceived dysfunction but also because they've served to crack the veneer of centrism that Obama and his party present to the electorate. For example, the bounce that followed the killing of Osama bin Laden quickly faded as House Republicans seized on the issue of overspending. Obama's approval rating dipped below 40% by August in the aftermath of the debt-ceiling showdown. His numbers steadily declined during the 2013 Obamacare funding debate and subsequent government shutdown.

S2

S3

Serious legislative action exposes fundamental differences between the parties. But that is not happening. GOP congressional leaders avoid "dysfunction" by ignoring the president. And, as a consequence, his poll numbers benefit.

S4/S5



USA TODAY

While Clinton, Trump brawl, Obama rises: Our view

If Republican politicians really want to advance conservative legislation, they have to embrace the reality that the only way to win a debate is to have one. That will require Donald Trump making a coherent case against Obama's governing philosophy and congressional Republicans forcing debate. Shying away only empowers Obama.

S1/S1

M3/M4

Michael A. Needham is the chief executive officer of Heritage Action for America

# We need a border fence, and more: Opposing view

Dan Stein / 12:19 a.m. EDT September 1, 2016

*Instead of enforcing our immigration laws, we provide incentives for people to violate them.*



(Photo: Gregory Bull, AP)

Sixty-five countries have built security fences and other barriers to protect themselves from large scale migration and the infiltration of terrorists. Fences do not guarantee security, but they are an integral tool for securing borders.

S1  
S2

In 2006, Congress acknowledged the need when it approved the Secure Fence Act. The legislation called for secure double-layered fencing along 700 miles of the border, augmented by manpower and technology to maintain overall control. Notably, both Sens. Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton voted in favor of the Secure Fence Act.

M1

S3

A decade later, the bill's promise remains unfulfilled. Given the growth in worldwide migration and the emergence of new terrorist organizations, it is essential that the fence be completed and other security structures — including a wall where appropriate — be fully implemented.

S4

While completing the fence is vital, we must not lose sight of the fact that our porous border is not the problem; it's the symptom of the problem. Instead of enforcing our immigration laws, we provide incentives for people to violate them. Under the Obama administration, those incentives have become more enticing — on purpose.

S5

While virtually everyone acknowledges that jobs are the primary magnet for illegal immigration, we do virtually nothing to prevent illegal aliens from working here. The Obama administration has abandoned meaningful enforcement against employers who hire them. Congress refuses to make E-Verify mandatory for all employers, despite the system's proven track record.

M2

S1

The administration has also made it clear that it will not enforce immigration laws, unless an illegal alien has been convicted of other serious crimes. In addition, some 300 jurisdictions around the country shield illegal aliens through a variety of formal and informal sanctuary policies. Other jurisdictions readily provide the full panoply of taxpayer benefits and services.

S2



M3/  
M4

If we truly want to control our borders, we must not only have physical barriers that make illegal entry difficult, we must also discourage illegal immigration by making it clear that it will never be rewarded.

S1/  
S1

*Dan Stein is president of the Federation for American Immigration Reform.*

# Los derechos humanos de las personas mayores

Normas internacionales y la ley argentina prohíben las discriminaciones entre detenidos y sugieren respetar condiciones derivadas de su avanzada edad

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M9

Muchos hemos aprendido de nuestros propios mayores la necesidad de respetar sus años, su condición física y sus necesidades. Hay situaciones en las que lamentablemente sólo rigen la buena voluntad y el sentido común, que siempre deberían ir acompañados de una actitud abierta y generosa. En muchos otros casos, son las leyes y las convenciones las que ponen límite a los atropellos que sufre un segmento etario en crecimiento. S1

Precisamente, preocupada por la situación de las personas mayores, la Organización de Estados Americanos suscribió, en 2015, la llamada Convención Interamericana sobre la Protección de los Derechos Humanos de las Personas Mayores, con el fin de destacar la necesidad de abordar la temática del envejecimiento desde la perspectiva de los derechos humanos. S2

El respeto a la dignidad del ser humano, que supone evitar en cualquier circunstancia los maltratos, por acción u omisión, y la violencia contra las personas mayores, incluye también desterrar el abandono y la desatención integral de sus necesidades propias de modo de evitar poner en peligro su vida o su integridad física, psíquica o moral.

La referida convención exige a los Estados miembros de la OEA la adopción y el fortalecimiento de aquellas medidas legislativas, administrativas, judiciales o de cualquier índole que garanticen a las personas mayores un trato diferenciado y preferencial en todos los ámbitos, puntualizando de manera destacada que no habrá exclusiones de ninguna naturaleza. Es así como los Estados miembros, respecto de las personas mayores que hayan sido privadas legalmente de su libertad, tienen asimismo la obligación de promover medidas alternativas de acuerdo con sus propios ordenamientos legales internos.

Nuestra Constitución nacional dispone que las cárceles serán "para seguridad y no para castigo de los reos detenidos en ellas", en tanto que "toda medida que a pretexto de precaución conduzca a mortificarlos más allá de lo que aquélla exija, hará responsable al juez que la autorice". En el orden internacional existen, además, normas ligadas al tratamiento de los reclusos conocidas como las "reglas Mandela", vigentes desde 1955, que imponen la necesidad de respetar la dignidad de los presos y evitar los tratos inhumanos o degradantes, pues las personas privadas de libertad conservan siempre sus derechos humanos inalienables junto con todos los demás derechos humanos y libertades fundamentales que, en ningún caso, se pierden. Al respecto, las reglas agregan -con meridiana claridad que "no podrá invocarse ninguna circunstancia como justificación en contrario" consagrando además el principio absoluto de "no discriminación" y la necesidad de tener siempre en cuenta a las categorías más vulnerables dentro del contexto penitencial.

A todo lo antedicho se agrega que también las Naciones Unidas adoptaron, en 1957 y 1977, Reglas Mínimas para el Trato de los Prisioneros, que abrazan naturalmente el referido principio de "no discriminación" y sugieren la necesidad de tener en cuenta las características particulares derivadas de la edad de los detenidos. Sus principios fueron transformados en resolución por la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas en 1988. Prohíben expresamente las discriminaciones entre detenidos, cualquiera que sea su naturaleza, destacando asimismo que ninguna circunstancia puede ser invocada como justificación para la tortura o los maltratos de los presos. Normas similares han sido adoptadas, desde 1973, por el Consejo de Europa.

Días pasados, el juez federal de La Plata Carlos Rozanski, desconociendo todo lo referido hasta aquí, rechazó el pedido de prisión domiciliaria de un condenado por delitos de lesa humanidad al aducir estrategias para defender la impunidad y opinar que "la atrocidad no tiene edad".

Desde estas mismas columnas hemos defendido siempre la necesidad de respetar la dignidad humana de los detenidos, cualquiera que sea la razón de su arresto. En la Argentina, la ley 24.660 y su posterior modificación en 2008 establecen en su artículo 33 que "el juez de ejecución o juez competente podrá disponer el cumplimiento de la pena impuesta en detención domiciliaria" en distintos casos, tales como el del interno mayor de 70 años, la mujer embarazada, la madre de un niño menor de cinco años o de una persona con discapacidad a su

cargo, el interno enfermo cuando la privación de la libertad en el establecimiento carcelario le impida recuperarse o tratar adecuadamente su dolencia, el interno que padezca una enfermedad incurable en período terminal y el interno discapacitado cuando la privación de la libertad en la cárcel implique un trato indigno, inhumano o cruel por su condición.

M2 Estas condiciones, incluida la de los adultos mayores de 70 años, deben ser siempre respetadas en todas las circunstancias en que el condenado o procesado solicite el arresto domiciliario. La expresión "podrá disponer" de ningún modo le confiere al juez interviniente la posibilidad de optar a quiénes darles aquel beneficio y a quiénes no entre los detenidos encuadrados en el citado artículo de la ley. En cambio, el beneficio de la prisión domiciliaria sí constituye una opción para el detenido. S3

La ley argentina adopta el principio de la no discriminación, lo cual supone que no hay ninguna categoría delictiva exenta de la necesidad del trato humanitario que merecen todos los detenidos, más allá de la atrocidad de sus crímenes. Por otra parte, requisitos como el de ser mayor de 70 años no presentan problemas de interpretación, puesto que la edad constituye una condición objetiva del sujeto. S4

M3 En Oriente, los mayores son sabiamente admirados, escuchados y venerados. En muchos otros lugares se los ignora o se los denuesta. Pero ningún país puede enorgullecerse de maltratar a sus mayores y ninguna justificación que se pretenda esgrimir puede respaldar una decisión que violenta no sólo las leyes y normativas, sino la inalienable dignidad de la persona humana. No se puede continuar avalando el caprichoso e ideologizado proceder de quienes han hecho del revanchismo y la venganza una escuela que pretende teñir de odio el derrotero de una Justicia que para ser verdaderamente legítima debe ser, sin dudas, independiente. S5  
U3 S1

# El viaje de Macri a China: mucho más que una cumbre del G20

Martín Dinatale LA NACION

SEGUIR



MIÉRCOLES 07 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 2016 • 21:37

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**M1** **HANGZHOU.-** Se sabe que las cumbres presidenciales adolecen de resultados concretos para **S1** mantener en el tiempo. Más bien, sirven para estrechar lazos entre jefes de Estado, emitir señales de cada país al mundo y coordinar algunos ejes de la economía y la política mundial. Pero la primera aparición de Mauricio Macri en la cumbre del G-20 que acaba de finalizar en **S2** China arrojó resultados mucho más allá del cronograma formal de la reunión de presidentes.

Hubo señales de Macri para todos lados y también el Presidente recibió gestos de diferentes **S1** países o del empresariado extranjero. Se podría hacer un amplio listado de lo que se llevó Macri de esta cumbre. Pero a grandes rasgos se observaron los siguientes datos.

**M2** La Unión Europea y Estados Unidos no van a cambiar su postura proteccionista de los **S2** productos agrícolas por más que Macri haya instado en esta cumbre a la Organización Mundial de Comercio (OMC) a profundizar una reforma global por la eliminación de los subsidios a las exportaciones agrícolas. De hecho, tanto Barack Obama como los presidentes europeos presentes en Hangzhou admitieron que el crecimiento de sus economías está paralizado y la llave para evitar un colapso a esto, entre otras cosas, es precisamente darle sustento a sus productores agropecuarios. No sólo Estados Unidos y Europa fijan planteos proteccionistas para el sector agrícola. El gobierno del estado chino de Heilongjiang acaba de resolver la aplicación de un subsidio a los productores de soja de su región, la que más siembra este producto en todo China.

A su vez, quedó demostrado en Hangzhou que sigue existiendo cierta contradicción en los objetivos del Gobierno. La Argentina no definió aún el reconocimiento pleno de condición de economía de mercado a China pero hizo una fuerte convocatoria a sus empresas a que inviertan en el país. 53

El Presidente se reunió con los CEOs de al menos cinco gigantes de China, entre ellas, China Power, Sany, Huawei, Alibaba, China Nuclear Corporation. A todos los invitó a invertir en una "nueva Argentina alejada del proteccionismo y el populismo" kirchnerista, según dijo. 54

Esto cobra sentido para un presidente que deberá lidiar con un equilibrio mayúsculo: evitar la invasión de productos chinos en el país y controlar la resistencia de la UIA que ya alertó sobre el impacto negativo que un desembarco de empresas chinas tendría para la Argentina. A ellos, Macri les mandó un mensaje: "Esta también es mi preocupación. Vine a China a promocionar la inversión, no a vender el país", le dijo a LA NACION. Ahora deberá cumplir esa palabra empeñada.

Hay más de lo que deja la cumbre del G20. Durante las reuniones bilaterales con el presidente ruso Vladimir Putin y con el chino Xi Jinping, Macri advirtió sobre las enormes diferencias de números en términos de déficit comercial entre lo que plantea la Argentina y el resto de los países. Ejemplo: China dice que el superávit es de 3000 millones de dólares y la Aduana argentina sostiene que es de US\$ 6000 millones. Para promocionar un país serio hay que serlo. El Gobierno tiene aquí un reto gigante: ordenar su sistema de estadísticas de comercio exterior que por la corrupción en la Aduana fueron adulterados los datos de los últimos 10 años.

La canciller Susana Malcorra y su par Wang Yi firmaron en Hangzhou el Protocolo Adicional al Acuerdo de Cooperación sobre la construcción en Neuquén de una estación espacial china. El anexo firmado establece taxativamente el uso exclusivamente pacífico de la estación Neuquén. La Cancillería dio por superado el conflicto que se había desatado por ese acuerdo que firmó Cristina Kirchner con China donde la base de Neuquén estará dirigida por una agencia de espacial de Pekín que depende del Ejército Popular chino. Pero el debate no muere con la firma del acuerdo de Malcorra. Ahora el tema deberá tratarlo el Congreso argentino para su ratificación y allí los legisladores de PRO y la UCR que mantuvieron una dura puja con el kirchnerismo deberán justificar ahorar este anexo. No hay datos aún de las exigencias que puso China para llegar a este acuerdo. La oposición los va a reclamar. 55

Macri le aseguró a Putin que la Argentina tiene "una enorme capacidad en la producción alimentaria" y quiere aprovechar las oportunidades del mercado ruso para "ampliar las exportaciones en ese sector". El presidente ruso abrazó esa idea. Es entendible. Moscú tiene un bloque alimentario de Estados Unidos y la UE luego del conflicto de Crimea por lo que está necesitado de alimentos. El problema que se abre es el de siempre: la Argentina no tiene aún suficiente capacidad exportadora de alimentos y, a la vez, los controles fitosanitarios de Rusia son muy rígidos. 56

Malcorra recibió del presidente chino Xi Jinping un espaldarazo público para su candidatura a secretaria general de la ONU. "Vamos a apoyarla porque es una gran candidata", dijo Xi en su reunión con Macri. El gesto es inusual porque el voto de cada país miembro del Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU que definirá esa candidatura es secreto. ¿Implicará esta revelación eventuales condicionamientos no escritos de China para la Argentina? 57

M2

Macri se cruzó con Michel Temer en la cumbre del G20 y acordaron una visita al país del nuevo presidente de Brasil para la primera semana de octubre. Quedó en claro que ante la debilidad de Temer, Macri se posicionó en esta cumbre como líder regional. Claro que ello no quita que ahora ambos tengan que acordar la compleja agenda bilateral que estaba congelada por el juicio político a Rousseff y que incluye temas sensibles como el comercio automotriz. 58

Para terminar, un poco de farandulería de la cumbre del G20. Juliana Awada desplegó una intensa agenda paralela y empezó a mostrar cierto sabor por la política. Avaló con otras primeras damas la firma de un compromiso para la lucha contra el HIV/SIDA. "Entre todos tenemos que luchar para bajar los índices de transmisión y de mortalidad, para luego avanzar en la erradicación de la enfermedad", aseguró la primera dama en una de sus primeras definiciones políticas. Detrás de ella, está el asesoramiento de la destacada politóloga María Reussi que moldea cada paso de Awada en su incursión política. ¿Habrá algún proyecto electoral detrás? Nadie lo sabe. 59

M3

La visita de Macri a China fue mucho más allá de la cumbre del G20. Después de todo, la diplomacia está llena de gestos, dobles mensajes y señales para el futuro. 51

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# El lado B de un justiciero por mano propia

Diego Sehinkman PARA LA NACION

SEGUIR



DOMINGO 04 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 2016

27

M1

Estamos en el siglo XIII, en China. Frente a la mirada atónita de un panda, un hombre S1  
corta una caña de bambú y cuando la termina de ahuecar, introduce allí carbón, salitre y  
azufre y luego acerca una varita encendida. Entonces ese tubo verde expulsa tres letras que S2  
cambian la historia de la humanidad: p-u-m. Hace un millón y medio de años que el  
hombre domina el fuego. Y hace siete siglos que no domina las armas de fuego.

M2

Todos los días las personas estamos expuestas a vaivenes emocionales que determinan S1  
nuestras conductas. Sin embargo, la mayoría de esas conductas llevadas a cabo bajo el  
influjo de emociones volátiles y turbulentas tiene marcha atrás: discusiones, insultos,  
peleas, renunciaciones. De todo eso se vuelve. Pero cuando la prolongación del aparato psíquico  
es un gatillo, ya no hay reparación posible.

El 16 de junio de 1990 al ingeniero Santos no le robaron el estereo sino su vida en estereo, S2  
que pasó a un solo canal: el juicio. No fue preso, pero las familias de los delincuentes le  
hicieron un proceso civil para reclamarle indemnización. Para pagarle a una, Santos perdió  
un departamento. Y para arreglar con la otra casi funde su empresa. El lado B de la vida de  
quien fue llamado "justiciero" y "héroe".

La historia se reedita con el médico de Loma Hermosa que la semana pasada mató al S3  
delincuente que lo abordó cuando salía en su auto. Lino Villar Cataldo contó en una  
notable entrevista hecha por Alejandro Fantino los detalles del episodio y cuánto le costó,  
siendo de origen humilde, recibirse de médico. La identificación del público con Cataldo,  
representante de la cultura del esfuerzo, fue inmediata.

Los especialistas en seguridad tienen dos certezas: 1) ser robado a mano armada es S4  
traumático y deja huellas psíquicas por un tiempo; 2) ser robado y responder a la agresión



M2

con un arma ya no es traumático sino dramático y deja huellas psíquicas para siempre. Según las estadísticas, cuando el asaltado intenta defenderse con armas, los delincuentes aumentan exponencialmente su agresividad y casi siempre abren fuego. Al ser apuntado por un arma -dicen- lo mejor es seguir las instrucciones y mostrarse calmo y solícito. Reducción de daños.

M3

Quizás en esta ocasión Cataldo salvó su vida al disparar, pero vale la pena repetir: resistirse <sup>SI</sup> suele ser peor. La afirmación no es ideológica sino numérica. No lo dice Zaffaroni. Lo dicen las estadísticas. Ringo Bonavena, que también murió de salitre, carbón, azufre y plomo, decía que todos te palmean, pero cuando suena la campana te quedás solo. Las luces del estudio de Fantino se apagan. Empieza el segundo *round* de Cataldo. Contra fiscales, familiares del delincuente y sus propios fantasmas.

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# Esperando al segundo semestre ... como Beckett

## Tribuna

Federico Semeniuk

- TAGS
- *Inversiones,*
- *blanqueo de capitales,*
- *recesión,*
- *Federico Semeniuk*



M1 A fines de los años '40, Samuel Beckett, posteriormente Premio Nobel de Literatura, escribe una de sus obras consagratorias, Esperando a Godot. En ella sus dos personajes principales, Vladimir y Estragón, aguardan al costado de un camino a un tal Godot, con quien aparentemente tienen una cita. Mientras esperan, un muchacho se les acerca para avisarles que "aparentemente no vendrá hoy, pero vendrá mañana". S1

La trama de la obra y su subtítulo (Tragicomedia en Dos Actos) guardan un claro paralelismo con la expectativa del oficialismo respecto a la recuperación económica durante el segundo semestre, luego de las medidas abordadas en el primero. S2

El Gobierno, desde que asumió funciones, pareció convencerse respecto a que las correcciones sobre las que avanzó inicialmente serían suficientes para sentarse y aguardar. Pero ¿aguardar a qué o a quién? Como sucede en la obra con Godot, tampoco queda del todo claro. Podría ser la "lluvia de inversiones", el "cambio del clima de negocios", la "mejora de las expectativas" o una combinación de todas estas. S3

M2 En concreto, gran parte del optimismo a futuro se basa en información relevada por el Ministerio de Hacienda, que muestra que los anuncios de inversiones del sector privado ya alcanzan los U\$D 32.200, guarismo que representa un tercio de la Formación Bruta de Capital Fijo de todo 2015 y un 5% del PBI de dicho año. Más aún, no deja de ser cierto que la Inversión Extranjera Directa (IED) posee un elevado potencial de crecimiento, luego de años de políticas que tendieron a ahuyentar la captación de nuevos aportes. En consecuencia, el país terminó S1

ampliamente rezagado en la lista de los principales receptores de IED en la región, por lo cual, la reversión de esta circunstancia podría ser auspiciosa en caso de materializarse.

M2 Sin embargo, al momento de prever el eventual flujo de inversiones, la discusión sobre el “cuánto” queda ampliamente relegada a la incertidumbre sobre el “cuándo”. En este sentido, caben las siguientes preguntas: ¿las inversiones anunciadas aceptarán el éxito del oficialismo en las elecciones legislativas de 2017?, ¿o en cambio los inversores esperarán su resultado para finalmente decidirse a realizar los desembolsos? S2

Esta disyuntiva, junto a la persistencia de los desequilibrios heredados, hoy actúa como un freno a las deseadas inversiones. Esto explica el giro del Gobierno hacia una fase más pragmática de su política económica, direccionada ahora a suplir la demorada inversión privada por una inversión pública que motorice rápidamente la actividad y el empleo, pero relegando en el camino objetivos fiscales más ambiciosos. Los mismos, a su vez, intentan ser alcanzados vía los ingresos del cobro de penalidades que surjan del blanqueo de capitales (¿quizá el nuevo Godot?). M3 Pero el sinceramiento fiscal es un hecho extraordinario, y ninguna recuperación económica puede ni debe basarse en hechos de esta naturaleza. S3 S1

M4 Por el contrario, debe sustentarse en una política macroeconómica consistente y de largo plazo que, en contraposición a lo que sucede en el escrito de Beckett (en el que Godot nunca llega), motive a Vladimir y Estragón a dejar de esperar y finalmente hacer camino al andar, para que la historia de Argentina, a diferencia de la obra teatral, no sea también una tragicomedia. S1

Federico Semeniuk es economista (Ecolatina)

# El respeto por las reglas de juego pesa tanto como una economía sana

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por HERNÁN DE GOÑI

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M7

Dentro de seis días, la participación de cerca de 2000 líderes empresariales en el Foro de Inversión y Negocios que se realizará en Buenos Aires, creará una noticia de alto impacto económico: la reinstalación de la Argentina en el escenario global, a través de un evento que tiene pocos antecedentes no solo en el país sino en la región. S1

M2

La envergadura de este encuentro no solo se medirá por el nivel de los visitantes, sino por la participación de todos los estamentos institucionales internos. El Presidente y sus ministros serán acompañados por casi todos los gobernadores, las autoridades del Congreso, el BCRA, la Corte Suprema de Justicia, dirigentes de la oposición y hasta representantes del sector gremial. S1

La elección del Centro Cultural CCK no es casual, y forma parte de las señales que quiere emitir la Argentina: ser vista como un país que busca abrirse al mundo dando señales de que las reglas de juego y las políticas de Estado están para ser respetadas, y no para que queden sujetas a la arbitrariedad del político de turno. S2

La fecha elegida también tiene una razón de ser. Es la continuidad de la participación de Mauricio Macri en el G-20, que a su vez será continuada el próximo 19 con la visita a la Asamblea Anual de las Naciones Unidas en Nueva York. S3

M4

Lo que falta ahora es que el resto de los actores internos estén a la altura de este desafío. Proponer la suspensión de las importaciones, aunque sea como respuesta a una situación social y productiva compleja por la recesión, es un mensaje que no contribuye a regenerar la institucionalidad y la confianza, tan necesarias para un proyecto de crecimiento como una macroeconomía sana. S1

## OPINIÓN

# La verdad sobre los subsidios energéticos en Argentina

Por Iván Carrino

11 de agosto de 2016

Imaginemos a un padre que está tratando de educar a su hijo de aproximadamente 5 años. Una de las lecciones que intenta enseñarle es que no debe ser agresivo con sus compañeros del colegio. S1

Un día determinado, lo invitan a una reunión en el colegio, donde comenta los avatares de este proceso de enseñarle a su criatura dicha lección. Para su sorpresa, un grupo de padres le sugiere que no se haga mucho problema por ello, ya que todos los compañeros son agresivos. No sé bien qué pensará el lector al respecto, pero no parece del todo sensato que, porque un grupo de personas se comporte de manera equis, todos tengamos que comportarnos así o conformarnos con dicho comportamiento.

M ¿A qué viene todo esto? Principalmente, a que pocos días atrás se difundió un [informe del Fondo Monetario Internacional](#) (FMI) que muestra que la gran mayoría de los gobiernos del mundo **destina importantes cantidades de dinero a subsidiar la energía en los países que administran**. En términos de subsidios per cápita, nuestro país no estaría tan mal parado, ya que ocupa el puesto número 60 en una larga lista de naciones analizadas. S2

Obviamente, la relevancia de la difusión de este informe, que en realidad data de 2015, es criticar el intento del Gobierno por reducir estos gastos y el inevitable corolario de la suba en las tarifas que los consumidores pagan por la luz y el gas. S3

Ahora, la pregunta es si deberíamos tomar dicho ranking como válido, o como punto de referencia para nuestra problemática local. Mi respuesta es rotundamente negativa.

M2 En primer lugar, porque uno de los principales focos en nuestro país está puesto en los subsidios a la energía eléctrica. Es decir, a que el Gobierno pague parte de lo que consumimos de luz en nuestras casas. Si uno mira ese mismo reporte del FMI, encontrará que **entre los países** S1

avanzados (como Estados Unidos, Australia o Bélgica) casi ninguno destina un solo dólar a este tipo de subsidio.

Por otro lado, si nos comparamos con las economías avanzadas —y no con países que no deberíamos querer imitar, como Venezuela, Uzbekistán o Irán—, nos ubicamos en el quinto puesto a nivel mundial en términos de lo que subsidiamos la energía, siempre según los datos del FMI y en términos del PBI.

Ahora relacionando con el ejemplo del inicio, lo que no dicen quienes se encargaron de difundir este reporte es que la institución internacional hizo el análisis con el objetivo de concientizar a los países para que reduzcan inmediatamente este tipo de erogaciones públicas.

Para el FMI: "Eliminar los subsidios globales a la energía podría reducir las muertes relacionadas con las emisiones de combustibles fósiles en más del 50% [...]. Las ganancias fiscales de eliminar los subsidios energéticos se estiman en 2,9 billones de dólares en 2015. Esto ofrece un enorme potencial para reducir otros impuestos y fortalecer la recaudación [...].

Las ganancias netas de la reforma, luego de reducir el costo que los mayores precios de la energía tendrían para los consumidores, derivadas de la ganancia fiscal y ambiental, se estima en 1,8 billones de dólares y podría ser mucho mayor si se utiliza para generar reducciones de impuestos que estimulen el crecimiento económico".

El problema fiscal es la clave en nuestro caso. El año pasado, el déficit ascendió a 370 mil millones de pesos, o 6,3% del PBI, mientras que los subsidios a la energía treparon al 2,9%, según datos de la Asociación Argentina de Presupuesto y Administración Financiera Pública (Asap) y el Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (Indec). A su vez, estos subsidios han venido creciendo año a año, al igual que el desequilibrio de las cuentas públicas. Como resultado, hoy somos uno de los países con mayor inflación en el mundo y tenemos una carga tributaria insostenible.

Así las cosas, la reducción de los subsidios energéticos fue la vía que eligió el Gobierno nacional para achicar el déficit y bajar ese impuesto no autorizado por el Congreso que es la inflación.

A modo de conclusión, mi pregunta para los que no quieren tocar este gasto es: ¿Qué proponen? ¿Qué otro rubro del gasto público aconsejan reducir? ¿Quieren eliminar Fútbol para Todos, los subsidios a la cultura, privatizar Aerolíneas Argentinas, o todo lo anterior junto? ¿Quieren

emprender una reforma del Estado que implique, al menos en el corto plazo, mayor cantidad de empleados públicos buscando trabajo en el sector privado y, por tanto, engrosando las filas del desempleo? ¿Quieren explorar la posibilidad de ir a un sistema de jubilaciones privado?

¿O lo que en realidad proponen es que sigan vigentes las políticas del kirchnerismo, que financiaron una fiesta de gasto público con inflación, atraso y pobreza?

No es relevante si Estados Unidos, Trinidad y Tobago, o Arabia Saudita gastan más en términos per cápita en subsidios a la energía. Lo relevante es cómo se hace para achicar el déficit fiscal, bajar la inflación y así empezar a desactivar la bomba atómica económica que el kirchnerismo le dejó a SU SUCESOR.

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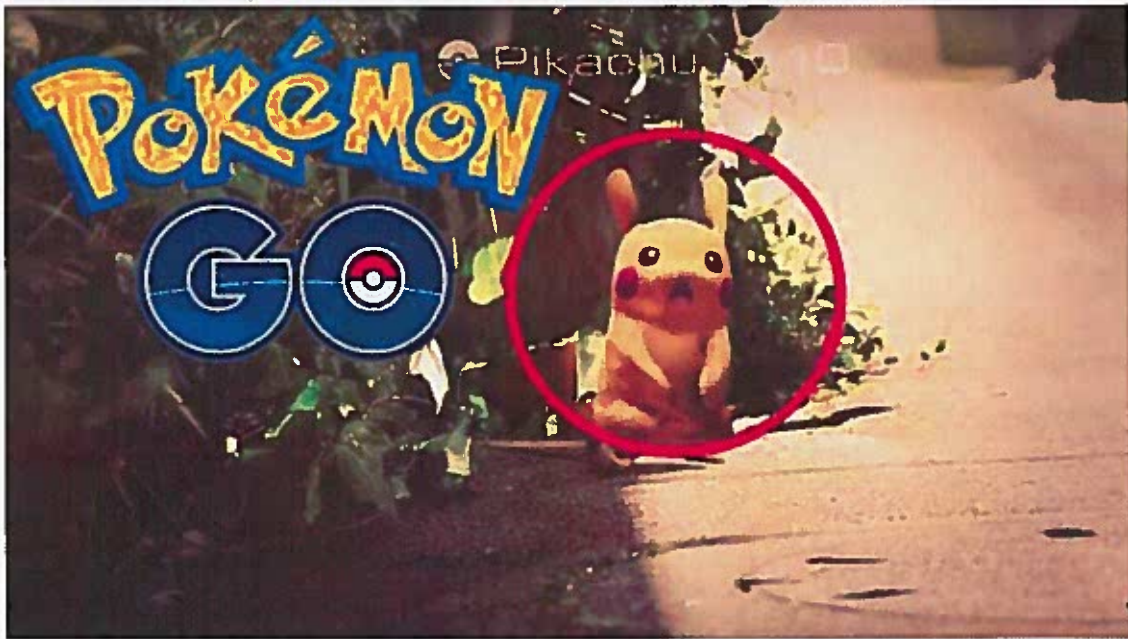
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OPINIÓN

# Una pequeña reflexión para los indignados con Pokémon Go

El juego causó furor y despertó todo tipo de críticas. Sin embargo, muchos parecen estar cautivados por la aplicación, aun cuando se nieguen a reconocerlo e incluso aseguren que es nocivo. ¿Repudio genuino o pura hipocresía?

Por [Desirée Jaimovich](#) 5 de agosto de 2016



(Nintendo)

En los últimos días, Pokémon Go fue noticia en todo el mundo por el furor que causó. Desde diferentes medios del mundo se habló y se sigue hablando sobre el tema. 51

En *Infobae* transmitimos las principales noticias sobre el juego de realidad aumentada: de qué se trata, cómo se juega, las advertencias, los beneficios que trajo para algunos y los problemas que ocasionó y podría causar.

H1

Ayer jueves, luego de que la app se habilitara en el país, compartimos con los lectores la experiencia de jugar en vivo. La transmitimos y tuvo muchas repercusiones. Como la mayoría de las notas que se sacaron sobre el tema.



M1 Los comentaristas, en su mayoría, se mostraron enojados y molestos por la dimensión que adquirió el tema. Criticaron, denostaron y repudiaron de todas las formas posibles al juego y a los jugadores. Y también a los que osaran, en el futuro, probarlo. S2

A los indignados, les digo algo: si no les gusta no se lo bajen, no lo miren ni se acerquen a él. Tienen todo el derecho del mundo a hacerlo, pero no hace falta que, además, se dediquen a criticar con saña a cualquiera que decida probar esto. Todos tenemos derecho a opinar y decir lo que queramos, pero sería mucho más productivo tener un hablar responsable y justificar con argumentos lo que decimos. S1

Por otra parte, opinar sin justificar y encima hacerlo a través de agresiones no sólo no suma nada, sino que genera malestar. ¿Cuál es el objetivo? ¿Qué se busca ocasionar? Si algunos experimentan un goce profundo en agredir a los otros, entonces tendrán que ponerse a pensar sobre el tema, porque evidentemente hay algo que no está bien. S2

Y si realmente quieren compartir una opinión sobre el tema, de nuevo: háganlo sin agresión y con argumentos. Van a lograr mejor recepción del otro lado. Los mensajes acompañados de insultos no son efectivos. Nunca. M2

Los tipos de insultos también merecen una reflexión aparte. Les pido que hagan el siguiente ejercicio: lean los comentarios de las notas, escuchen a los opinólogos de turno en la calle, la tele y los portales y descubrirán que cuando se habla de una mujer, la mayoría de los insultos se basan en su aspecto físico o sus supuestas necesidades sexuales. S3

No digo que los hombres estén exentos de estas críticas, pero, en el caso de las mujeres, este tipo de agravios es mucho más frecuente. Si es linda, es tonta, un gato o una inútil. Si es fea, no merece hablar, opinar ni trabajar. Y en los dos casos, el mismo consejo: "Que mejor se consiga un tipo". Si la mujer hace lo que hace o dice lo que dice es porque, seguramente, le falta tener sexo con un tipo. Siempre. Incluso cuando esté probando un juego de realidad aumentada.

Y volviendo a la cuestión lúdica: jugar hace bien a la salud. Con moderación, claro, como todo en esta vida. El problema no es la aplicación en sí, sino el usuario. Si el usuario va a quedar adherido al teléfono como un *zombie* y va a dejar de conectarse con el entorno real, entonces sí sería un problema. Pero esto no es nuevo. Ya hay muchos que hace rato están pegados a sus smartphones por motivos muchísimos más nocivos y repudiables, como, por ejemplo, para dedicarse a agredir, para trabajar 24 horas al día o para entrar en paranoia con el tema de turno. S4

De nuevo, no se viene el Apocalipsis. El problema no son las nuevas tecnologías, sino los usos que se les den. O sea, y a riesgo de quedar reiterativa, la medida tiene que venir de parte de los usuarios.

Por otra parte, si les preocupa tanto que se difundan notas sobre una cuestión que creen tan banal como ésta, entonces dejen de hacer click en artículos que traten estos temas y dediquen su tiempo a leer información que les resulte más interesante. No miren lo que no les interesa. No regalen clicks, ni rating, pongan su foco de atención en otro lado. SS

M2 Si por otra parte, en realidad, disfrutan de leer notas que resultan lights, entonces háganlo sin culpa. No se preocupen, no se van a volver más tontos por haber dedicado 20 minutos de su vida a divertirse leyendo sobre estas cuestiones. Es sano hacer tonterías de vez en cuando. Y también lo es disfrutarlas. Así que, despójense de sus culpas y miedos, entréguese al placer de hacer pavadas y no se autoflagelen más. Prueben. Es liberador, en serio. Tampoco hace falta que se la agarren con los que se animan a disfrutar de un juego sin culpa. Disfruten ustedes, y ya.

Por último, si realmente sólo quieren dedicarse a leer noticias "serias", entonces háganlo, pero de verdad. Porque de ese modo subirían las visitas de artículos de excelente calidad, que, a diario, pasan desapercibidos porque, lamentablemente, parece que a pocos les interesa informarse sobre esas cuestiones. ¿En qué quedamos?

M3 / M4 ¿Y todo esto por un juego? No, para nada, simplemente me pongo a pensar que un juego puede dejar en evidencia muchas cuestiones y que es una excelente oportunidad para reflexionar. S1 / S7

OPINIÓN

# San Martín, héroe y ejemplo para los argentinos

Por Julio Cobos

17 de agosto de 2016

**M** Hoy, 17 de agosto, conmemoramos el aniversario número 166 del fallecimiento del general don José de San Martín, uno de los máximos próceres de nuestra nación y del continente americano. El Libertador nació en 1778, en nuestro territorio, cuando formaba parte del Virreinato del Río de la Plata, y a los seis años de edad se trasladó con su familia a España. Pasaron años hasta que retornó a la tierra que lo vio nacer. En 1812, José de San Martín arribó a Buenos Aires en un contexto de gran convulsión, donde nadie podía predecir lo que sucedería tanto en el Viejo Continente como en la América española. **S1**

Luego de la batalla de San Lorenzo, San Martín reemplazó a Manuel Belgrano como jefe del Ejército del Norte, en el que fuera el único encuentro de nuestros dos grandes próceres, que pasó a la historia como el Abrazo de Yatasto, orgullo del pueblo salteño, con el cual he tenido el honor de compartir la conmemoración de este hecho histórico. **S1**

**MZ** En 1814, San Martín fue designado gobernador intendente de Cuyo y se instaló en Mendoza. Su **tarea como administrador fue ejemplar y fundamental para la región: fomentó la educación, la industria y la agricultura, e impulsó reformas sanitarias de avanzada.** También en el ejercicio de ese cargo hizo gala de la misma austeridad y honestidad que lo caracterizó toda su vida. Administraba con inteligencia y preparaba con ingenio todo lo necesario para hacer realidad la gesta libertadora. **S2**

Fue desde la Gobernación de Cuyo desde donde el general influyó de manera decisiva para que se declarara la independencia en el Congreso de Tucumán de 1816, y desde donde impulsó la creación del Ejército de los Andes y planificó la campaña para cruzar la cordillera y liberar a Chile, gesta que aún hoy se estudia en escuelas militares de todo el mundo, lo que evidencia su enorme capacidad como estratega. El año próximo se cumple el bicentenario de la gesta sanmartiniana y

para el pueblo mendocino sería un honor recibir en el Campo Histórico El Plumerillo, Las Heras, a todas las autoridades nacionales para conmemorar tan importante suceso.

M2 Luego de liberar a la nación hermana de Chile y de impulsar la declaración de la independencia en el Perú, San Martín cedió el mando de sus tropas a Simón Bolívar, después de la famosa entrevista de Guayaquil, en 1822. **Mostró una vez más toda su grandeza al privilegiar el bien común sobre la aspiración personal, lo que fue una constante en su vida; ejemplo que debemos seguir todos quienes ejercemos responsabilidades públicas.** S3

En 1824, marchó a Europa para nunca más volver a la patria que lo vio nacer. Intentó regresar en 1829, pero la situación política interna lo hizo desistir, dado que, como él mismo señaló, nunca desenvainaría su espada para reprimir a sus compatriotas, lo que representa otra lección del padre de la patria. S4

M3 El general don José de San Martín es una figura muy presente para todos los argentinos. En Mendoza, por ejemplo, celebramos el Día del Padre el 24 de agosto, día en que nació Mercedes, la hija del Libertador. Su pensar, su sentir y su actuar son ejemplos que enseñamos y transmitimos de generación en generación. S1

M4 Por último también esperamos con ansias que el proyecto de ley para que la Ruta Nacional n° 40, que une a todo el país de norte a sur, pase a llamarse Ruta Nacional n° 40 Libertador General Don José de San Martín sea aprobado pronto en la Cámara de Diputados, para de esa manera rendir un más que merecido homenaje a quien luchó por la liberación y la unidad de los pueblos. S1

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- [Clarín.com](http://Clarín.com)
- [Opinión](#)
- 08/09/16

# Inseguridad: la ley del más débil

## Debate

Andrés Gil Domínguez

- TAGS
- *Inseguridad,*
- *justicia por mano propia,*
- *legítima defensa,*
- *Andrés Gil Domínguez*



M1

El reciente caso donde un médico mató a uno de los ladrones que querían robar su auto en la localidad de Loma Hermosa es una situación trágica que obliga a realizar algunas reflexiones sobre el rol del Estado, la justicia y la sociedad.

S1

En la configuración de un Estado que se centra en la plena vigencia de los derechos receptados por la Constitución y los Instrumentos Internacionales sobre Derechos Humanos, autores como Luigi Ferrajoli, desde una concepción teórica garantista constitucional, sostienen que en relación a la protección de los mismos que como deber titulariza el Estado, debe regir la "ley del más débil" como alternativa a la "ley del más fuerte" que inexorablemente se aplicará en su ausencia. Frente al delincuente que agrede a una persona, el más débil es la víctima y el Estado debe tutelar sus derechos de forma efectiva.

S1

M2

Una vez detenido, el más débil es el delincuente ante el Estado, el cual debe garantizar el debido proceso, asegurar condiciones dignas de detención y evitar la venganza privada.

La legítima defensa se configura como una garantía de protección de los derechos ante situaciones donde se verifica una agresión ilegítima, se exige el uso de un medio proporcional para repelerla y no debe existir una provocación previa por parte de quien se defiende. Emerge ante situaciones excepcionales y su aplicación jurídica no puede perder de vista el contexto, ni tampoco realizar análisis que exijan la adecuación de los casos a situaciones ideales que solo se pueden sostener con el diario del día después en la mano.

S2

Hay que tener en cuenta que una persona que delinque tiene un tiempo de planificación, puesta en marcha y concretización; en cambio una víctima debe reaccionar -muchas veces para defender su vida o la de sus seres queridos- en un tiempo y con acciones que no estaban previstas y mucho menos planificadas.

- M2 Pensar que el médico de Loma Hermosa actuó haciendo justicia por mano propia como una suerte de Batman porteño que recorre las calles en busca de hacer sentir a los delincuentes el mismo miedo que sienten las víctimas, implica dejar de ver a quién realmente se debe aplicar la ley del más débil. S3
- La repudiable justicia por mano propia requiere de un plan previo, no existe un peligro concreto y solamente se busca satisfacer el deseo de venganza por fuera del debido proceso.
- M3 La notable ausencia del Estado destroza sueños, ideales y planes de vida de las víctimas. El médico tuvo que matar a una persona joven, dejar de ejercer su profesión en el lugar de toda su vida, y lo más grave aún, tener que soportar amenazas de muerte públicas para él y sus hijos por parte de los familiares del delincuente sin que la justicia actúe y la sociedad reaccione con un masivo rechazo. Lamentablemente, el médico no tiene a su alcance la misma justicia rápida que tuvo el Presidente de la Nación cuando fue amenazado. S1
- M4 Aun con todas las deudas sociales pendientes, aun con todos sus fracasos en el desarrollo de políticas públicas activas, es moralmente relevante que el Estado recuerde, en este y en otros casos, a quién se aplica la ley del más débil ante la agresión y el delito. S1

Andrés Gil Domínguez es Profesor Titular de Derecho Constitucional y Posdoctor en Derecho, UBA

# Los desafíos de Brasil y un cambio de época en América latina



por ROBERTO GARCÍA MORITÁN

0

M1 Brasil empieza un ciclo con grandes desafíos, tanto internos como externos, y la necesidad de S1 restablecer con urgencia la credibilidad en ambos frentes. Todos objetivos complejos ante el proceso traumático que ha sufrido su democracia. La imagen de país moderno y con aspiraciones de ser de los diez más importantes del mundo, se encuentra temporalmente afectada y requerirá de un gran esfuerzo recomponer y volver a potenciar al Brasil entre el puñado de los más importantes del planeta. La crisis que enfrenta hoy es múltiple.

M2 La destitución de Dilma Rousseff, que termina con 13 años de gobierno del PT, abre un período de S1 complejidades para el presidente Michel Temer, cuyo mandato concluirá en el 2019, incluyendo el resultado incierto de las elecciones municipales de octubre próximo. El Partido de los Trabajadores ha anunciado "la más incasable oposición que un gobierno golpista pueda sufrir". Las expresiones utilizadas dan una idea de las dificultades políticas que enfrentara el gobierno de Temer.

En el corto plazo, el presidente Temer deberá producir resultados a contrarreloj para superar una S2 grave crisis institucional, la corrupción y la peor recesión económica en la historia del Brasil. Las previsiones económicas son complejas. Datos recientes indican que la economía se contrajo por sexto semestre consecutivo. Las proyecciones de mercado apuntan a una contracción del 3% para el 2016. Todos los caminos señalan que se deberá restaurar los equilibrios macroeconómicos. Este panorama, puede dar lugar a problemas sociales cuya complejidad se potencia con el estado de guerra declarado por el PT.

El giro político que se confirma en Brasil acentúa el cambio de época en América latina después de las S3 elecciones en Argentina y Paraguay. El Presidente Temer, con un enfoque más pragmático, parece dispuesto a alejarse de la visión ideológica que dominó la política exterior del Brasil en la última

década. Las gestiones de Lula da Silva y de Rousseff fueron, de alguna forma, el ancla del pensamiento de izquierda regional aunque menos estridente que Venezuela o Cuba.

La reacción del eje bolivariano (Venezuela, Bolivia y Ecuador), al retirar sus embajadores de Brasilia con motivo de la destitución de Rousseff, pone de manifiesto los riegos de diferencias profundas en distintas instancias regionales. Caracas ha anunciado que "congela las relaciones políticas y diplomáticas con el gobierno surgido de un golpe parlamentario".

MZ La incógnita es qué ocurrirá en el Mercosur cuya crisis se había instalado ante la negativa de Argentina, Brasil y Paraguay para que Venezuela asumiera la Presidencia Pro Tempore. La nueva situación entre Brasilia y Caracas aleja alternativas de solución diplomáticas. Sin embargo, los desafíos económicos de Argentina y Brasil podrían ser circunstancias para impulsar una agenda renovada. Quizás ambos encuentren con creatividad la oportunidad de apoyarse mutuamente en un Mercosur aperturista para superar los problemas coyunturales que enfrentan. S4

En lo que hace a las relaciones bilaterales argentino brasileñas, el alcance y naturaleza del vínculo continuará siendo de privilegio. Ambos se reconocen como aliados principales. La sintonía de la política exterior entre Buenos Aires y Brasilia lo pone de manifiesto y ambas Cancillería enfocan lineamientos similares dirigidos a una apertura al mundo. S5