

Departamento de Filología Inglesa
Universidad de A Coruña

Tesis Doctoral

**presentada por
Alan Floyd Moore**

**dirigida por la
Dra. D^a. Elizabeth Woodward Smith**

**Título:
“The News Discourse of *The Times*
during the Conflict in the Persian Gulf (1990-1991):
A Lexicosyntactic Analysis”**

V^o B^o

La Directora

Fdo. Dra. D^a Elizabeth Woodward Smith

6.1. Modality and News Discourse

In English, as in most other languages, practically any attitude towards truth and falsehood can be expressed by modality, which could be called a complex linguistic megacategory, where a wide range of structures has to be considered. For requesting, persuading, encouraging, advising, warning, as well as for conjecture and obligation, which are the two principally concerning this chapter, English speakers can use modal verbs, but also many other modal devices, within and outside the verb phrase. The choice of main verb can be an expression of modality, with “look for” having a different grade of certainty than “find”, while the choice of affirmation or negation, tense and aspect, can also be seen as modal choices, as they express the speaker’s perception of events. Then there are marginal auxiliary verbs, intermediate verbs between full verbs and modal verbs, such as “happen to”, “tend to”, “have to”, “hope to”, “need to”, “seem to”, “be bound to”, “be supposed to”, “be obliged to”, “plan to”, “manage to”, “want to” and so on, which appear in scales of modality according to the likelihood of the main verb representing reality.¹ Apart from these, there are modal idioms, such as “had better” and “would rather”, and so on, which reflect the same kind of attitude to reality as modal verbs, just as “can”, in the sentence “John can swim”, could be paraphrased “John knows how to swim”, while “You may leave” has the same meaning as “I give you permission to leave”.

Many other lexicosyntactic choices, not only those within the verb phrase, have a modal side to them, and some have been considered already in other chapters. If “need to” and “have to” are semi-modal, then the adjective “necessary” is also, and disjuncts, although syntactically detached from the other sentence elements, such as “necessarily”, “undoubtedly”, “certainly”, “admittedly”, “obviously”, “supposedly”, “either”, “or” and so on, also have a modal side to them. Modality can also be expressed by a separate “projecting clause”. In the sentence “Scientists have discovered / People now recognize / There is no scientific proof / It is clear / I think / I knowthat CFC’s destroy ozone”, the first part is a “modal projecting clause”, and these can include reporting clauses, such as “She said that

CFC's destroy ozone".ⁱⁱ Speech is more modally sensitive than writing, as intonation also adds modality to utterances. Summing up, then, in making practically any utterance we are making a decision whether or not to be categoric or hedge our statement about with modalization. Traditional grammatical categorizations are levelled by semantics and pragmatics, and the relationship between form and meaning is rarely one-to-one.

Modality is a crucial element in newstelling, especially in quality newspapers. In fact, with many utterances being representations of the thoughts and opinions of the journalist or others about events, it is not surprising that much of news discourse is made up of statements with some kind of modality. Although news discourse may intend to tell the facts, it is not purely descriptive, and Britain is a country where hedging devices are especially common in everyday language. Some ideological elements enter inevitably, and readers want to be told not only what happened but also attitudes towards events, in particular two important compartments of modality.

a. Obligation. What "should be done", some kind of moral obligation or "requirement", in functional grammar terms, and what "should have been done" but was not, which are, rather than obligation, often more advisability in these texts. People like to see that their leaders have feet of clay, and there are many statements of a moral kind in news discourse, "our" leaders being under a moral obligation. For example "The bishop said yesterday that Britain must / should / have to make a stand against aggression" is a typical example of the kind of sentence often found in media texts. Editorial comment is particularly subject to modal expressions of obligation, as in: "The campaign against terrorism and its sponsors must be continuous.... Terrorist reprisals must be punished in their turn." (*Daily Express*, April 18th, 1986)ⁱⁱⁱ

Almeida's survey (1992: 250-256) gives the figure of 0.1 - 0.3% as a proportion of total news discourse given over to necessity and obligation, which I find extraordinarily low. I find a huge number of utterances just reflecting necessity. There is considerable use of both

kinds of modal expressions, which are often value judgments like “should”, “must”, “ought”, “regrettable”, “quite rightly”, “reasonably”, “understandably”, “oddly enough” and so on.

b. Conjecture. Conjecture about the future, what “will be done” what “may be done”, and sometimes what “may have been done”, in differing degrees of certainty and uncertainty. Again, Almeida (1992: 256) gives the figure of 20-24% of news discourse given over to hypothetical expressions, which shows the huge amount of space given to conjecture, a finding which has been borne out by the present study. It is not practicable, in a study of this nature, to cover all the myriad expressions of likelihood used by writers.

6.2. Modal Expressions in *The Times*

Modal expressions are especially important when ideology is being discussed, and both expressing obligation and hedging statements with hypothetical modal expressions are a favourite element in the news discourse of the quality press in Britain. It has been found in the course of this study that *The Times* often expresses modality through compound verb phrases, such as, but not exclusively, those involving modal verbs, and that it tends to avoid the direct imperative, but does include other semi-imperative expressions.

There is a fundamental division between “epistemic”, on the one hand, and “deontic”, “evaluative” or “root” modality on the other, though there are many ways of slicing the modal cake, and the meaning of modal verbs depends on the context in which they appear.^{iv} The former of these two prototypes of modality, as its name suggests, deals with knowledge, or the lack of it, the speaker’s assessment of reality, the likelihood of truth of the proposition, with certainty, probability or possibility, as in “I must have a temperature” or “He / I / you should / ought to be home by now”, while the latter deals with obligation, necessity, volition, ability and permission, as in “You / I must / should / ought to finish this before dinner”, though the two compartments are not absolutely watertight, there being instances of overlapping between them, as the use of “must”, “should” and “ought to” in both epistemic and deontic modality suggests, and the adverbs “hopefully” and “surely”, as

in “Surely the Security Council will go further than its plaintive and weak request....” (August 4th, Letter) for example, bear both deontic and epistemic meanings. The letter is calling the action both obligatory and hypothetical. Diachronically, the first meaning of the modal verbs was evaluative, and the conjectural sense came later, but what both have in common in modern English is partly their sense of epistemic uncertainty, so that the unmarked case could be said to be the epistemic modals. There are the following similarities between the two sections, obligation and conjecture, in this chapter. Firstly, the utterer has an interest in whether the event occurs, or occurred, or not. Secondly, the act is usually performed by some person other than the utterer, and lastly the act has often not taken place at the time of uttering, but there is a certain undetermined degree of probability that it will take place or has already done so, sometimes called “potentiality”.^v The two facets of modal use are thus neighbouring meaning domains, and the grammatical forms straddle this divide, rather as the words “right” and “wrong” do in their logical and moral meanings. There are also other areas of modality.^{vi}

The first of the following sections deals with a deontic theme, that of obligation or necessity, while the second deals with an epistemic theme, that called variously possibility, speculation, likelihood or conjecture. The terms chosen are those which seem to me most striking, and those which best illustrate the great divide between “us” and “them”. In the statistical tables in this chapter I have found it necessary, in order to support my hypothesis, to count only the modal verbs used by journalists, editorial comment and letter writers, not quotations from interested parties, as the inclusion of the words of Western politicians and other elite figures would have unfairly weighted the argument, taking into account the amount of space they are granted. However, some impersonal expressions such as “It is (widely) feared / suspected / anticipated / recognized that....” have been included, as have some some quotations of independent analysts and experts. Although it is true that compound forms and simple forms are somewhat different, the former being more easily verified than the latter, examples have been included, as long as semantically the modal verb is largely unchanged, of simple and compound forms, affirmatives and

negatives, with unbounded time reference. Statistically, the number of main verbs in the clause has not been taken into account, so that “We must unite, stand firm and defeat him” would count only once.

Modal verbs themselves are the only modal devices analysed statistically. The reason is that, as they are the core of modality, their use is likely to be illustrative of modality as a whole. When the utterance is made in the passive voice, and in some other expressions, it is the agent of the action that is considered when dividing the reference into “us” and “them”. The following instance: “Foreign troops may face risk of banned arms” (August 9th, by Nigel Hawkes and Michael Evans) has been included as a reference to “them”, for example, as the user of chemical weapons was supposed to be Iraq. The following reference, on the other hand: “Force may have to be threatened in a blockade” (August 9th, Leading article) is included among references to “us”.

As this study is concerned with the relations between two sides, internal matters have been discounted, for example, whether Mrs Thatcher “should / will / may speak to the House of Commons”. Nor have I counted whether certain prisoners will be held in this or that place, whether a certain regiment will or may be sent, but whether forces as a whole will, should or may be sent to the Gulf has been counted, as in the following example with “will”: “We are now watching allied forces deploy into positions from which they will attack the Iraqi defence.” (January 22nd, by Philip Jacobson) I have not considered it necessary to count the number of references to each side in the section on obligation, as there are practically none referring to the Iraqi side. This method has been found useful, however, in the section on speculative modal verbs.

6.3. Modal Expressions of Obligation

Obligation can be expressed in many ways. Indicative utterances such as “That jar goes on the top shelf” are very frequently used as pragmatic imperatives. All expressions of obligation, present and past, including the imperative, have three conditions attached to

them. First, the desired state of affairs is different from that holding at the present moment, or that it would have been better if some other course of action had been followed in the past. Secondly, it presupposes that the object of the obligation is, or was, free to act in the desired direction, and thirdly, that the speaker has legitimate authority over the hearer. This third point is dependent on the relationship between the two, and in the present study has much to do with the relationship between the press, the authorities and the reader. The press is assumed to be independent of the powers that be, and, armed with this independence, can demand some action, often on behalf of its readers.

Here I concentrate mainly on the modal verbs “should”, “ought to” and “must”, together with modality verbs such as “need to”, “forced to” and “have to”, plus other devices that also express obligation. These are characterized by their impersonal nature. As an example, I have chosen part of the leading article of September 1st, entitled “Siren Voices In The Gulf”, which is full of expressions of obligation.

“The West must not be seen to side with autocratic privilege.... the UN should immediately convene a conference....Mr Kinnock should reject it.... The West's commitment.... need not, perhaps should not, imply shoring up the al-Sabah throne.... Perhaps, therefore, the United Nations should oversee free elections? The emir must be restored to his throne.... The distinction between encouraging democracy, and imposing it, should be clearly drawn.... There must be no fudging of the UN resolutions.... Westerners would do well to recall.... The world should concentrate on driving back Saddam....”

During this period, exhortations of a moral kind are given, but a quality newspaper rarely personalizes, in phrases like: “We would like the government to....”, “We suggest / think the government should....”, “We want / wish the government to....”, “We are afraid the government will....”, and suchlike. *The Times* uses intrinsically impersonal modal expressions of obligation, without imperatives and without identifying the source of its moral yardstick.

It is no coincidence that the object of the above extract is consistently “us”, the enemy being beyond moral salvation, beyond “our” moral codes. During the Gulf conflict, the media were full of advice for the allies, the United Kingdom, the West, “the world”, “the nations”, President Bush, Washington and Israel, in short “us”. It is a common everyday experience that expressions of obligation are generally directed towards those with whom we have more in common. We might advise a cousin, friend or neighbour about what “should”, “must” or “can” be done, what (s)he “would do well” to do, or what is his/her “best” or “worst” policy, but would tend not to tell a complete stranger or an enemy. This is how modal expressions of obligation are used in the news discourse of *The Times*.

There are five kinds of modal expressions of obligation found in the texts:

1. Modal verbs referring to the West’s moral obligations.
2. Impersonal passive modal verb constructions referring to what “must/has to etc. be done”.
3. Other impersonal expressions with modal verbs.
4. Other expressions of obligation.
5. Imperative and semi-imperative constructions.

6.3.1. “Should”

Only root occurrences, where “should” implies a moral obligation, have been highlighted, not its subjunctive meaning, nor its epistemic meaning (probability). “Should” is a mild obligation, less urgent than “have to” or “must”. It is often not an action which is suggested on the part of the West, but rather a mental act of “considering”, “taking seriously”, “overcoming inhibitions”, and so on. The reason why, for example, the Bush administration “should” take action, is that they are defending and representing “us” and are in some way accountable for their actions, in a way that the Iraqis are not. At the beginning of the crisis the internal opposition to the use of force appeared, apart from the hawkish noises of the editorial comment: “The West should seek as many allies as possible in severing all diplomatic relations” (August 3rd, Leading article) as well as “We should be clear, however, just how costly this policy may prove; and we should give it its proper name: imperialism.”

(August 12th, by Robert Harris) King Hussein of Jordan and the Arabs in general, were also appealed to with this modal verb. Later on, attitudes hardened and force was called for.^{vii}

The sense of mild obligation expressed by “should” comes historically from its condition as the past tense of “shall”, just as “would” is less likely than “will”, “might” than “may” and “could” than “can”.^{viii} Expressions saying that Iraq or Saddam “should” do something hardly appear in the period selected. It is a sign of weakness that Iraq be appealed to to withdraw, and is only used in the period before moral closure: “No single hostage should have been taken in the first place.” (December 7th, by Susan Ellicott, quoting Mr Bush) and “Surely the Security Council will go further than its plaintive and weak request issued today that Iraq should withdraw...” (August 4th, Letter from Jim Sillars, MP) It is only another Arab leader who uses this word to apply to Iraq: “Iraq should draw the right conclusions from the solidarity expressed by the world community, and should not deepen the crisis.” (August 28th, Anonymous article, quoting Mr Mubarak) On practically the only other occasion when Iraq is advised about what it “should” do, the tone used by Mr Bush is rhetorical and threatening: “No one should doubt our desire for peace and no one should underestimate our determination.” (August 9th, by Christopher Walker and Martin Fletcher, quoting Mr Bush) Since the invasion was carried out by Iraq, it is perhaps paradoxical that nowhere is it stated that Iraq “should” withdraw from Kuwait. The absence of terms expressing the obligation that “Saddam/Iraq should/must/has to or ought to”, is part of the demonization of the Iraqi regime, which means its common sense or better side, cannot be appealed to as they simply do not exist. There was thus little advice for Iraq, which was relegated to a status beyond normal human conduct. The enemy is impervious to supplication or advice.

Turning to the agentless passive construction with “should”, hidden behind it is often the agent phrase “by us”, which in this case is very often national: “Reforms widely canvassed at the time of the Spycatcher affair should be revived.” (August 10th, Leading article) which is advice to the British government. It also sometimes implies as agents the UN and even “the world” or the international community, in its 1991 meaning adopted by *The Times*, that

is, the consensus formed to face Iraq: “Neither Baghdad's vague assurances of eventual withdrawal, nor the creation of a puppet government, should be taken as evidence that Iraq intends....” (August 3rd, Leading article)^{ix} This construction hides who will be instrumental in carrying out any action, and is very frequently used.

News discourse and diplomatic texts, such as that drawn up after the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in September 1990, are full of impersonal expressions saying what “should” be the case, which is obviously less than binding: “Considering that solidarity among peoples, as well as the common purpose of the participating states should lead to the better and closer relations among them in all fields....”^x There is thus a “normal” or “stable” international order and practice, which “should” be aimed at. In *The Times* there is a world view that lies behind nearly all the texts in which there is a normal democratic state of affairs in which the aberration is Saddam's dictatorship:

“A stable political system must be developed in the region. A crucial element should be the merger of the tiny Arab states.... Kicking Saddam out of Kuwait should be just the first step towards creating a new and stable system in the region.... The West's goal should be to help forces in the region....” (August 7th, by Amir Tahari)

The responsibility for achieving it is with “us”, and it is also in the interests of “legitimate” governments in the area, “legitimate” being itself a word often used when the word “democratic” cannot be applied to an ally. “The solution of the Palestinian representation problem should lie in normal international practice....” (August 4th, Letter from Abba Eban) and “Why Saddam should top the target list” (January 20th, by Barbara Amiel). The implication is that it is our side that is responsible for preserving the “normal” world order, understood as that holding in democratic countries.

6.3.2. “Ought to”

The same that is true of “should” is also true of “ought to”, in the sense of “mild obligation”,

though this verb occurs far less frequently. As with “should”, “ought to” is directed towards those who share with the West the condition of “we”. Only those with a sense of morality can respond to such a plea to do what is reasonable, that is, Europeans, Americans, Israelis and British governments and peoples: “The five permanent members ought to have begun work on winning UN approval for military enforcement...” (August 18th, by Rosemary Righter) and “We ought not to give him the opportunity to have that sort of victory.” (December 21st, by Susan Ellicott, quoting Mr Heath) I have found no mentions of “Iraq ought to”, or “Saddam Hussein ought to”, for the same reason as those given in the case of “should”.

Agentless passive constructions with “ought to” imply an agent, unmentioned but implied, which is the international community, in “... those governments who know perfectly well what ought to be done...” (August 18th, by Brian Walden) or “Any suggestion that the solution of the present crisis ought to be left to the Muslims or the Arabs themselves would allow Iraq to keep Kuwait” (September 3rd, by Hazhir Teimourian) and other examples.^{xi} There is only one occasion on which Saddam or Iraq are the implied subject of this modal verb, as part of a threat contained in a letter to him from George Bush, concerning internal opposition to military involvement in the US: “Diversity ought not to be confused with division”. (January 10th, by George Brock)

Impersonal constructions with “ought to”, as with “should”, refer to the given “we” of consensus: “... a new legitimacy, which ought to be based on something more than vague tribal claims” (August 7th, by Amir Tahari) and “What ought to be the ingredients of such a plan?” (February 10th, by Barbara Amiel), speaking about the future of the Palestinians. Here the agent of possible actions is understood as being “us”, while on other occasions it is easily extracted from the immediate context, as in “...the fierce debate within the administration about when the next phase of the war ought to begin.” (February 12th, by Peter Stothard) and “While WEU decisions ought to overlap with Community policy as much as possible” (March 8th, Leading article), where those responsible are understood to

be the two parties mentioned.

6.3.3. “Must”

Only the use of “must” meaning obligation has been considered, so the compound form with “have” is ruled out, reflecting as it does epistemic modality. There are many statements of a moral kind but it is those in our camp who are under a moral obligation, what Downing calls “inescapable obligations” (1992: 391). “The West”, “the world” and “the nations” are strongly urged about their moral responsibility, though there are relatively few expressions so hawkish, however, as to say that the West “must go to war”, or anything to that effect, though they do exist, in “On balance, Bush must go to war” (November 5th, Headline, by Michael Howard) and “Allied attacks on Iraqi offensive capacity must continue, with maximum intensity.” (January 18th, Leading article)

The frequency of “must” has fallen dramatically during the present century in news discourse (Biber, 1998: 208) and even when used it is frequently hedged about. Firstly, it is very common to find “must” in headlines modally “watered down” in the main body of the text (see section 6.3.4. below), and secondly it is common for the main verb after “must” to be a euphemism for the hawkish or military option, or simply a mental act: “The hard lesson, that the nations must be cohesive and determined in upholding international law...” (September 4th, Letter from Mr Toby Horton), “London and Washington must therefore keep their options open” (September 6th, Leading article), and “Yet the West must consider the impact which a resumption of food imports would produce.” (September 14th, Leading article) Very often it is obliged to be careful because of what those not as committed as the news outlet might think.^{xii} In leading articles there is more of a disposition towards suggesting a course of action, while in other opinion articles the writer exhorts more on mental states, but everywhere there is a noticeable frequency of verbs which state that a change of mentality is necessary: “must consider”, “must reconcile themselves”, “must clearly review”, “must not be seen to side with”, “must keep a door open”, “must keep their options open”, “must learn”, and so on. As with other modal devices of obligation, only

those within the group of the allies have obligations, as only “we” have the moral capacity to change.

“Must” however, unlike “should” and “ought to”, is full of urgency and can thus sometimes be applied to Iraq and its leader, as in “Saddam must quit with no conditions, says Kaufman” (September 1st, Headline, by John Winder) and “I do not condone the invasion. It was wrong and Iraq must withdraw....” (September 12th, by Mohamed Heikel). However, instances of this come almost exclusively from the period before the hardening of Western policy, of moral closure. Apart from journalists themselves, politicians often use this word. For example: “The Iraqi leader.... must understand Britain's readiness....” (September 3rd, by Philip Webster, quoting Mrs Thatcher) and “President Saddam's troops must withdraw.... that country must be returned to its legitimate government.... and foreign hostages must be freed....” (September 7th, Parliament, quoting Mr Ashdown)

Impersonal passive constructions with “must” imply that it is the civilized world that is referred to as the agent. “Dictators must not be allowed to get away with invading small defenceless nations”, for example, means that “we” must not let them do so. There are many instances of this structure, which can be semi-euphemistic in nature, as the means to the end are thus hidden, with no mention of how the emir must be restored, or how Saddam must be forced, stopped, defeated, and so on.^{xiii} The ideal situation is that of the present status quo or “reality”, but as always this reality is one shaped by “us”: “Any move that encourages Saddam.... must be shunned.... He and the Iraqi people must be brought face to face with reality.” (February 17th, Leading article) There are moral principles at stake which override humanitarian ones: “Sometimes humanitarian factors must be sacrificed to military success” (February 14th, Leading article), although it is seen as important that the world should be convinced of the rightness of what the West is doing: “Civilian casualties must be kept to a minimum; the war must be seen to be against the Iraqi leadership.” (February 15th, by Michael Evans) Challenging opinions are given some space, for example, this ironic use of the impersonal passive form: “(Iraq is).... a menace to

mankind which must be destroyed unless, of course, that country is America or Israel, in which case it is wonderful.” (September 2nd, Letter from John Whitbeck)

Other impersonal expressions with “must” are often extremely vague, such as “There must be....” or “It must be....”. It is implied that it is the West that is charged with the responsibility of making sure the moral order is upheld, as in “There must be no fudging of the UN resolutions “ (September 1st, Leading article), “There must be more massive evacuation” (September 3rd, by Unnamed journalist), and so on. The agent in these examples is the West or a part of it, and the statements are all somewhat euphemistic or misleading. Thus “It must be war” means “We must wage war”, “A campaign must avoid the danger” means “Our campaign / We must avoid the danger”, “There must be no cease-fire” means “Our forces / We must keep shooting”, and so on.^{xiv}

6.3.4. “Have to”

“Have to”, a semi-auxiliary verb (Quirk, 1985: 137), is semantically similar to “must”. It has been gaining in popularity at the expense of “must” in news discourse during the present century, having doubled in frequency in news discourse over the last hundred years.^{xv} The reason is not known, but perhaps it is due to its being a more impersonal, subtle way of inferring obligation, which would be consistent with the changes in journalistic style observed by some commentators.^{xvi} The American President is quoted as saying: “We've got to do what we have to do.” (January 15th, by Susan Ellicott)

The West is reported as having a moral obligation in the conflict which will not allow it to pull out before its mission is fulfilled, and phrases such as “...the West may have to keep a presence in the Gulf”, “the prime minister will have to prepare the troops”, or “troops would have to risk their lives” are common. Israel is included in the West. It “prepares for the worst”, and decides whether war “has to” be declared, or whether it is “forced” or “drawn” into the conflict. Apart from one instance, Iraq is never told what it will have to do, as it has been pre-demonized and pre-condemned. The image given is one of the West being drawn

into a conflict it neither desired nor provoked, and in which it now “has to” fulfil its moral duty of destroying the aggressor, so “American and British forces may have to become engaged in ground action on Iraqi territory,” (January 29th, by Michael Evans) and even after any armed conflict “American forces may have to remain in the region, under conditions of great discomfort, for many months.” (August 17th, by Michael Howard) The question here is the moral duty to face up to aggression, not any economic interest in the region, which is ignored by practically all journalists. The West only participates reluctantly.^{xvii} Leaders tell their soldiers they will “have to” kill and be killed, “...men who may have to die for their country....” (December 23rd, Leading article) or “Few prime ministers are pitched within weeks into facing British troops to explain why they may have to risk their lives within days.” (January 10th, by Robin Oakley) Expressions saying that Iraq “has to” are rare. Iraq has to leave because it is so ordered by the unipolarized world: “Washington yesterday insisting that all Iraqi troops now in Kuwait would have to leave by January 15.” (December 18th, by Martin Fletcher)

There is an impersonal passive form in which the West is an unnamed agent, and Iraq is often the grammatical subject of “have to” but the object of the action. It occurs often enough together with other modal verbs in expressions such as “will have to be” , “would have to be”, “may have to be”, and so on. “The military units in the Gulf... have always accepted that the Iraqis would have to be forced out of Kuwait” (January 9th, by Michael Evans), or “If Saddam Hussein is not stopped now, he will have to be stopped some time in the future.” (January 13th, Leading article)^{xviii} “Saddam will have to be forced out”, “a decision would have to be made” about when to start the fighting, “weapons will have to be used”, and so on, are common expressions.

The following are examples of how other impersonal expressions using “have to” also have the Western powers as implied agents: “There will have to be gunboat operations if any of these (leaders) come within reach of nuclear bombs” (January 6th, by Norman Macrae), and “The allied bombing of Iraq and its forces in Kuwait will have to continue for some time

yet.” (January 20th, Leading article) These expressions commonly take the responsibility for unpleasant actions away from the allies, as in “..... bombing targets have to be strategic and military.” (February 15th, by Michael Evans)

There is an almost total absence of impersonal and passive expressions of obligation when referring to the Iraqi side of the conflict, as might be expected. An expression such as “Kuwait has to be abandoned” would sound strange, though not impossible, but it has not been found.

6.3.5. “Need”

When “need” is mentioned, it is sometimes a matter of life and death, of refugees’ day-to-day necessities, for example. This use is present in *The Times*: “Water, food, medicines, clothing, shelter and transport are all needed urgently.” (September 15th, Letter from Mr Olaf Rogge) There is also a frequent use of the word in its meaning of “the best for the majority of people”. However, the use of this word in *The Times* is often not for such basic needs, but refers to the means to an end which is understood as one of the givens of news discourse, that of “our” need for success against “them”. The West’s actions in the Gulf are seen as a response to Kuwait’s call for help, and any action taken necessary for this end is justifiable. It is clear that when an action has been decided on, there are certain “needs” or “wants” created in order to carry these out, but where the limit lies between “wants” and “needs” is a subjective one, depending on the point of view of the writer. So while journalists often talk of “.... the West’s needs for reasonably priced oil” (August 8th, by Peter Stothard), from another perspective another journalist could write of “the West’s wants for unreasonably cheap oil”, but this rarely happens in *The Times*, as this question is never tackled. In fact, the two verbs are often used interchangeably: “Bush certainly wants to ensure that America will not have to return to the region.... He also needs to ensure that any government which replaces Saddam....” (August 24th, Insight article)

Even a murderer, in order to kill someone, can be said to “need” a weapon, an invasion “needs” an army, and a bombing raid certainly “needs” to be massive if it is to be “effective”. It is sometimes the case that the need is for some concrete aim: “To set up a proper force, with the appropriate logistics, the Americans would need a base from which to operate” (August 4th, by Michael Evans),^{xix} but all too often writers beg the questions: “needed for what, by whom and why?”, as in the article entitled “The world needs a policeman - and he needs an arrest” where the writer goes on “Apparently the world needs a policeman after all” (August 24th, by Jeane Kirkpatrick), and editorial articles are full of these impersonal and unexplained needs: “America's 41st president will need all the resolve and wisdom he can muster.” (October 21st, Leading article)

“Need” is much more frequently used as a noun than as a verb, and far more frequently used as a main verb than as a semi-modal verb. It is a favourite word of Mrs Thatcher's, and occurs dozens of times when journalists are quoting her: “Mrs Thatcher believes it important to concentrate on.... the need for an Iraqi withdrawal” (September 1st, by Michael Knipe), “Mrs Thatcher.... emphasised the need for patience” (October 2nd, by Peter Stothard), and “Mrs Thatcher insisted on the need for so decisive a defeat for Iraq....” (October 24th, Leading article) are examples.

There are many impersonal passive constructions with “need” as the main verb: “A senior Bahraini source said all other military facilities would be available to Britain and the US if needed” (August 18th, by Andrew McEwen), and “It was believed that some additional forces would be needed.” (September 7th, Anonymous article)^{xx} *The Times* and the West's leaders are at one on what is “needed”, and journalists are full of advice for politicians such as Mr Bush, who on dozens of occasions is told what he needs to do, what is needed from a president in moments of crisis, and so on: “But, as Mr Bush said, a ‘new compact’ is still needed ‘to bring the UN into the 21st century’” (October 2nd, Leading article), and “Bush needs to head off this sort of sentiment.” (November 18th, by John Cassidy)^{xxi} What is

rarely mentioned in the news discourse considered is the ideological framework, that initial step of decisionmaking. For any action to be carried out, then, there are needs. The agent is in need of certain things in order to realize his/her aims, as in “None of us can do it separately,” or “Mrs Thatcher said ‘We need a collective will’”. It is very rare for the subject of this verb to be Iraq or its leader, and even rarer in a kind of moral sense, except at the very beginning of the conflict, before moral closure against Saddam, when there are a dozen or more occasions on which his needs for assets, expansion, oil, a psychiatrist and so on, are discussed: “... an analysis of the Iraqi leader's handwriting which indicated he needed urgent psychiatric care” (August 2nd, by Michael Theodoulou), and “But sooner or later, even the most arrogant dictator needs friends.” (August 3rd, Leading article)

“Need to” is similar in meaning to “have to”. “Our” defence needs to be strong, “we” need to become militarily involved in the Middle East, and so on, as in: “Nobody has asked me why we need to keep our defences strong.” (September 6th, Anonymous article, quoting the British Defence Minister) As a semi-auxiliary verb of obligation or necessity, “need” is very common, and almost invariably has as its logical subject the West. The need for some action includes the need to reduce Arab poverty, to change the unacceptable face of Arab oligarchies in the area, for example “We need to be as single-minded in the current crisis,” (August 12th, Leading article) and “‘It's clear that what we need to do at this point is to enforce the international law,’ Mr Bush said.” (August 17th, by Andrew McEwen) Iraq is sometimes the subject of “need” as a semi-auxiliary verb, but very rarely, and without the moral meaning of the word: “Iraq needs to sell its oil even more than the world needs to buy.” (August 3rd, Leading article)

Agentless passive constructions with semi-modal “need” are limited to certain verbs, so that “This room needs to be cleaned” is acceptable, while “The house needs to be built” is questionable. Perhaps this is why the use of “need” in this sense is infrequent. The need is usually for action by “us”. The need is for action to be taken to defend the status quo, though this is often left unstated, as when it is said that “Saudi Arabia needs to be

buttressed against the threat of invasion.” (August 13th, Leading article) or that “... such action need not be taken explicitly in Israel's defence” (January 11th, Leading article), or again that “Nuclear deterrence need not necessarily be rejected as immoral.” (January 12th, by Clifford Longley) There is greater frequency of morally loaded expressions during the months of August and January, the moments of crisis.

So the verb “need” is often used impersonally with an implied meaning of “we” need, where the need is often national or institutional, but is often vague, and seldom justified. It is understood to be in the context of the conflict, the need generally being to strengthen our side, as when it is said that “The rules of engagement now for the Royal Navy will need to be more comprehensive” (August 15th, by Michael Evans), or that “There needs to be unity of purpose in this country.” (August 15th, by Peter Stothard, quoting White House officials)

6.3.6. Other Constructions Expressing Obligation

a. Compelled: The West is consistently portrayed as being drawn into a fight which it did not provoke, but where it must take the heavy burden of responsibility on its shoulders: “Iraq's invasion.... has compelled France to make a considerable military commitment” (August 11th, by Martin Alexander), as well as Israel: “... if Israel is compelled to defend itself and respond to an Iraqi attack” (January 12th, by Richard Owen), quoting an Israeli newspaper editor.

b. Forced to: This manipulative verb of modality is many-faced, like “make”, “cause” and “let”. It implies a successful manipulation of the agent, and also that there was resistance on the part of the latter to this coercion, moral or otherwise. The manipulee is the only possible grammatical subject in this passive construction. Which force it is remains a mystery in mainstream news discourse. Zelizer (1989: 377) notices how the police are often justified in news discourse: “Police in Meyer, Arizona had to gun down a prep school student.... police were forced to shoot...”. In *The Times* “we” are “forced to” impose

sanctions, defend ourselves, respond, stay in the area, and so on, as in "...the security council was forced to approve the use of force to drive him from Kuwait," (January 3rd, by James Bone) and "Nations the world over have been forced to institute counter-terrorist measures in the face of Saddam's threat." (January 17th, Leading article) Mr Major is often shown as being "forced to" take military decisions immediately after being thrust into office by Mrs Thatcher's resignation: "After just 50 days in office, Britain's youngest prime minister this century has been forced to become a war leader." (January 19th, by Robin Oakley) or "... in less than two months as prime minister, with the role of war leader forced upon him." (January 21st, by Robin Oakley) Likewise, "Israel will become embroiled" says Richard Owen (January 8th) in a conflict, as in 1967, involved against its will, because it is forced to: "...Israel's situation and the circumstances under which it might be forced to act." (January 23rd, by Richard Owen) are referred to: "...as in 1967, it is forced to respond to these threats of force by force." (January 23rd, Letter from Mr Ansel Harris) This verb is rare in hard news, being largely limited to opinion and editorial sections. It is also used to refer to Jordan and Iraq, but then the speaker's words are in direct speech or otherwise more clearly distanced from the views of the journalists themselves: "Saddam was clearly suggesting that he may be forced to use unconventional weapons," (January 29th, by Martin Fletcher, quoting Peter Arnett) and "'I pray to God I will not be forced to use these weapons,' he said." (January 31st, by Efraim Karsh, quoting Saddam Hussein)

c. Had better: This expression is only used twice and is applied on one occasion to Iraq: "General Scowcroft said.... if Saddam was thinking of withdrawing from Kuwait, 'he had better act fast'." (February 18th, by Peter Stothard) and once to "our" side: "The Americans have 'smart' bombs and they had better use them against the Iraqi tank divisions." (January 16th, by David Landau) It is therefore used indistinctly, but differently, encouragingly for the allies and threateningly for the enemy.

d. Obligated to / Obligation to: The West is under a moral obligation to become involved, while Iraq is seen to be only under a legal obligation, to comply with the Geneva

Convention, for instance. “We would then, I believe, feel obliged to become involved.” (August 7th, Letter from Field Marshall Lord Bramall)^{xxii} This expression is very infrequent.

6.3.7. Imperative Mood

This section has been included in that of modal terms of obligation, because it is semantically fairly close.^{xxiii} It is similar to exhort the West to “Shun the Siren Voices”, as it is to say “The West should / must / has to shun the siren voices”. Both constructions exhort a second or third party to “improve” their behaviour in some way. Typically, the imperative is subjectless, unmarked for time and future-projecting. I have also included what I have called “semi-imperatives”, constructions that are semantically imperatives without the imperative form, especially those with “-ing” endings in headlines, which are very frequent.

a. Leading Articles: Editorial comment in the British popular press, unlike the rest of the newspaper, uses emotive vocabulary, authoritarian phrases, uses “we” frequently, and in the nineteen eighties and early nineties appeals to feelings of shock and fear, frequently uses adjectives like “fanatical”, “extremists”, “hysterical”, “hideous” and other emotive terms like “buy off”, “appeasement”, “courting”, “soft on”, and “wets”. Leading articles are also practically the only place we will find the imperative mood in news discourse. Imperatives are often found in British tabloids and are reported on in *The Times*: “The front page of *The Sun* carries the slogan: ‘Support our boys and put this flag in your window.’ The *Daily Star*, proclaims ‘Go get him boys’” (January 16th, by John Young)

However, they are very unusual in quality news discourse, constituting only 0.00 - 0.04% of total verb phrases, according to Almeida (1992: 256) In *The Times* they are very rare, and the headlines of leading articles are virtually the only place they can be found: “Pay the Price” (August 31st), “Tighten the Noose” (October 17th) and “Shun the Siren Voices” (January 16th) being the only instances. These are appeals to the government, but also to the national consciousness, demanding firmness on the part of the nation through the reader community. They dramatize, which is as typical of headline language as is its use of

the simple present tense.

b. “Let us”: This formal “hortative” imperative form includes both speaker and hearer, and is often as all-embracing as the pronoun “we”, with a vagueness that makes it a very weak imperative in the texts studied, similar in force to “should”. “Let” has the advantage, for the quality press, that it generally makes no moral demands on anybody in particular, so that it can be considered merely a weak “ostensible invitation” to some action.^{xxiv} It is seldom used at the beginning of the conflict, and is nearly always restricted to letters and opinion, where it is an exhortation to some action by “us”: “Let us remember also the Kuwaitis and others” (December 13th, Letter from ex-British ambassador in Iraq), and “Please let us not forget the hostages in Beirut who are living in even more ghastly conditions.” (December 15th, Letter from Mrs Chown) The quality press prefer “let us” to the informal form “let’s”, which is never found apart from when servicemen are quoted in direct speech. The call is usually for some mental activity, to “remember”, “agree” or “temper our carousing”, rather than any particular course of action.^{xxv} When victory has been won, there is some “exhortation” to people in general as to what their reaction should be. So “Let there be a victory parade. Let the bells ring. Let us give thanks. Let the nation rejoice” (March 3rd, Leading article) uses the jussive imperative, aimed at a third person, here “the nation”, reflecting no exercise of control either by speaker or hearer over the hypothetical action.

As on most other occasions, the use of “may”, as in “May the people remember” and the formal “let us”, is clearly a national one, and as in the case of “our” (Chapter 4), it shows the “us” which is closest to the heart of *The Times*’ readers and writers, that is, Britain.^{xxvi} The expression may not be present but the plea may be implied, as in the following headlines: “Patience in the Gulf” (November 10th, Letter from Professor Sir Harry Hinsley) and “Fair Play In Wartime” (January 7th, Leading article), where the implicit plea is “Let us have patience”, “Let us have / practise fair play”. Again, the plea is very general, and invites nobody in particular to any specific course of action.

c. Opinion Articles and Letters: The imperatives used in headlines in *The Times* are not really commands but weak imperatives of advice, recommendation or suggestion, (Quirk, 1985: 831) or merely pseudo-imperatives, with the imperative form but semantically different from real imperatives, as in the following curious headline: “Lead us not unto war” (January 10th, by Conor Cruise O'Brien). They apply exclusively to “our” side and are often included in letters and opinion articles against the war effort. The following headlines are the only examples found outside the Leading articles: “Eject the Iraqis, then help the Gulf to democracy” (August 7th, by Amir Tahari), “Roll up, roll up for the great Gulf fun park” (August 11th, by Stephen Leather), “Make love, not biological war” (January 13th, by Paul Barker), and “Muzzle the dogs of war”. (January 13th, Letter from Mr Geoffrey Carnal) This last is a letter from Scotland, where there was more opposition to the war effort. Also “Give sanctions time, Healey and Heath plead” (January 16th, Anonymous “Parliament” article), “Read all about it” (January 19th, Anonymous Diary article) and ““Stop bombing”” (January 19th, Anonymous article), though this last is distanced by the use of inverted commas. The other instances are “Seek out the good Iraqis” (January 21st, by Ronald Butt), “Disarm dictators to save us from the next Saddam” (February 10th, by Norman Macrae) and “Think hard on total war” (February 19th, by Michael Howard). The above, it can be seen, are either appeals to the reader or to distant authorities, perhaps in Washington, perhaps in Downing Street. The only negative imperative found is the following: “Don't shoot the media messenger” (February 17th, by Robert Harris).

d. “Semi-Imperatives”: I have called the following “-ing” structures “semi-imperatives”, though this is a phrase I myself coin. They are found in headlines, using the “-ing” form of verbs, and seem to form part of a special jargon, known elsewhere as “headlinese”.^{xxvii} This is a feature which I have not seen mentioned elsewhere, and is semantically rather akin to “Let's....” or “We should....”. Its frequency is remarkable: “Uniting For Peace” (August 7th Leading Article), “Stopping Saddam” (August 12th, Leading Article), “Uniting the nation” (September 6th, Leading Article), “Working towards a new Arab order” (September 17th, Letter from Professor James O'Connell), “Mending bridges in Middle East” (September

29th, Letter from Mr Cyril Townsend, MP). “Keeping nerve in Gulf” (October 31st, Letter from Mr Richard Luce, MP) and many others.^{xxviii} The former prime minister Mr Edward Heath, who was a leading advocate of sanctions instead of force, and of dialogue with the Iraqi regime, wrote an article entitled “Talking to Saddam” (October 7th). These, without being imperatives, are suggestions that these actions are called for from “us”, though they may also be understood in some cases as introducing articles which suggest how these objectives can be achieved.

Likewise the following headlines immediately prior to and after the air or land attacks: “Onward, Christian soldiers” (January 14th, by George Hill), “Saddam: no half measures” (January 19th, by Conor Cruise O'Brien), “Time to cut off and kill” (February 23rd, by Michael Armitage) and “Now for Saddam” (March 3rd, Leading Article) without expressly being imperatives, imply the imperative mood as a latent element.

6.3.8 The Moral Certainty of Headlines

Headlines often use the present tense, which is a dramatizing device, making it appear to us the readers that the event is occurring before our very eyes. In the texts considered, it is often the case that headlines include strong modal terminology, which is used to attract the reader’s attention, giving way to the body of articles which tone down the modal, in this case the moral, force of the discourse. The following are examples, placed in chronological order, which show the same phenomenon repeated throughout the period studied. “Thatcher says Iraq must pay for Kuwait's destruction” (Headline). The tone of “headlines” is again replaced by the more formal, moderate tone appropriate to the quality press. “.... calls from Mrs Thatcher for fresh action to convince President Saddam Hussein that he would be forced to pay when he is eventually forced out.” (October 1st, by Charles Bremner)

“On balance, Bush must go to war”, affirms one headline. The main body of the article, however, drifts into modal hedging, including sentences like “There are many excellent

reasons why the United States should not attack Iraq.” (November 5th, by Michael Howard) Here, far from reflecting the modal force of the headline, the first paragraph seems to be contradicting it. Later on in the article it is backed up by other arguments, though never again with the “must” of strong obligation. Later the same month, another journalist headlines “Britain must face horror of war”. The British people are said to be obliged to look the horror in the face, but this striking headline, without mentioning the source of the words, is again toned down in the text that follows. “Brigadier Patrick Cordingley.... said yesterday he feared that the British public was not prepared for the horrors of a war.... British casualties could be high, he said.” (November 30th, by Michael Evans) Thus “could” replaces “must” as the modal verb. The brigadier is supposed to have said that Britain “must” face the horrors of war, but in the main text this is nowhere made patent, certainly not in direct speech quotations. In fact, moral force is removed from the main body of the text with expressions such as “feared”, “under the worst scenario” and “could”, which are all conjectural. The same is true of the following headline a few days later: “Cautious Bush says America must keep the pressure on Iraq”, says one headline. Diplomacy dictates that the words of world leaders should be low profile, and the headline has little to do with the tone of the article itself: “President Bush said the release of hostages would not pave the way for a face-saving deal for the Iraqi leader.” (December 7th, by Susan Ellicott) The more moderate “would” replaces “must” when the main body of the article is read. In the thick of the crisis, on the brink of war, the headline “UN authority must not be undermined”, again without attribution, dramatically draws the reader’s attention by the use of the imperative, but goes on in the first paragraph to explain “There could be no dilution of the terms of the UN resolutions without affecting the UN's authority, Paddy Ashdown, leader of the Liberal Democrats, said yesterday.” (January 16th, Anonymous article) In all these examples, moral certainty and exhortation are replaced by modal hedging devices, with “must” disappearing in favour of the past tense modal verbs “would be forced to”, “would not”, and “could”.

6.3.9. Modal Expressions of Obligation: Conclusions

Modal expressions of obligation are very frequent, more so in the opinion section and leading articles than in hard news, with a constant advocacy of certain actions, what the West “would do well to do”, and what “should”, “should not”, “must” or “must not”, “has to”, “need not” or “had better” be done in the treatment of the crisis.

The use of modal verbs of obligation and other modal devices, which apply almost exclusively to “us” contributes to the great discursive divide created between one side and the other. The hidden agent of many actions that are a moral obligation is “us” without it being stated, being simply taken for granted.

6.4. Modal Expressions of Speculation

The four modal verbs in this section have been selected because they illustrate different degrees on the scale of likelihood, and because they are the most frequent and at the same time the most striking. “Will” is more likely than “may” which is more likely than “could” and “might”. Speculative modal devices^{xxix} are an important part of news discourse in wartime. Not only do people want to know what has happened, “realis” statements, but they want to have informed opinions about what “will”, “will not”, “may” or “may not” happen afterwards, “irrealis” statements all of them, so a headline such as “President Saddam will not be dislodged easily” (August 12th, Leading article), demands attention, as it seems to claim the ability to forecast the future situation. The place of prediction in newspaper news discourse is important, as the immediacy of other media sources changes the role of the quality newspaper from provider of hard news to analyser of events. Many writers predict the state of things during and after the conflict. However, the pragmatic significance of the modal verbs varies from writer to writer, from news outlet to news outlet.

Modal verbs and other modal forms sometimes “objectify”, that is, they claim objective certainty or necessity for something that may in reality be doubtful, or merely a matter of opinion, by using “certainly”, “necessarily”, “undoubtedly”, “must”, and so on. The games

played in daily interpersonal relations involve terms of this kind, and news discourse and politicians' speeches are full of them.^{xxx} Modal expressions often insinuate without actually stating. They are often not mere neutral expressions of alternatives in the real world in the way that "Either X is true or X is not true" is. An expression like "the strike can be viewed as a challenge to democracy itself" may mean "must be viewed", and "by whom?" is not stated but could be the reader, the people, or perhaps the government. News in the quality press does not shout at you with its opinions, but may insinuate them. "Reports out of Iraq indicate that Saddam may be using hostages as human shields in military installations near Baghdad" may be said, rather than "Saddam is using human shields", but the effect on the reader may be the same. Or the statement "The emir may now be blamed for his support of Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war" (August 6th, by Hazhir Teimourian) implies that he will most probably be blamed. The journalist can avoid direct statements, thus sometimes avoiding a lawsuit. Modal expressions can be ambiguous, especially in formal written English, creating doubt when there is certainty and insinuating certainty when there is doubt. Modal expressions open the door to a belief that it is quite possible that the opposite is true. A politician's "I will not challenge Mr Smith" may imply "I will", just as "Reports have been denied" leads us to doubt, and just as "A Syrian official in Damascus denied there had been any demonstrations." (August 30th, by Michael Knipe) or "The former prime minister denied that his visit had been a public relations victory for Iraq" (October 24th, by Nicholas Beeston) opens the door to the opposite. Even denials like the above are sometimes made on the assumption that the corresponding affirmative proposition has been heard, believed or known by the hearer, just as "The Iraqis released all the hostages unharmed" (September 1st, by Charles Bremner), or "The return of each pilot unharmed from Iraq" (January 20th, by Jon Swain) or "The terrorists planted a small device which.... left employees unhurt" (January 24th, by Bill Frost) insinuate the possibility that it would be quite normal for them to have been harmed or hurt.^{xxxi}

Apart from the quotations included, where the journalist him/herself expresses an opinion, there are many occasions where elite Western figures and organizations are quoted

preferentially, giving great prominence and importance to their insinuations. “The MoD.... sets out in detail the reasons why journalists should exercise a significant degree of self-censorship”, says Brian MacArthur (January 13th). The journalist infers he is on the side of the Ministry of Defence by a series of hypothetical modal expressions that mix his words with those of officialdom. “Few journalists will quarrel with it, though it outlaws 32 subjects on which information should not be published without consultation.” Furthermore, he goes on “There is an obvious danger that publication of authoritative information about the operations of British or allied forces could jeopardise their success. Similarly, information about other preparations could give the enemy vital clues.” The use of the weak modal verbs “should”, which implies “must”, and “could”, implying “will”, as well as the reporting verb “set out in detail” which is a favourable reporting device presupposing the truth of what follows, and “a significant degree of self-censorship”, hiding in anonymity the official censor who “outlaws” journalistic activities (See 7.11.), all stand out here.

Speakers have many ways of expressing their opinions, or sometimes, dissimulating the fact that they are expressing their opinion, about what will happen. In most cultures, claiming high subjective certainty is shunned, while hedging devices are preferred, but journalists often cater for readers’ desire to know how things will pan out, and are often prone to making conjectures about it through modal verbs or other modal devices. “The Americans may support resolutions at the conference with which Israel refuses to comply, but they will not exert substantial pressure to force it to do so.... The conference will look good throughout the Arab world, and that will be its sole purpose.” (January 2nd, by Conor Cruise O’Brien) Not surprisingly, it is the opinion section, from which this extract is taken, where these verbs are most frequent.

Speculative modality is used differently to refer to the two worlds. For the allies, modal expressions of certainty are used, while to refer to Iraq, more hypothetical epistemic modal structures are preferred. Writers are much more tentative when talking about the “other” than “our” side, so expressions like the following are applied more to Arabs than to the

West and Israel: "Iraq is the strongest military power in the Middle East, except perhaps Israel which has an atomic bomb, but that will only be used in defence." (August 8th, Letter from Mr Patrick O'Brien) The writer doubts about Iraq's strength ("perhaps") but seems to know about Israel's intentions ("will").

On the other hand, one of the functions of the news is to open the door to the audience's imagination, to make them consider various possibilities, for example, in the following examples allied actions are speculated on: "...the Israeli government is unlikely to come under serious pressure from Washington" (August 9th, by Conor Cruise O'Brien), or "Whether he succeeds will depend on the strength of opposition. American military intervention is unlikely, and sanctions would be difficult to arrange, he may pull it off." (August 3rd, by Roger Owen) Quality newspapers are particularly fond of using such expressions, and there are many examples of hedging devices of this kind in *The Times*, to refer to both sides, for example with "may", which is a key expression in diplomatic language, the following quotation being repeated scores of times in this newspaper to justify allied action: "...a resolution approving the use of "such minimum force as may be necessary...." (United Nations Resolution)

6.4.1. "Will"

"Will" is perhaps the modal verb with most meanings attached to it, for instance volition, intention, insistence and imperative mood. Here it is the conjectural side that concerns us, although conjecture and volition are hard to distinguish in many utterances. As allied policy is seen by the mainstream press as being transparent, a result of the decisions of parliamentary democracies, there is less speculation as to the allies' future actions, and thus "safe prediction" can be used more often. There is, on the allied side, none of the unpredictability that, according to the mainstream media, characterizes Arab peoples. Although still "irrealis", this modal verb borders on "realis", some hypothetical terms, modal adjuncts like "ideally" and "preferably" being incompatible with "will". This verb is particularly frequent in headlines: "Quiet wasp who will not flinch from battle" (January 6th, by Richard

Brookhiser, on George Bush) or “Allies will rule the skies within hours” (January 16th, by Harvey Elliott, Air Correspondent).^{xxxii} Allied leaders’ plans are as predictable as the train timetable: “.... in her speech on Sunday, Mrs Thatcher will analyse the role of the US and European democracies” (August 3rd, by Peter Stothard). The allies are reliable and can be taken at their word, so there is none of the uncertainty that characterizes predictions about Saddam: “Israel will publish its own findings on the shootings next week” (October 20th, by Richard Owen), and “Baker will reject any linkage between an Iraqi withdrawal and a peace initiative.”^{xxxiii}

However, there are many examples of where journalists and elite Western persons want to predict things that could be reasonably expected to be less under control: “Nobody doubts that a war will be bloody, but it will not be Armageddon” (January 6th, Leading article) or “Only two things are certain. Iraq will lose and Kuwait will be liberated.” (January 17th, by Anthony Parsons) These things sometimes include “their” actions: “If the Iraqis do invade, their tactics will be the same as those used so successfully last week” (August 5th, by James Adams) and “Saddam will skilfully spread anti-Western propaganda throughout the Islamic world.” (August 17th, by Michael Howard)^{xxxiv} This belief that Westerners can safely predict what the other side will do is part of the perspective from a higher ground, the “privileged unilateral right to observe the non-Western Other....and the assumption on the part of one interlocutor that a certain viewpoint is held by his counterpart”,^{xxxv} that is so widespread in the Western media during this period.

The criterion applied here has been that of the agent of the action, when passive sentences have been included. For example, the following is included among “us”: “Against Iraq, the air offensive will precede any ground advance,” (January 14th, by Michael Evans) and the following among “them”: “International condemnation of the invasion of Kuwait will certainly not put back any of his plans” (August 4th, by Michael Evans). I have excluded conditional sentences, as they decrease the likelihood of the event in the main clause occurring. “If they waver, Saddam Hussein's chances of getting away with aggression will be good”

(August 3rd, by Sir Anthony Parsons) has a completely different degree of likelihood than just “Saddam’s chances will be good”. Also, those instances where “will” appears with expressions like “They are concerned that he will...”, “It is hoped/feared that the president will...”, “He will possibly”, or “Surely we will...” have been excluded. Only occasions where the use of “will”, or “will not”, implies a considerable degree of certainty have been included, for example “will certainly”, “will soon”, attributive clauses like “nobody doubts that” and “it is clear that he will”. I have not included compound forms such as “will have to” or “will be able to”, as these, too, involve some kind of doubt. I have included statements that include the certainty that something will be done, whether it is in direct or indirect speech. Again, I have only included instances where the journalist is expressing his/her own opinion. Only general plans have been included, not the movements of individual regiments or ships. Full statistical data are included in the Appendix, Figure 17.

The great frequency with which this verb is used to reflect what the West, and Western leaders “will” do and say is striking. This contributes to the identification of the viewpoint of the writer with that of the international community. British, American and in fact all allied battle and deployment plans are systematically proclaimed with modal certainty, and “will” is frequent without either using indirect speech or stating sources. There is considerable use of “will” on a very shaky basis, to prophesy Iraqi plans, which redresses a little the statistical imbalance between the two sides. Without wishing to be carping, this does seem to display a know-it-all attitude that boasts how “we” are sure “they” will react in a certain way, rather in the way “experts” and “analysts” are always “ours” (see 4.6.1.), as in “However, Saddam’s eyes will be firmly fixed on the Saudi oilfields” (August 5th, by James Adams) or “Iraq has chemical weapons and will use them if attacked.” (August 12th, by James Adams)^{xxxvi}

Uncertainty is rife in the middle months of the conflict, when journalists were bewildered and confused by peace negotiations and conditional sentences were very common. “Will” is very frequent in opinion articles, and in letters. However, it is also very common in hard

news, especially when predicting the actions that will be carried out by the allied forces, and above all at the beginning of hard news articles, as it is very striking for attracting the reader's attention, and in headlines, such as: "Land war will rely on skill as much as technology" (January 25th, by Michael Evans) or "One battle against oil pollution that nobody will fight" (January 26th, by Michael McCarthy),^{xxxvii} but further on into the article, "will" is often toned down into "may", "would", "likely to" and "will probably". Also, words that are stated dramatically in headlines are given specific sources in the body, which weakens their effect, as the unattributed nature of the headline gives it more modal certainty. So the headline "Air embargo will spell catastrophe" is toned down later in the article and all it amounts to is "Jordan yesterday said the impending air embargo of Iraq was tantamount to a 'declaration of war' on Baghdad and would lead to 'catastrophe'". (September 25th, by Richard Owen), while the headline "Desert Rats will be 'better off' on transfer to Saudi Arabia" becomes "The 9,500 men and women of the Desert Rats, will be better off financially by being deployed to Saudi Arabia, Tom King, the defence secretary, said yesterday." (October 19th, by Michael Evans) The latter attributes the words and so modal certainty is weakened. On another occasion, the headline "Special forces will play key role" is reduced to "Both America and Britain are believed to have sent their elite units to the Gulf." (November 5th, by Michael Evans) The presence of the expression "are believed to" makes it far less certain. Apart from the examples counted, there are literally thousands of statements by elite allied figures about what will happen, what the situation will be after the war, where some other elite person will be, who (s)he will meet and what they will discuss.

6.4.2. "May"

This word is very frequent at times of crisis. It helps to insinuate what is far from clear, and is a favourite word in headlines: "UN fears Iraq may turn drugs into arms" (November 8th, by James Bone) or "Emotional bond to captors may be developing" (November 6th, by Nicholas Beeston).^{xxxviii} The frequency of "may" is studied here, referring to each side. Only references that speak of the conflict between "us" and "them" have been included, not internal matters on each side, such as internal political matters in the United States or Britain, for example. A typical example of speculation about the other side would be: "His

nuclear researchers, too, may be within two years of making atomic bombs” (August 13th, by Hazhir Teimourian), “.... the Iraqis may have a new radar” (November 4th, by James Adams) or “Iraq may have a nuclear capacity in two months” (November 18th, by James Adams).

“The American president may launch a strike against Iraqi troops” is a perfectly feasible possibility, although the personalization of the target makes this very unlikely, but a journalist is far more likely to say “The Iraqi president may launch a strike against allied troops”. In the case of the Gulf conflict, in nine cases out of ten the logical subject of hypothetical “may” is Iraq. Journalists speculated on the Iraqi president’s possible future strategy, often based entirely on guesswork: “He may take a conciliatory line with Egypt, Jordan, and others.” (August 3rd, by Anthony Parsons) In the following examples the modal verb “may” has no purpose except a rhetorical one. In “Saddam may conduct his politics with no regard for the codes of human decency” (August 7th, Leading article), and “He may be impulsive, violent and radical” (August 7th, Insight article, quoting an Israeli general on Saddam Hussein), the meaning is that “Saddam conducts his politics”, and “He is impulsive, violent and radical”. Usually journalists are wary of guessing the enemy’s actions. None of the following examples, from August, are ever given any evidence to back them up in the course of their airing, but journalists feel free to insinuate about Iraqi designs: “The United States was aware that Iraq may have designs beyond Kuwait” (August 4th, by Martin Fletcher and Michael Evans), and “King Fahd may now have incurred President Saddam's wrath by granting asylum to the emir.” (August 4th, by Richard Owen and Juan Carlos Gumucio)^{xxxix} Journalists’ certainty reflected in the use of modal expressions referring to the allies is not so frequent when they refer to Saddam Hussein: “President Saddam Hussein may be underestimating the political difficulties he now faces.” (August 4th, by Peter Mansfield) This is a kind of insinuation rather than mere speculation about Iraqi power, and is very common. Speculation about “us” is also present, as in “President Bush may choose to liberate Kuwait” (August 20th, by Anthony Farrar Hockley).

In the following passive example, the grammatical subject belongs to “us” while the subject of the action is “them”, and so it has been included in my statistical data among “them”: “...the men may be held hostage.” (August 5th, by Maurice Chittenden) The following speculations have been included among “us”, as the implied logical subject is the coalition: “... there may be 400 or 500 nuclear weapons on board American warships” (January 6th, by Martin Fletcher), or “Suspicion that a full-scale disinformation campaign may now be under way to try to fool President Saddam.” (January 29th, by Christopher Walker) Expressions such as “This may provoke an Iraqi attack” are included among the references to “them”. The following examples are included among hypothetical actions performed by “them”. “Rumours that the allied forces may face the plague” (February 4th, by Christopher Walker, referring to possible Iraqi gas attacks) and “This may have been an attempt to goad the allied forces to mount a ground operation” (January 28th, by Christopher Walker), while statements that “the allies may have killed so many Iraqi troops”, or that “so many Iraqi troops may have been killed” are included among those referring to “us”.

Some instances of “may” have been excluded, such as the following, with “subjunctive”, permissive or impersonal uses, with no clear agent: “.... arming to the teeth small, unpopulous states, however rich they may be,” (August 3rd, Leading article), “EC nations have been told that their nationals may not leave” (August 11th, by Andrew McEwen), or “... of the 149 allied personnel who may have died in Iraqi-held territory” (March 3rd, by James Adams). I have concentrated on speculation about what each side, or prominent representative figures, mainly Presidents Bush and Saddam, whose decisions affect the course of the conflict, or weapons or soldiers *en masse*, but not individual soldiers and citizens, “may” or “might” do or think in the future, be doing or thinking at present, may or may not possess, or may possibly have thought or done in the past. Thus, I have included references to future and present possibility, but also included the compound “may have”, “may already have”, “may not have” and the like, as in “Abu Nidal, the fanatical Palestinian extremist, may have moved his base to Baghdad” (August 10th, by Christopher Walker), or

“The terrorist units of Saddam may have gathered to plant biological terror.” (January 6th, by Norman MacRae)

From the statistical data (Appendix, Figure 18) it is found that, considering the space given to the allies is far greater than that devoted to news about the other side, the imbalance in favour of “may” in sentences referring to the Iraqi side of the conflict is considerable, not only in frequency but in the way insinuations based on hearsay are the order of the day. It is true that there was simply more uncertainty about “their” position, as knowledge about “them” was often simply unobtainable for Western media outlets, and that in August 1990 and January 1991, when the West was largely in the dark about Iraqi intentions, or in the thick of a battle, it is not surprising that there should be more speculative terms applied to “them”, but the proportion is not overwhelmingly in favour of the allies even in these months.

6.4.3. “Might”

“Past tense” modals, that is, “might”, “could”, “would” and “should”, the latter in its conjectural sense, semantically have less likelihood than their present tense counterparts “may”, “can”, “will” and “shall”, though the historical fact that they were present and past tense has no relevance any longer. Thus, we would expect, given the hypothesis that what the Iraqis will do, are doing or intend to do or think, is harder to predict than what “we” do, that the former would be used with more frequency to refer to the Iraqis.

This modal verb of speculation is often found referring to the allied side, as in “There are four possible courses of action the West might take” (August 17th, by Barbara Amiel), but can also refer to the enemy: “President Saddam might be willing to share the Shatt al-Arab.” (August 3rd, by Roger Owen)^{xl} Full statistical data are to be found in the Appendix, Figure 19. Provisos when using “might” are the same as those for “may” above. I have not included Western governments and ministers saying what Iraq “might” think or do, though these are far more numerous than the occasions on which journalists make their

suggestions or a vague “fear” is mentioned. As with “may”, if there is passive voice, it is the agent of the possible action who is counted. The following examples count towards “us”: “The defence ministry might try to reduce the commitment to about 5,000 men” (September 12th, by Philip Webster), and “President Bush yesterday prepared quietly for a war against Iraq whose launch might already have been decided” (January 16th, by Peter Stothard), while the following are counted towards the data for “them”: “Sanctions might cool the enthusiasm of Iraqis for their leader,” (August 3rd, Leading article) and “There were continuing fears that the hundreds of Westerners might be used as hostages.” (August 8th, by Juan Carlos Gumucio) There are numerous instances, in fact in September the majority counted among “us”, where the subject of “might” is not stated, where the verb phrase is in passive voice. Instances are excluded when they mean something other than speculation, such as “should”: “If we are committed to propping up the Gulf kingdoms, we might at least use what influence we have....” (August 12th, by Brian Walden).

August 1990 and January 1991 are the months of most speculations about what each side “might do”, “might be doing”, or “might have done”, as these are moments of crisis, with movements of armies and diplomatic activity on both sides. Most space is given, in general, to the allied side, and therefore from the statistics it is seen that, in the texts selected, far more references are proportionally made to “them” using “might”. Apart from the statements included, there are dozens of occasions when allied chiefs state what “Iraq might do” or “might have done”, such as the following: “American spokesmen suggested that President Saddam Hussein might deliberately have put Iraqi citizens inside the building” (February 14th, by Martin Fletcher), but as these are just reported statements they have not been included. “Might” is used more in a rhetorical sense of threatening than “may” in utterances such as “We might have to use force”. Expressions such as “The Americans might well” increase the probability and are more frequently used on the allied side.

6.4.4. “Could”

As in other cases, only the speculative use of “could” is included, whether it refers to past,

present or future. “Could” has other meanings, those of ability and permission, but these have been excluded. I am only interested in those occasions when the word means roughly the same as “might”. On the allied side sentences like: “The threat of a military incursion across the border into Saudi Arabia could force President Bush's hand” (August 4th, by Martin Fletcher) are common,^{xli} but there are many similar sentences about Saddam Hussein and Iraq.^{xlii} For example, in his farewell article on British foreign policy, Andrew McEwen expresses his fears for the Middle East in this way: “.... a future nationalist orator could use it to awaken anti-European feelings.” (January 3rd, by Andrew McEwen) This shows the traditional Western mistrust of Arab leaders compared with the stability of their own. There are some references found which are somewhat unclear, straddling as they do the meanings of “may do” and “is/are capable of doing”, leading to the ambiguity of, for example: “He has broken a treaty once and could do so again.” (August 16th, by Anthony Parsons)^{xliii} I have not included instances where the idea is clearly that X “will be/is able to”, or references where “could have” is the past of “can”, meaning “was capable of” but did not do, but I have included examples where it means “may have happened”: “.... next year, by which time the UN's resolve to enforce sanctions could have faltered.” (September 2nd, by Mark Hosenball)

Full statistical data are shown in the Appendix, Figure 20. “We” are often the subject of this modal verb, and there is often the use of “we could see” prophesying what might happen in the future. A sentence like “President Bush could decide....” sounds more unusual than “Saddam could decide....” or the insinuation “Shelter could have hidden military centre” (February 14th, Headline, by Hazhir Teimourian) as Saddam is portrayed as being more unpredictable. But this modal verb, in its conjectural meaning, is seen to be an exception, in that it is used more to refer to the possibility that the allies will carry out some action than to refer to Saddam or Iraq. The explanation might be that this modal verb has a special place, straddling ability and possibility.

6.4.5. Other Expressions of Speculation

Some journalists, as was seen in the section on “will” (See 6.4.1.), feel able to enter the mind of Saddam and predict his future actions: “The purpose of the plants is unclear, but they appear to receive uranium ore and may be centrifuge or separation plants. It is not clear whether President Saddam has yet acquired the necessary sophisticated technology to enrich uranium for military use, but the mining operation may well be going ahead...” (August 13th, by Hazhir Teimourian) The expressions “is unclear”, “appear to”, “may”, “it is not clear” and “may well”, have the disadvantage that they are based on hearsay. The article goes further, and so uses the more certain “will”, a device often used in opinion columns elsewhere: “...his missiles will soon have the range to threaten Europe.... His nuclear researchers may be within two years of making atomic bombs.... As he gets older, he will become even more impatient....” . “Seem” and “appear to” are dealt with above, in 5.9.

a. Apparently: This term is used to refer to the Iraqi side on most occasions. Six times in August it is used to refer to the allies, ten times to the Iraqis, in January fifteen times to what each side is apparently doing, or has done, though it is used for the Israelis on several occasions on the allied side: “He is gathering foreign nationals from Kuwait to Baghdad, apparently for use as hostages against sanctions” (August 7th, Leading article), and “Iraq has apparently abandoned any hope that the UN secretary-general might be able to negotiate a settlement.” (January 28th, by James Bone) The reason is very likely the same as with other constructions, that the allied side is shown as being more transparent in its intentions than the Arabs.

b. Maybe: In the same way as “perhaps”, though occurring less frequently, this modal adjunct is used for the purpose of insinuating the size of the Iraqi military machine, exaggerating the weapons of mass destruction held by Baghdad, though never by us, as in “Some intelligence estimates suggest, however, that Iraq had many more than 20 mobile launchers at the beginning of the war, maybe as many as a hundred.” (January 21st, by Christopher Wallker)

c. Perhaps: This word has considerable rhetorical force, as it introduces remote possibilities by means of suggestion, without proving them. Hartley (1982) mentions the rhetorical use of "perhaps", in expressions such as "Maybe/perhaps he should think again" meaning that "He should certainly think again". I have also found this use in the texts studied, where it is relatively frequent as a conjectural device for the Iraqi side and for the Arabs in general, but seldom for the allies. "This could explain, perhaps, the stance of the PLO" (August 6th, by Hazhir Teimourian) or "Until a decade or so ago, there was, perhaps, no credible base for democracy in the Arab states of the Gulf." (August 7th, by Amir Tahari) It is sometimes used as a rhetorical device to insinuate possible Iraqi actions, usually without proof. The following refer to the prediction that he will use chemical or biological weapons, which in fact never occurred: "... intelligence units fear that terrorists could use biological weapons, perhaps even poisoning a city's water supply" (January 13th, by James Adams), and "The biggest fear among Israelis is that Saddam Hussein will launch a missile, perhaps with a chemical warhead." (January 15th, by Richard Owen)^{xliv} Leading articles are particularly prone to insinuations about Iraqi military potential and intentions, often without any basis but their own fears. In the above example it has been seen how a chorus, a combination of expressions builds up into a crescendo of a regular scaremongering campaign, using "might", "perhaps" and "possibly": "... what might be the "worst case" outcome: an Iraqi expansion, perhaps involving chemical weapons, possibly followed by regional destabilisation." (August 9th, Leading article) With less frequency the word can also refer to the coalition's plans.

d. Possibly: As has been seen on other occasions, the further from certainty, the more likely is the reference to be to the enemy, so that "possibly" is used more to refer to "them". This term is more formal than "perhaps" (Leech and Svartvik, 1975: 128), and so in the quality press it is very frequent: "He has chemical and possibly biological weapons" (August 3rd, Leading Article), "... he is perceived as utterly ruthless and possibly mad," (August 5th, by James Adams) or "A pre-emptive attack on Israel, possibly using chemical weapons"

(August 10th, by Michael Evans). This word is used as an alternative to “perhaps” or “maybe”, also for variety’s sake, not only for formality, as seen here: “.... what might be the “worst case” outcome: an Iraqi expansion, perhaps involving chemical weapons, possibly followed by regional destabilisation.” (August 9th, Leading article) There is sometimes an element of insinuation in “possibly”, in that it opens doors in the reader’s mind to possibilities of threats from “them”.

e. Probably: It has been found that this adverbial is used often to refer to “our” side, as in: “President Bush has probably concluded that the talks he proposed with Iraqi leaders will not take place” (January 2nd, by Andrew McEwen) and “Bush will probably seek agreement for an attack within a specified period” (January 12th, by Sir Michael Howard) though there are also many occasions when it is used to refer to the enemy: “He will probably stop short of an open challenge to his old enemy” (August 3rd, by Anthony Parsons) or “The good news for today is that the still very Third-World Saddam is probably (say, 80% probably) too inefficient....” (January 6th, by Norman MacRae) Through “probably”, as through “will” on certain occasions, the journalist tries to enter the Arab mentality and read what is going on there.

f: Would: This modal verb is very frequent, occurring over a thousand times in September, one of the sparest months, alone. It is very frequent in reported speech and conditional sentences, and is often used in combination with hedging devices, such as “doubt whether Saddam would”, “would not necessarily”, “warned / denied / doubted / hinted that America would”, “would never / surely”, “would probably”, “it is understood that they would”, and others: “It was understood King Fahd and President Mubarak would strive to bring the two leaders together.” (August 2nd, by Michael Theodoulou) However, the degree of certainty is very hard to pin down, as the second conditional has a wide range of semantic possibilities, from very likely to hypothetical.

The Arabs are portrayed as being more unreliable, and have this word applied more to

them, as in “According to diplomatic sources, Kuwait would try to find a face-saving way of bowing to Iraqi demands, but would not make territorial concessions” (August 1st, by Michael Theodoulou), “Diplomats doubted that Iraq would invade at so early a stage” (August 2nd, by Michael Theodoulou), and “.... observers, who said Baghdad would probably wait until the very last moment” (December 1st, by Nicholas Beeston), whereas Western figures are often able to speak without the experts, diplomats and analysts as intermediaries, even though it is in reported speech: “Mr Bush promised that if war did break out it would not be fought with half-measures. He pledged it would be no Vietnam and there would be ‘no murky ending’.” (December 1st, by Peter Stothard) There are cases where journalists play the guessing game with the Western leaders and nations as well: “Such a move would displease Jerusalem.... Britain would want any resolution to avoid an implied linkage.... Any suggestion.... would lose London's support.” (December 5th, by Andrew McEwen)

So there are numerous expressions that increase or decrease the reader’s perception of the probability of something happening. It has been found, as might be predictable from the previous sections (e.g. 5.9.), that those forms that express more certainty are applied more to the coalition. A statement may be exaggerated in the editing process by the deletion of words like “apparently”, “perhaps”, “supposedly”, “was reported to have”, “the Israelis announced”, judging the truth of what is said to be self-evident. (Bell, 1991: 76ff) On the other hand, and more frequently in the quality press, there are many devices that hedge statements about with doubt, or insinuate without stating clearly and directly. Different linguistic markers used to identify predictions and speculations include modal verbs, but also epistemic devices such as “probably”, “likely”, “unlikely”, “possibly”, “maybe”, “perhaps” “apparently”; conditionals and semi-conditionals such as “as if”, “if”, “as though”, “provided”, “as long as”, and speculative verbs like “seem” and “appear”. (Almeida, 1992: 250) These last two are considered in 5.9. There are boundless possibilities for the combination of these expressions of conjectural modality, the combinations “will certainly/probably”, “may possibly”, “may/might/could perhaps”, “maybe will”, “will/would be

likely to” and so on, which are all nuances of conjecture with more or less likelihood.

6.4.6 The Modal Certainty of Headlines

Headlines do not only have a moral certainty, as was seen above (See 6.4.1.), but also a modal certainty. It is often the case, in the texts studied, that the headline uses “present tense” modal verbs, such as “will” and “can”, while the body of the text uses “past tense” modals, such as “would” and “could”. Thus, headlines often display a modal certainty not reflected in the main body of the article. The following examples illustrate the divorce between the eye-catching headline of obligation or conjectural certainty and the article itself, hedged about by modal or moral uncertainties. In the main body of articles, the imperatives and “present tense” modals are often replaced by other less extreme devices. It is also true that the headline prefers abbreviations and shorter words due to problems of space, and the present tenses of main verbs are preferred in any case in headlines for impact.

“Can” becomes “Could”. This change in the following example is produced by the change from direct to indirect speech. However, it also functions as a device that reduces the urgency and force of the present tense modal verb “can”: “Major insists only Saddam can now stop war in Gulf” (Headline) becomes “John Major spelt out yesterday that only one man could now prevent war in the Gulf, President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.” (December 22nd, by Robin Oakley) As well as the fact that “spell out” is slightly less strong than “insist”, the impact of “could” is less strong than that of “can”.

“Modal certainty” becomes “believes...if it should”. The headline in the following extract seems to make a provable affirmation, but in the main body it is seen that it is merely the opinion of American intelligence of a possibility of what may happen “should war break out”. “Deadly anthrax deployed by Iraq on Saudi border” (Headline). The blaring headline becomes a soft whisper: “American intelligence believes Iraq has deployed anthrax, a devastating biological weapon, for use against the forces of the United States and its allies

should war break out.” (September 2nd, by James Adams, Washington)

“Modal certainty” becomes “confident”. What is proclaimed by the headline as a fact, seemingly certain, is again toned down by attributing the statement to allied commanders: “Saddam's Maginot line can be broken” (Headline) which becomes hedged round by some doubts: “Allied commanders are confident they can breach the huge ‘Maginot line’.” (November 24th, by Michael Evans)

“Will” becomes “Would”. Although this change can be attributed to the change from direct to indirect speech, there is also a reduction in the certainty reflected, especially where other hedging devices are introduced in the lead paragraph, such as indication of the source, “according to a senior British military official”: “Pull-out will take fortnight” becomes “Iraq would need at least two weeks to make a ‘tactical withdrawal’ from Kuwait, according to a senior British military official yesterday.” (December 22nd, by Michael Evans) The force of “UN will suggest” in the following extract is far greater than that of the United Nations Secretary General, who is only a representative of the organization, “would be discussing the possible role”: “UN will suggest sending force to oversee pull-out” becomes “The United Nations secretary-general said yesterday that when he meets Saddam Hussein today he would be discussing the possible role of United Nations forces.” (January 12th, by George Brock) Likewise, in the following two examples, “will” becomes “would” or “will probably”, and also, in the first extract “when Saddam goes” is more certain than “whatever happens to him”. “Major will not weep when Saddam goes” (Headline) goes on “John Major said that he would weep no tears at whatever happened to him.” (January 23rd, Anonymous article) The more dramatic and certain “will” becomes “will probably” in the following article: “Allies will stay, says Major” (Headline) goes on “John Major has said that the Western allies will probably maintain naval and air forces in the Gulf after the war.” (January 31st, by Robin Oakley)

“Will” becomes “may”. There is a considerable difference between the certainty of “will” in the headline and the “may” of the lead paragraph. “Britain's burden will not be so heavy as

feared”, which goes on “The war in the Gulf may prove less costly to the British government than many economists and politicians had feared.” (February 13th, by Anatole Kaletsky) Similarly, “Will” becomes “Is threatening” in the following extract, with far less certainty: “Huge cost will rock global economy” becomes the far less dramatic “The prospect of a Gulf war is threatening a steep downturn in the global economy.” (January 13th, by David Smith) On the other hand, headlines also insinuate what is not known for sure. There are six references to “hint” as noun or verb in the headlines in December 1990, and in January 1991 the words “suspicion”, “doubt” and “concern” abound in them.

6.4.7. Speculative Modality: Conclusion

The sheer number of modal expressions of speculation make it clear that this is one of the key purposes of news discourse in times of international crisis, confirming that news readers in turn expect this kind of prediction. On the “scale of likelihood”, there are two extremes, impossibility and certainty, with intermediate points of various degrees of probability and possibility, whose most important expression is modal auxiliaries. The further down the scale from certainty towards uncertainty we go, the more likely it is that the agent of the main verb will be “them”.

The modal verb “could” functions in a more neutral way than the others, owing to its ambiguity, functioning as an expression of ability and of conjecture, and is something of an exception, but the general tendency is to make Iraqi actions more uncertain, although the journalist often attempts to enter the mind of the “other” and predict what “will” or “will probably” happen on the other side. Headlines occupy a higher place on the scale of likelihood than the modal devices used in the main body of articles.

6.5. Perfect Aspect

The various devices that lend aspect to a text have been studied elsewhere as part of modality.^{xiv} Verbal aspect markers are closer to the nucleus of the verb phrase than modal markers. By using verbal aspect, we are not limiting ourselves to saying that something

may or may not happen, but that something has or has not been completed, that a process is continuing or that it is bounded, that actions are sequential, habitual or simultaneous, which include subjective personal factors, elements of desirability and undesirability, that colour an utterance modally.

The present perfect tense presents events as hot news without a time indicator, so much so that it has received the name “hot news perfect”, as in: “Troops from Britain's Special Air Service have stolen a surface-to-air missile in Kuwait” (January 13th, by James Adams) which increases the dramatic effect and implies that the event is relevant to the present moment. This is especially common either in headlines, or in lead paragraphs: “The Pentagon has ordered the fledgling underground resistance movement in Kuwait to gather intelligence for an American invasion.” (January 13th, by James Adams) Apart from the dramatic effect, this implies that the groups will continue to act in the future. The agent is not restricted to the allies: “Javier Perez de Cuellar, the UN secretary-general, has told the security council in a confidential report....” (January 16th, by James Bone). The present perfect tense is characteristic of news discourse and is especially frequent in hard news, where the emphasis is on what has happened since yesterday’s edition.^{xlvi}

The use of perfective aspect in these texts implies that what has not happened will most likely do so in the future, as in “The Iraqi capital is now deserted and those who have not fled are making plans to do so.” (16th January, by Richard Beeston) It contributes to the message of mainstream news discourse, that the present state of things in the West is in good shape, and that other parts of the world would do well to progress towards our “normal”, democratic system. This ideology has an undoubted influence over the use of verbal aspect in these texts. Besides simply the perfect verb aspect, however, there are other associated devices that require attention. In the second January 13th example above, the use of the word “fledgling” implies that these groups will increase in the future, not dwindle in size. Words concerned with progress are popular in the media.

The meaning of the word “progress” depends entirely on the point of view of the person

using it. It is sometimes used by Iraqi spokesmen to refer to their cause.^{xlvii} The main view aired, however, is that to make progress the Arabs must adapt to the West.^{xlviii} There are many references that talk of “the progress of the war”, of how “the war is progressing”, “the progress of the allied forces” as if it were something desirable.^{xlix} Apart from the word “progress” itself, there are some other linguistic devices related to aspect that contribute to the idea of progress as the exclusive property of the West. “Trendy” is a favourite word with ironic implications in popular newspapers of the eighties and nineties, such as the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express*, conjuring up images of ageing hippies, following a “trend” without thinking. It implies being misguided, middle-class, unrealistic and emotional, following a trend that no longer exists.

The words “modern”, “modernity” and “modernize” were constantly used during the Cold War to describe the invention of new devices of mass slaughter, and missiles were compared to harmless cars or kitchen gadgets, in need of renewal so as not to be overtaken by the neighbour's new model, and often named accordingly. “Modernize” has the hidden meaning of “more like us”, in news discourse. “Our perceptions of radical Islamic regimes are distinctively western and modernist....the challenges to traditional Islamic cultures posed by modernisation.” (August 28th, by John Gray) The writer of this article lumps the West and Russia all together in “our”. In the same line are Richard Ellis (January 6th) and James MacManus (January 16th), who talk of “The Arab failure to modernise and build political systems appropriate to the 20th century”. The undoubted truth of these statements by journalists in opinion columns does not allay the fear that in the name of modernization many things can apparently be sacrificed, and that advances in science may not be paralleled by advances in human interethnic understanding.

a. Already: In some instances, the implication is that some action is reasonable and that therefore it is only a matter of time before it is carried out, while in others the word stresses the threat posed and the urgency of prompt action.¹ The use of “already” in these latter examples means that Saddam will grow as a threat if something is not done about him, and

that censorship will increase as war nears. Both processes are seen as something almost inevitable.

Often, however, use of this word implies that the run of events favours “us” and “our” war effort. “There has already been unprecedented co-operation between America and the Soviet Union over the issue of Iraq” (September 2nd, Anonymous article), implies that cooperation will continue, just as “Diplomatic support for the world effort against the aggression of Saddam Hussein is already in place....” (September 6th, by Philip Webster), means that such support will not be lacking in the future. This implication is consistently present in the texts under consideration. “We”, especially the hard core of the hawks within the in-group, have “already” achieved many things, with the implication that more will be achieved in the future.ⁱⁱ

b. Still: “Still” and “yet”, like “already”, imply a certain inevitability. For example, outside the texts under consideration, I have heard on the radio an American official say “It is true that our allies do not yet agree”, which infers, firstly, that it is only a matter of time before they do, and secondly that it is the only reasonable option they have. The words “Neil Kinnock still thinks sanctions ought to have been given more time” (January 20th, by Barbara Amiel) imply that Kinnock’s words have been overtaken by the dynamic of events, that they are therefore no longer relevant, and that he is swimming against the tide. Several other examples have been found.ⁱⁱⁱ

The inevitability of events and reason itself are shown as running against the “doves”. Their opinions are condemned to disappear, as even their own language makes clear, as in the following examples: “I still believe that war will make all the existing problems of the Middle East more difficult....” (January 20th, by Dennis Healey) and “Mrs Fyfe said that she was still convinced that sanctions could have been made to work.” (January 22nd, Anonymous article) If one “still” holds a belief it means putting oneself on the defensive, believing in spite of increasing evidence to the contrary. In the sentence “This period when stranded puppet governments from Brezhnev's day still uneasily rule” (January 6th, by Norman

MacRae), “still” means that their days are numbered and that right will prevail, while in the headline “Paris still hopes for a last-minute breakthrough” (January 8th, by Philip Jacobson), the implication is that events are moving inevitably towards war and that Paris is swimming against the tide. It would have been incongruous in the circumstances for *The Times* to headline an article “America still bent on a military solution”, which would imply that pressures exist for a peaceful way out.

“There is still time for Saddam Hussein to rethink. I hope he will. I don't think war is yet inevitable.” (January 10th, by George Brock, quoting Mr Major) There is still time. It is not “yet” inevitable, but will be unless Saddam changes his mind, as “we” are firm and resolute and besides have progress and right on our side. This is part of the generalized attitude in the Western media that Arab culture and society and the perspective accruing therein.... is closed-off, finished,^{liii} without a future, while the Western view is open-ended.

c. Yet: As with “still”, the implication of “yet” is that one can reasonably expect, for example, that Congress will eventually change its mind, and the American people will become committed to war, as the tide is running inevitably that way, as in “Dole warned that the American people ‘are not yet committed to war’ ” (January 1st, by Martin Fletcher), or “Congress is not yet entirely on the team, but it does not have to be until actual war comes.” (January 6th, by Richard Brookhiser)

6.6. Modality: Conclusion

Summing up, the most striking point about the occurrences of modal expressions of speculation is that the less likely the action or event, the more likely the subject is Iraq or the Arabs. This may be due to a lack of information about Arab intentions, but also may be due to a belief that Arabs are unreliable by nature and not to be trusted. The main conclusion to be drawn from the other section, that of modality of obligation, is that the allies are forced to carry out certain actions, while the other side is excluded from such moral obligations.

There are as many different points of view, as many kinds of falsehood and truth, desirability and undesirability, as there are persons, but we are left by the mainstream media with only a very limited number of options or compartments, which are basically limited to two, the true and the false, development and underdevelopment, progress and backwardness, represented by “us” and “them”, however much “we” may admit grudgingly to some accidents along the way. When there is evidence to the contrary, this is ignored or played down, or excuses are invented. We may have head colds but the other side suffers from a permanent “Arab sickness” of lies and unreliability.

When some mild terms of obligation or conjecture are used, hedging is often just a trick played with the audience, and the implication or insinuation is aimed at the prejudices of the average reader. This is shown in the use of expressions such as “It is not known whether...”, “It is unclear whether....”, “One may doubt whether...”, which leave unexpressed the real meaning, which is that “we believe” or “we do not believe”. Such is the case of the imperative mood, which is avoided, it being far more common to use the indirect “-ing” form instead. Subtlety is the hallmark of the quality press. The colour of the skin and religion are never mentioned, but there is mention of “Islamic extremists”, “international terrorists” who “may / might / will be tempted to do X”.

The world of literature often judges the degree of achievement of an artist in terms of linguistic originality, variety and complexity. Thus, computer-based studies have shown that some of the writers using the greatest on both counts include Cervantes, Conrad and Shakespeare, who are also considered as being among the greatest. By contrast, news discourse shows a lack of variety, complexity, originality of ideas and real modality, in that it is easily predictable, as well as being comforting in its morality of what “should” or “must” be done. There is displayed a deep-seated belief among Western journalists that in the world outside there is less variety of opinion, whereas in fact the only variety they themselves defend is the small margin allowed within a straitjacket of the world “we” have got used to, with its absolutes dressed up as modality. It is made out that because “Class X

is usually bad”, and “Y is in Class X”, then “Y is bad”. That is to say, when “our” experience of Arabs and their leaders has previously been negative, other future encounters will probably also be negative. The modal expressions found in these texts reflect this deeprooted suspicion of the “other”.

Modality can be an authentic opener of the mind, a way to lead to lateral thinking, imagination, a broadening of the mind, doubts and questionings within the minds of the readers. Many sentences in the texts selected include hedging devices like “either....or....”, speculative modality which opens the door to the plurality of many “possible worlds”, existing and non-existent,^{liv} in which the knowledge, beliefs and attitudes of individuals vary over their lifetime. However, the use of modality is quite limited here, often serving as a shield to cover up entrenched attitudes which see only one possible truth. Instead of varying, Western mainstream discourse remains relatively static over time.

Reported speech, which is one of the subjects of the next chapter, has sometimes been considered part of modality. Such is the enormously wide scope of the present macrocategory.^{lv} Here it is treated separately due to its enormous importance within news discourse.

NOTES

i. Bybee and Fleischman, 1995: 506; Givón, 1993, Vol 1:176, Vol 2: 30; Quirk, et al 1985:146-7; Palmer, 1990:13-15

ii. Halliday, 1985: 332; Givón, 1993 Vol 2: 6

iii. Quoted in Fowler, 1991: 210. Fairclough (1989: 183) also comments on the frequency of the modal verbs of obligation in media texts.

iv. Ransom, 1986; Palmer, 1990; Givón, 1993, Vol 1: 169ff; Coates, 1995. Klinge (1993: 318) adds that there is also a third class: “dynamic modality, the modality of ability and disposition, such as ‘X is able to’ and ‘X is willing to.’” This third type does not concern the present study. Lock (1996: 209) classifies other areas of modality as frequency, inclination, potentiality and ability.

v. Klinge, 1993: 323

vi. Coates, 1995: 56; Givón, 1993, Vol 1: 169, Vol 2: 277

vii. Washington should at the very least have convened a meeting of the United Nations Security Council at the first signs of Iraqi aggression last week. (August 3rd by Martin Fletcher)
 “The horror of Halabja that should have warned the world” (August 4th, Headline, by Nicholas Beeston)

The long-term outcome of the present crisis should be the establishment of effective UN collective enforcement powers. (August 4th, Letter from Lady Fox)

Surely the UK government should push for a stronger line. (August 4th, Letter from Jim Sillars, MP, SNP)

We should aim not only to contain Saddam, but to force him to retreat. The West should overcome its post-colonial inhibitions. (August 7th, by Amir Tahari)

Sir, We should be grateful to Iraq for dispelling the euphoria in Europe following the collapse of the Eastern bloc. (August 8th, Letter from Mr Patrick O’Brien)

Nevertheless, we should not allow sentimentality to blind us to the fact that the Arab poor want to become much richer as quickly as possible. (August 12th, by Brian Walden)

But Britain and the United States should put the United Nations to the test. (August 14th, Leading article)

viii. Bybee and Fleischman, 1995: 507; Givón, 1993: 173

ix. The diplomatic utility of threatening force should not be discounted.... The world's disgust should be expressed in the strongest terms.... (August 3rd, Leading article)

Iraq should be treated as a pariah, deprived of all diplomatic and economic contact and assistance. (August 3rd, Leading article)

The reshaping of Nato and the Warsaw Pact should be taken into account.... some adaptation of UN procedures should be worked out. (August 4th, Letter from Lady Fox, on the UN)

The future of the Gulf should be seen in political as well as purely military terms. (August 7th, by Amir Tahari)

If the rest of the world has both the will and the means to resist it, then resistance should be employed. (August 7th, Leading article)

Saddam should be either (preferably) killed by precision bombing and missilery.... (August 12th, by Norman Macrae)

Resolution 661 contains no authorisation to use force. This should ideally be sought, either under article 42, which explicitly.... (August 14th, Leading article)

x. Quoted in Mininni, 1991: 465

xi..... with only 13 per cent saying that sanctions ought to have been given more time. (January 18th, by Peter Stothard)

.... a columnist from The Guardian looked at me with utter contempt while he argued that the war ought never to have been fought. (January 20th, by Barbara Amiel)

Peace protesters argue that Kuwait ought not to be defended against aggression because its government is not democratic. (January 25th, by Janet Daley)

But all other issues ought to be deferred until after Iraq is out of Kuwait. (February 23rd, Letter from Mr W.B. Adlard)

xii.that the West must not be seen to side with autocratic privilege, as exemplified by Kuwait's ruling al-Sabah family. (September 1st, Leading article)

Mr Bush must continue to play or be seen to play strictly by the book. (September 6th, by Michael Howard)

The United States must also choose goods carefully to avoid offending the morals.... (September 8th, by Susan Ellicot)

They must have a door ready to give President Saddam a chance to save some of his face.... (September 8th, Unnamed journalist)

The military commanders in the Gulf must clearly review their list of targets. (February 14th, Leading article)

xiii. The emir must be restored to his throne. (September 1st, Leading article)

....a despotic aggressor must be made to eat humble pie, "even if that means war". (September 2nd, by Ben Pimlott)

....and to ensure that he is defeated in the long-term he must be defeated by the world community. (September 5th, by Philip Webster, citing Labour party spokesman)

At this stage, some elements of strategy must be kept vague. (September 7th, Leading article)

To be effective the operations of this armada must be coordinated and controlled by force

commanders.... (September 8th, Letter from Mr Michael Chichester)

....the liberation of Kuwait must be accompanied by steps which ensure the destruction of Iraq's chemical and nuclear facilities (January 20th, Leading article)

xiv. The command of the forces in the Gulf must be clear.... (September 7th, Leading article)

A "solution" must start either from the retreat of Saddam Hussein.... (September 8th, Letter)

The president is barely at the beginning of a campaign which must avoid the twin dangers of exciting war fever.... (September 13th, by Peter Stothard)

"Gulf: why it must be war" (December 27th, Headline, by Conor Cruise O'Brien)

There must be no weasel-words about linkage.... There must be no cease-fire while Saddam remains in Kuwait. (February 17th, Leading article)

xv. According to Biber et al (1998: 208) the figure at the end of the nineteenth century was three instances per 100,000 words, while in 1990 it was six.

xvi. For example Habermas (1989)

xvii. Bush certainly wants to ensure that America will not have to return to the region.... (August 24th, Anonymous Insight article)

To achieve a peaceful settlement, the UN allies have to persuade President Saddam that.... (December 24th, by Robin Oakley and Michael Evans)

In the Gulf it is the Americans who will have to make the decisions of peace and war that we shall then in practice have to follow. (January 7th, by Ronald Butt)

....the allied forces would have to make each unit in turn fly the white flag. (January 13th, by James Adams)

We have to be prepared for the possibility that the Iraqis will fire missiles at Israel. (January 15th, by Richard Owen)

The allies will have to return again and again to these targets.... (January 19th, by Michael Evans)

Political leaders in Washington and London have to make daily judgments about the way the war should progress. (January 19th, by Michael Evans)

If we have to have war, it is surely better.... and if we have to have war leaders, it is surely desirable that they should be.... (January 20th, by Robert Harris)

xviii. Weapons are for deterrence in a sound cause. If they have ceased to deter, that does not make the cause any less sound. It means they have to be used.... (January 15th, Leading article)

The war may not have to be resolved through attrition; if it is, there will be thousands of casualties. (January 17th, by Michael Evans)

Saddam Hussein's war machine will have to be engaged on the ground. (January 20th, Leading article)

xix..... part of his motive in invading Kuwait was the need for a foreign success. (August 3rd,

Leading article)

Iraq is deeply in debt and in need of cash and credit. (August 3rd, by Sir Anthony Parsons)

If the United States intends to force the Iraqis out of Kuwait by military means, they will need to mount an amphibious assault. (August 20th, by Michael Evans)

xx. The immediate need is of a worldwide expression of anger. (August 3rd, Leading article)

.... he might be brought back to his senses without the actual need to resort to arms. (September 14th, by Efraim Karsh)

There is a need to protect the prosperity of the West from dangerous hands. (January 13th, Leading article)

xxi. The total number of troops would depend on the logistical support needed. (September 15th, by Nicholas Wood)

When tanks and artillery were needed, yet another paratroop brigade arrived. (September 17th, by Michael Evans)

Mr King is sending a team to work out what extra forces might be needed. (August 24th, by Michael Evans)

Baker was able to persuade Syria to back military action if needed. (November 2nd, by Ian Glover-Jones)

xxii. If Iraq attacked Turkey, Nato would be obliged to come to its defence. (August 8th, by David Owen)

David Levy, the foreign minister, said: "It is our obligation, as it would be of any state confronted by such a tyrant, by such a threat, to respond without delay." (January 19th, by Richard Owen)

Nato obligation: Members of Nato, which have not yet sent ground forces or fighter aircraft to assist in the Gulf war, may find themselves obliged to take part. (January 21st, by Bill Frost)

xxiii. "To utter an imperative.... represents a description of a state of affairs in a potential and desirable world". (Sperber and Wilson, 1986, cited in Clark, 1994: 90) Clark also gives the example "Finish your medicine or you'll have a relapse" which means the same as "You should finish your medicine or you'll have a relapse". (p98)

xxiv. Isaacs and Clark (1990: 500f) say this form is typically characterized by courtesy, vagueness, hedging and non-persistence.

xxv. "We must have a compromise.... There are some days between the third and the 12th, so let's agree on one of them". (December 23rd, by Susan Ellicott, quoting Mr Heath)

.... at least let us temper our carousing with the sobering thought that we are a nation on the brink of war. (December 23rd, Leading article)

"Let's have no backsliding" (February 12th, Headline, by Woodrow Wyatt)

"Let Iraq's true voice be heard" (March 3rd, Headline, by Barbara Amiel)

xxvi. Let all the facts be told; let the analysts have their run. Let the debits of everyday activity be recorded in the ledgers with the credits. But let us not forget we have seen a famous victory against a great terror, and be glad. (March 3rd, by Sir Anthony Farrar- Hockley)
 Sir, Let us welcome our soldiers and give thanks to them and their families and of course to God for sparing so many of our loved ones. Let us celebrate the clear triumph over evil by very brave men and women. (March 6th, Letter from Mr Jonathan Shine)
 Let the bishop repent. Let the rest of us greet our returning heroes with tabrets, with joy and with instruments of music. (March 9th, Letter from Reverend Lord Wrenbury)

xxvii. Quirk, 1985: 24

xxviii. “Consulting America” (November 16th, Leading article)
 “Keeping armed forces up to scratch” (December 8th, Letter from Field Marshal Lord Bramall)
 “Pursuing peace in the Middle East” (January 4th, Letter from the Bishop of Salisbury),
 “Containing a war” (January 17th, Leading article)
 “Finishing Saddam” (February 3rd, Leading article)
 “Seeking the truth in war but thwarting propaganda” February 20th, Letter from Mr Brian Bransbury)
 “Patrolling the fragile Gulf peace” (February 27th, by Anthony Parsons)
 “Sealing Saddam’s fate” (March 1st, by David Owen)
 “Arming the EC” (March 3rd, Leading article)
 “Forging peace” (March 6th, Leading article)

xxix. Also variously known as “hypothetical”, “prediction”, “conjective”, “probability” or “possibility”. (Downing, 1992: 320; Palmer, 1976: 9)

xxx. “It is obvious that...everyone admits that...even Labour chiefs admit that..., even his most fervent admirers admit that.... it stands to reason that....it would be foolish to deny that... the conclusion can hardly be avoided that...no sane person would pretend that....common sense determines that....all authorities on the subject agree that....it cannot be doubted that....”(quoted by Halliday, 1985: 334) In the same line, Leech and Svartvik, 1975: 131: “People have a natural tendency to overstate their convictions”.

xxxi. “Unharmd” is used exclusively to refer to “us” during the period studied.

xxxii. “War will give birth to new power struggles” (January 16th, by David Bradshaw)
 “Allies will rule the skies within hours” (January 16th, by Harvey Elliott)
 “I will use nuclear weapons if I must” (January 29th, by Martin Fletcher, quoting Mr Bush)
 “Gulf will never be the same” (January 31st, by Robin Oakley, quoting Mr Major)
 “Bush will give word for start of ground offensive” (February 22nd, by Michael Evans)
 “Gunnars will play vital role” (February 22nd, by John Young)

xxxiii. Bush's message will be underlined by John Major. (January 6th, by Marie Colvin and David Hughes)

The Israelis will not sit by while a nuclear capability comes into the hands of a man who has shown.... (January 6th, by Norman Macrae)

The emphasis will be on speed, accuracy and immense firepower. (January 16th, by Michael Evans)

xxxiv. As he gets older, he will become even more impatient to accomplish his mission for Mesopotamia. (August 13th, by Hazhir Teimourian)

From the Iraqi side, images of human suffering will be relayed to the West. (January 9th, Leading article)

It will, of course, be Iraq which will lose most from Saddam's failed adventure. (January 16th, by David Bradshaw)

The Palestinians are already Saddam's allies and will continue to be so. (October 13th, by Conor Cruise O'Brien)

In terms of strategy, the Iraqis will be relying on old, trusted battle scenarios. (January 16th, by Michael Evans)

President Saddam Hussein will extract all the propaganda he can from civilian damage. (February 5th, Leading article)

xxxv. McKensie and van Teefelen, 1993: 310, 325

xxxvi. President Saddam will not relinquish huge chunks of his war machine voluntarily. (September 2nd, Leading article)

Only if Saddam is persuaded that the allies will indeed attack, and with a terrifying firepower that will surely destroy his armed forces, will he give way. (January 6th, Leading article)

“Saddam will use propaganda coup” (February 14th, by Michael Evans, Defence Correspondent)

xxxvii. “I will use nuclear weapons if I must” (January 29th, by Martin Fletcher in Washington)

“Allies will stay, says Major” (January 31st, by Robin Oakley, Political Editor)

“Gulf will never be the same; John Major” (January 31st, by Robin Oakley)

xxxviii. “US may wait for UN vote on use of force” (November 17th, by Michael Binyon and James Bone)

“Iraq may have a nuclear capacity in two months” (November 18th, by James Adams)

“Saddam may boost Kuwait garrison” (November 20th, by Andrew McEwen)

“Bush may abandon Iraq talks” (December 15th, by Martin Fletcher)

“Baker may make third peace visit to the Gulf” (January 2nd, by Susan Ellicott)

“Saddam may have Soviet SS12 missiles” (February 7th, by Peter Stothard)

xxxix. Saudi Arabia, and even Israel may also be on his menu....There are ballistic missiles which may have been modified to carry chemical weapons. (August 5th, by James Adams)

There were fears in diplomatic circles that the men may be held hostage. (August 5th, by Maurice Chittenden)

.... there is no doubt that he will not be satisfied.... even Israel may also be on his menu.... There are ballistic missiles which may have been modified..... (August 5th, by James Adams)

.... the invasion may have been planned for many years and the Baathists may be well placed to form the nucleus of a puppet state.... (August 6th, by Hazhir Teimourian)

President Saddam.... may have no compunction in launching such deadly weapons on the forces ranged against him in Saudi Arabia. (August 9th, by James Adams)

“Foreign troops may face risk of banned arms” (August 9th, Headline, by Nigel Hawkes, Science Editor, and Michael Evans)

.... Iraqi forces loading what may have been chemical weapons on to planes.... (August 12th, Insight article)

Saddam may use the terrorist optionst.... (terrorist) cells that may have lain dormant for years. (August 12th, by James Adams)

xl. the regime might well have to abandon its aggressive policies. (August 3rd, by Sir Anthony Parsons)

There were suspicions that Iraq might use the men as hostages. (August 5th, by James Adams)
Saddam's chemical-carrying missiles probably cannot reach Israel yet, but within three years they might have both it and Europe in range. (August 19th, by Norman Macrae)

.... a desperate Saddam might carry out his threat to launch chemical weapons. (February 28th, by Richard Owen)

Others are not being encouraged to enter because of the risk that the Iraqi authorities might act against the embassy. (August 21st, by Michael Knipe)

.... there are fears Iraq might use biological weapons against civilians. (August 25th, by Cathy Jaskowiak)

xli. Israel could get dragged into a conflict. (August 12th, by James Adams)

Britain has close links with the UAE and could be among the “friendly” forces. (August 20th, by Martin Fletcher)

As soon as other misunderstandings have been cleared up, sanctions could be lifted quickly. (September 5th, by Marc Weller)

Though this could be part of a sophisticated disinformation campaign to keep Saddam guessing. (September 26th, Anonymous Insight article)

.... though no Israeli official will confirm this, it could resort to “the big one”, as Israelis call the nuclear option. (January 15th, by Richard Owen)

The unparalleled bombardment could last for days. (January 17th, by Michael Evans)

xlii. Iraq could respond by taking action against European companies operating there. (August 3rd, by Andrew McEwen)

His next target could be Bahrain, Qatar, or the United Arab Emirates. (August 4th, by Michael

Evans)

Among present options, he could withdraw.... (August 20th, by Anthony Farrar Hockley)

The US reaction could lead him to think that President Bush.... (August 28th, Leading article)

It could be that President Saddam Hussein will shiver in his army boots. (September 2nd, by ben Pimlott)

But his recent belligerent words could prompt action by Iraq. (November 2nd, by Susan Ellicott)

.... up to 400 of Kuwait's oil wells could be sabotaged. (January 3rd, by Philip Jacobson)

An Iraqi strike could, as Saddam threatened, take the form of missiles armed with chemical warheads. (January 11th, Leading article)

A second motive could be a scorched earth policy, destroying Kuwait's ability ever to prosper again. (January 23rd, by Michael Binyon)

Saddam may fight dirty: the Scuds rained on cities could be followed by chemical warfare. (February 5th, Leading article)

xl.iii. He could conceivably gather together a group of non-Kuwaiti Arabs who might be prepared to form a government. (August 4th, by Peter Mansfield)

He could have nuclear capacity by the end of the 1990s (August 19th, by Norman MacRae)

They could then advance into Basra. Or they could besiege the city. (February 23rd, by Michael Armitage)

xliv. he would attack Israel with Scud B missiles, perhaps loaded with chemicals. (January 16th, by James Adams)

.... he would be bound to follow with more, perhaps even risking one or two with chemical warheads. (January 19th, by Michael Evans)

xlv. Givón, 1993: 131ff

xlvi. Quirk, 1985: 193

xlvii. Abu Abbas appealed to “.... progressive forces in the Arab homeland to confront the invading

American aggressors....” (August 10th, by Christopher Walker)

The action taken by Iraq in annexing Kuwait.... is a legitimate and progressive act of defence. (August 22nd, Diary article, quoting the Workers Revolutionary Party newspaper)

xlviii. It is possible the “talks” will be over in five minutes. If they are to make any progress, matters will not rest with Aziz....but with Saddam. (January 6th, by Marie Colvin)

Progress towards full democracy would be unstoppable despite rumours of martial law being declared by Kuwait's ruling family. (January 22nd, Anonymous article)

.... a war which, although only five days old, is pushing the bounds of technological progress further into the realms of science fiction. (January 22nd, by Harvey Elliot)

xlix. After talks with John Major, both men hailed the co-operation between the two governments and expressed satisfaction with the progress of the war. (February 1st, Anonymous article, about Vice-president Quayle)

President Bush.... said he was satisfied with the progress of the war. (February 12th, by Peter Stothard)

There were also suggestions in Washington that progress towards a land offensive was being accelerated. (February 15th, by Peter Stothard)

.... the facts as reported by the UK media in their extensive coverage of the Gulf war progress. (February 22nd, Letter from Mr Alldiss)

l. Bush said Saddam already posed a strategic threat to the capitals of the Middle East. (January 6th, by Marie Colvin and David Hughes)

....if barbarous little countries can already inflict terrible plague-borne or other casualties upon civilised countries' troops. (January 6th, by Norman Macrae)

Fears are already being publicly expressed by those opposed to war about censorship of the media. (January 6th, Leading article)

The Iraqis are already developing the barren Bubiyan island. (January 9th, by Michael Evans)

li. the Saudi runways are already crammed with fighters. (September 8th, by Michael Evans)

The American media is already putting a definite pressure on Bush to do something. (September 12th, by Melinda Wittstock)

Pakistan already has 1,000 military advisers and technicians in Saudi Arabia. (September 17th, Anonymous article)

Britain and The Netherlands have already begun refuelling each other's ships. (September 19th, by Andrew MacEwen)

....some nations have already acted against Iraqi diplomats. (September 20th, by Philip Webster and James Bone)

lii. They may argue that some face-saving device might have been found, as Edward Heath apparently still believes. (January 2nd, by Michael Howard)

Tom Foley and George Mitchell are still arguing for sanctions (January 9th, by Martin Fletcher)

Edward Heath insisted that there were still alternatives to war. (January 10th, by Nicholas Wood)

liii. McKensie and van Teefelen, 1993: 327

liv. Lewis, 1986: 29, among others.

lv. Quirk (1985: 1023) shows the semantic similarity between 1. "Generals," they alleged, "never die.", 2. Generals, it is alleged, never die. and 3. Generals allegedly never die.

CHAPTER 7

7.1. Introduction: Reported Speech

This chapter is concerned with the voices that appear in the texts, the way they are treated and their effect on news discourse. My first concern is with reported speech, which can be divided into direct or unmediated speech, which is the actual words, verbatim quotes, a replica of the original in both form and content, secondly indirect or mediated speech, a paraphrase or report of the words, often condensed or reworded, and thirdly free indirect speech. I shall also consider other questions, that is, the blurring, or merging, that exists between the words of reporters and certain reportees, unattributed embedding, the privileged access enjoyed by some voices, and the constraints on or exclusion of others.

Reported speech functions in a different way in news reporting from fictional narrative and conversation, in that it claims to be referential, focussing on conveying information, based on speakers' original words, hardly ever their thoughts in this register. It is literature that receives most critical attention, and the question of reporting what other people said has been traditionally considered merely as a stylistic device, but whereas literature claims realism up to a point, journalism claims to represent reality. Just as in modern literary criticism it became fashionable to talk about "the narrator's point of view", so in studies of news discourse, people have become sensitive to reported speech and questions of access by sources to media outlets. Despite its frequent use in reporting, stylistically it is more limited than in literary works. For instance, we will look in vain for the "medial" formula, as in "I wonder," he said, "whether this is true." The formula "reporting verb + speaker" is also extremely rare, as in "... said the prime minister," rather than the far more common "...the prime minister said."

News is seldom simply "what happened", but usually an accurate paraphrase of the main points of what someone said happened, or their opinion about what should have happened, what will happen, and so on. News is much more about what people say than what they do, so it is talk about talk, or talk about talk about talk. Most news is really reported speech, as

journalists depend a lot on other sources to report on events, so news is full of second-hand information, announcements, opinions, reactions, appeals, promises and criticisms, though the smooth flow of news copy hides this. One advantage of using quotes is that they lend authority to sources behind the news, and to the journalist.ⁱ Editors want “good quotes”, because it means reporters have been doing their job of news-gathering. Also, journalists tune in to their audience, representing well-respected authorities, and thus making what they say more valid and likely to be true, at least in the public eye. By using quotes, journalists are showing their own competence as producers of text, while at the same time admitting their role as receivers in their turn. Journalists are writing a public document and are accountable for what they publish both to readers, and the person quoted, so generally they are a model of accuracy, especially those at national press outlets, and the few mistakes are usually semantically insignificant, omissions and substituting synonyms for original words, though they do produce a slightly tighter and more economic style than the original.ⁱⁱ Indeed, the norms of journalism dictate that misquotation should not occur, partly for fear of a lawsuit, and most journalists reinforce their memories with notes taken during an interview or rewritten later on, press releases prepared by an institution, other articles, tape recordings or transcriptions of the original press release.

A journalist often prefers to use other people’s words than to use his/her own,ⁱⁱⁱ as quoting is seen as a strength rather than a weakness. “Reporters”, as the word implies, often have the use of reported speech as a central task in their profession. This mingling of voices, with many sources, means that uniformity is what journalists try to avoid, as good quality journalism thrives on debate. Even the most critical media researchers admit that there is considerable freedom for journalists to fill in the background or give personal impressions, and news in the Third World, by contrast, is often poorer partly because it lacks the personal touch of the Western correspondent. Wang (1993: 577) found that the Western correspondent, though biased and emotive, was the one who was found to be fairer than the more impersonal, more partial Chinese one.

Reported speech in print is a demonstration or repetition of the original, and has many differences from the original speech act, even when the referents are the same, and is never an exact reproduction, as a television or radio interview is. Thus, when labelling the same person as “my wife” or “the mother of his children”, or “Mrs Jones”, the speaker is making a choice that may be different when a reporter refers to the same person in his/her version. Indeed, presenting anything through language involves lexicosyntactic selection, with consequent ideological implications. A reporter may witness an event and then be faced with the choice of calling it a “demonstration” or a “demo”, a “riot”, a “street battle”, a “confrontation”, and so on. The reporter might choose “demonstrators confront police” or “police confront demonstrators”; “rioters attack police”, or “police attack rioters”; “police disperse rioters” or “rioters disperse”. Journalists who report that a mediator was “desperately” trying to patch up an agreement could have said he was “urgently” or “wearily” doing it. The “textbook” transformations of pronouns and adverbials of time and place are seldom the only ones made in processing, even in everyday reporting, though written reporting does follow some quite rigid rules in English, which are language specific, the transformations being different in other languages, which do not share, for example, the English tense system.^{iv}

It is notoriously difficult to re-create, verbatim, what someone said, but with a recall of key words and paraphrase it is possible to achieve a very high degree of accuracy. Readers usually tacitly accept this approximate accuracy as a risk they run as receivers of a recently written text. Concern with total accuracy has been of journalistic / legal interest only since recording devices were invented. Journalists select “strong statements”, that is, those that are important and interesting from their point of view,^v but then often stories are cut and pasted by copy editors so that readers never know with absolute certainty where they are originally from. There are at least two layers involved, the reporting speech event, that is, the journalistic text, and the reported speech event, that is, the reported utterance, but in some news items, there is a cacophony of voices, with several layers present in the reporting process, as in the following example: “Felipe González, prime minister of Spain,

was reported to have said that he had received some signals that Iraq was considering withdrawing its forces from occupied Kuwait.” (December 24th, by Andrew MacEwen)

Here there are at least four, and probably five, layers of reporting:

(Iraq) → Iraqi source → Felipe González → unnamed reporter → Andrew MacEwen

The process of newsmaking means that the many layers of speech and editing of speech are seldom evident in the final copy. The very presence of more than one journalist in the writing of many articles implies that these are compositions.

7.2. Direct Speech

Direct speech is when the journalist reproduces the original words of the speaker and places them between inverted commas. These locutions are projected autonomously, or “paratactically” in direct speech and nonautonomously, or “hypotactically” in indirect speech.^{vi} In both cases the words are a representation of a representation, but the former is verbatim, more immediate, makes for more dramatism and gives the projected clause independent status or autonomy, while the latter is a paraphrastic description of the words. Direct quotation, the marked, more unfrequent alternative in journalism, is sometimes considered to be more favourable to the reported speaker of the actual words. Martín Rojo (1995) and Roeh (1982: 56) claim that direct speech is used more by elite figures, though they do not explain why they do so, nor do they give examples. The Glasgow Media Group (1976) claim that direct speech is less mediated, and more frequent with management and government sources than with labour. According to this point of view, we would expect to find indirect speech used more for “their” speakers, and a more privileged direct speech access given to those belonging to “our” side. It is certainly true that more space is given to Western leaders, but it is by no means obvious that direct speech is favourable to the source while indirect speech is unfavourable.

Direct speech has been called “de-coupling” with “maximal separation”,^{vii} that is, the reporting and reported clauses lack the mutual agreements of tense and adverbs of time and space that are present in reported speech. It means that the reporter stands off and draws the listener nearer to the original speaker, for better or for worse. The interpretation made very much depends on the context and the reader. If some people are quoted directly it means they can impress, positively or negatively, there is “demonstration” of what they said rather than “description”, while if there is more “mediation”, the journalist can either be distancing the source or making it more authoritative,^{viii} just as in a stage play the presence, for instance, of MacBeth’s words does not mean that Shakespeare expects us to relate favourably with the character. So each kind of reported speech is a two-edged sword. Although Western leaders are quoted considerably, and their speeches, or relevant parts of them, are sometimes repeated in two or more places and on more than one day, it is not necessarily true that the use of direct speech by itself implies a favourable attitude. This is particularly true when we look at individual lexical items or short collocations placed within inverted commas.

Direct speech quotes may have implicit the message “this may not be completely accurate so be on your guard”, using inverted commas, sometimes called “scare quotes” when the quote is short,^{ix} to distance the journalist from the speaker, as if to show that the journalist does not share the opinions expressed. One example from the texts is: “Mr Aziz went back in detail over how ‘humiliated’ Iraq had been by the cancellation of one previous community invitation.” (January 11th, by George Brock) The journalist is far more likely to distance his/her words from those of the Iraqis than from those of allied spokespersons. In “Consequently, all the Arabs should support Iraq in its battle against the ‘foreign enemy’,” (August 7th, by Amatzia Baram, quoting Iraqi Foreign Ministry) the journalist implies by using inverted commas that very likely he does not share the speaker’s opinion. Another clear example of this is the phrase “mother of all battles”, which was parodied endlessly in the American media with phrases like “mother of all surrenders”, and was supposed to be seen as an insight into Arab culture, and used as a propaganda device by the Americans,

though it was never properly explained.^x It has to be said that this mimicking without sympathizing, an ethnically loaded humiliation of the defeated enemy, is usually absent in *The Times*. The only times it approaches this use are mainly quotations of Americans referring to “the mother of all bluffs”, “the mother of all meetings”, “the mother of all retreats”, “the mother of all parades”, “the mother of all routs” and “the mother of all defeats”.^{xi} Other quotations of this expression are completely neutral.^{xii} Thus, the use of direct speech by itself is no guarantee of favourable reporting. Internal opposition to the war receives this distancing device many times, as when the Amiriya bomb shelter was hit. “The left-wing Labour MPs who tabled a motion.... condemning ‘the barbaric slaughter of innocent men, women and children’ might not have been so eager....” (February 15th, by Michael Evans) or “The decree spoke of the ‘barbarism’ of war....” (February 18th, by Clifford Longley, quoting Cardinal Basil Hume). Mention of the allied attack as a “slaughter” is reserved for words distanced by inverted commas: “.... condemning ‘the barbaric slaughter of innocent men, women and children’.” (February 15th, by Michael Evans) In the same way, the chants of the anti-war demonstrators are reproduced verbatim in some articles, for example “No Blood for Oil” and “Send George Bush” (See “Peace” 4.6.5.), whereas longer statements of their arguments were not.

Quotation marks are also used when journalists distance themselves from official Western sources, as in “The defence secretary strongly criticised the Iraqi government for its ‘inhuman’ treatment of prisoners” (February 1st, by Richard Ford) or “He said that President Saddam Hussein and his ‘henchmen’ would be held personally accountable for their treatment of allied prisoners of war.” (February 1st, Photograph caption, quoting Mr Quayle) Journalists thus often deliberately distance themselves from Western statements too by the use of inverted commas.^{xiii} Thus “Desert Storm”, for example, was an American invention and was placed within inverted commas in the French press.^{xiv} Journalists generally favoured the official Western line, but they also attempted to be fair in their quoting techniques, as quality newspapers depend on such fairness for their good name.

Onomatopoeic sound-words are quoted in direct speech. So, allied pilots reporting the result of their attacks sometimes reproduce the supposed sounds of the impacts of their bombs and missiles, in phrases like “Bumf, piece of cake !” (January 23rd, by Lin Jenkins, quoting Flying Officer Malcolm Rainer) “Boom”, “Ping” or “Bang”. It is also common practice in quality newspapers to place taboo words, like “Soddim” or “kick some ass”, used by British service personnel and Mr Bush, respectively, in direct speech. Such direct reporting devices with taboo and sound words are often seen as dissociative,^{xv} but they are invariably representations of allied utterances.

7.3. Indirect Speech

Indirect speech differs from direct speech whenever it appears in languages, in that it is a parallel text, much further from the original words. The deictic centre from which tenses, pronouns and adverbs of space and time are measured is the reporting event, protagonized explicitly by the journalist and the reader, and not the reported speech event protagonized by the original speaker(s) and hearer(s). This is a logical and pragmatic, rather than a linguistic, point. Some linguistic features lose their impact, such as imperatives and fronting, making direct speech more of a “theatrical” or dramatic representation than its indirect counterpart. It is a feature of formal, usually written English, making as it does by necessity a complex sentence.

Nonetheless, some deictic features do not necessarily change, making the hypotactic more paratactic, such as the question of tense, which, particularly in news reports, may remain in the present simple, with phrases like “indicated that Iraqi pilots are...”, “informed the world that they are ready”, “claimed that they are willing”, and so on being common. Also, this form of reporting need not be *per se* unfavourable to the source. In both reported and direct speech the journalist purports to give the original speech event in its essential characteristics. Indeed, all quoting is merely a representation of discourse. It is removed from the world of things, and cannot replace the original discourse however exact it attempts to be, as there is a different context and it is a unique event with a different

audience. There is often condensing, often without it being admitted but, even if the original could be copied down to the last detail, its transplanting and framing in a new environment would impose on it a new existence. The difference is only of degree, because “To quote is to mediate and to mediate is to interfere.” (Sternberg, 1982: 108)

There is more reporting in indirect than in direct speech, both in the texts studied and in news texts in general. Whether a speech event is reflected in direct or indirect speech does not affect whether or not there is “mimesis”, that is, it is more empathetic, more specific, more realistic, less stylized and less paraphrased or reformulated, or “diegesis”. That is, one choice or the other does not affect the attitude of the reporter. Directness may go together with affective distance, and we, as readers, will never know for certain whether some of the original words have been omitted, and if they have, for what particular reason. Also, no reporting can reflect faithfully certain very important characteristics of the original, such as pauses, intonation or gestures. Many reports combine direct with indirect speech, which demonstrates this point clearly: “Iraq.... declared yesterday: ‘All navy fleets and squadrons inside and outside the Arab homeland will not shake us,’ but the spokesman added that Baghdad had no ambitions on any other territory.” (August 11th, by Martin Fletcher)

There is sometimes biased reporting, where the other side is not given the opportunity to respond. The following article appeared under the headline “Iraqi troops in Kuwait”: “An American woman who flew into Gatwick airport last night with 164 other freed hostages, including her young daughter, said Iraqi troops in Kuwait had thrown babies out of their incubators. One British woman was on the flight.” (September 16th, Anonymous article)

The “American woman”, who was in fact not American but the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador in the United States, is quoted in indirect speech, and the accusation is left as an insinuation hanging in the air, without any corroboration. Her status as “one of us” is added to by the mention that a British woman was also on the flight, and also by the mention that her young daughter was fleeing with her. Her words are in indirect, not direct

speech, but are favourably reported, and the statement is accepted implicitly, although it was more than questionable (see chapter 3 for more on this incident). Distancing is thus not achieved by using direct or indirect speech alone.

7.4. Favourable Reporting Verbs

Reporting verbs are significant, even though in spoken English they seldom receive stress. In newspaper headlines they are sometimes omitted altogether, as in: “Washington: ‘There is no topic for negotiation in the Gulf’”.^{xvi} They are less varied than in other kinds of discourse, probably due to the flatness and neutrality aimed at by most journalists. There is a complete absence of those reporting verbs that reflect thought processes, such as “He thought / pondered / reflected”, as in general the journalist does not know, and probably does not care, what was going through the speaker’s mind at the time, unlike a novelist. There is generally an attempt at accurate reproduction of speech events, often because speakers are representing whole organizations or countries. However, it matters considerably whether the reporting verb is “professed” or “claimed”, which have quite a negative nuance, or “hinted”, “explained”, “announced”, “noted” or “pointed out”, which have a more positive sound to them. It is more positive to say that somebody “pledged” than that (s)he “promised”. Depending on the context, others, such as “asserted”, “stated”, “concluded”, “argued”, “promised” and “maintained”, are more neutral. There is a great divide between the two sides in the matter of reporting verbs, there being certain positive ones which are used practically exclusively to refer to “our” side. The concepts of “us” and “them” are necessarily different in this section, though they overlap considerably with criteria employed elsewhere. I have basically divided the instances into two different teams. On one side are voices which support the coalition’s war effort, on the other are voices which oppose it.

In any narration, there are certain “discourse markers”, that act as a guide as to the reporter’s attitude towards the speaker. The following reporting verbs, whether accompanying direct or indirect speech, imply that what the speaker said had at least some

truth in it. Some verbs, such as “reiterate” and “repeat” are ostensibly neutral reporting verbs, but nevertheless have positive connotations. Others, such as “say”, in spite of its frequency, used in sixty per cent of speech acts in the news, (Bell, 1991: 206) and “tell”, are usually neutral (although see 7.4n-o, 7.5b), and have not been included, as they need the accompaniment of other devices, usually an adverb such as “solemnly”, to make them less impartial. It is not the number of times a certain reporting verb is used that is important so much as the proportion for each side.

a. Announce: This reporting verb is mainly neutral and is used consistently for both sides, but in some cases, such as the following, is more biased than the more neutral “promise”, as though the aid were a fact already, for example: “.... the \$7billion (£3.75m) relief announced for Egypt by the Bush administration.” (September 11th, by Philip Webster)

b. Appeal: There is an emotional charge to this word, that is often used for a cry from the heart for positive things such as peace, comprehension and help. It can be distinguished from an order, for example, and has generally favourable connotations, as in “The Pentagon is disclosing few details of military movements and has appealed to the media to withhold information of use to Iraq.” (August 10th, by Martin Fletcher) “Appeal” appears frequently both as a noun and a verb.^{xvii} It is used greatly by the Pope, the Secretary General of the United Nations, and the peace movement, though hardly ever by journalists to refer to the Iraqis: “It was not so much a general appeal to the masses as a precisely targeted appeal to Muslim fanatics” (August 14th, by Conor Cruise O’Brien).

It is used a total of fifty-four times for allied or pro-war sources and forty-six for the anti-war party and the Iraqis. The great frequency of the use of this reporting verb on the “other side” is, however, due to its use by the peace movement and church leaders. It is hardly ever used for the Iraqis, being frequent however for the allied side. (Appendix, Figure 21)

c. Confirm: This reporting verb is used frequently, and among other features it contains the connotation that the words are only a summary of what was actually said. The expression “The Foreign Office / Whitehall sources / the Pentagon / the White House confirmed” is tantamount to saying that it is true, just as “The Foreign Office Whitehall sources / the Pentagon / the White House refused to / was unable to confirm” implies that the source referred to by the speaker is unreliable, as in: “The Foreign Office was unable to confirm the ambassador's statement” (August 19th, by James Adams). Similarly, if some event is “confirmed” or “unconfirmed” it has the suppressed agent “by one of us” behind it. Thus “unconfirmed reports”, rather than meaning “unconfirmed by me, the journalist” tends to mean “unconfirmed by the West”, as in the following example: “Yesterday's unconfirmed reports that Iraqi aircraft were seen loading poison-gas weapons indicates that the worst scenario may be the one favoured by President Saddam.” (August 9th, by Michael Evans) It is very likely that the unnamed source was someone other than *Reuters* or the Americans, and so is considered “unconfirmed”, a word that would not have been used had the source been official. The journalist is thus giving more credence to some sources than others, as in the example quoted in the notes, where the original words are hidden, but the Kuwaiti major's or ex-minister's words are believed implicitly, shown by the use of “confirmed” rather than “backed” or “supported”, for instance.

As is seen in the following quotations, it is not enough that the French say something. For British reporters, it must be “confirmed” by the British or Americans to become a fact: “.... defence secretary, Richard Cheney, confirmed in Warsaw that 150,000 American reinforcements....” (December 5th, by Michael Evans) “Pierre Joxe.... claimed that thousands of Iraq's Republican Guard had been killed. These figures were not, however, confirmed by the British or American spokesmen.” (February 8th, by Michael Evans) There are also impersonal confirmations which it is presupposed are allied ones,^{xviii} and a few occasions when Iraqi officials “confirm”, though they are very rare: “The incident was on Saturday, but it was not until last night that Iraqi diplomats confirmed that Mr Croskery had died.” (August 13th, by Geoff King) The word “confirm” as a reporting verb is used for allied sources one hundred and forty-two times, and for anti-war or Iraqi sources only thirteen

times. (Appendix, Figure 21)

d. Disclose: This reporting verb presupposes the truth of the statement, and also implies that the reader is being let in to a piece of privileged, confidential information. Almeida (1991: 247) shows how the verb “disclose” presupposes truth, quoting “Administration officials disclosed that...” (From *The New York Times* 14/12/87). This is borne out by my study of reporting verbs in the sample chosen here.^{xix} These presuppose that it is true that the Iraqis were deploying the missiles, that the US authorities will tell the truth about the incident with an Iraqi oil tanker, and that Mrs Thatcher was really concerned about the long-term stability of the Gulf region. The use of this reporting verb is not always favourable to the West, as the following example shows: “Reports here yesterday disclosed that America has secretly deployed combat aircraft in Gulf nations” (September 5th, by Martin Fletcher), but in the majority of cases where Western elite figures “disclose” something, the implication is that they are telling the truth. In statistical terms, allied sources “disclose” forty-six times, while the enemy only “discloses” three times during the period under study. (Appendix, Figure 21)

e. Divulge: This reporting verb is rarely used, but likewise presupposes the truth of the statement referred to, and is used exclusively for allied sources: “As administration spokesmen had divulged in briefings, the Iraqis were continuing....” (August 9th, by Martin Fletcher)

f. Explain: A sentence such as “He explained to the troops the reasons why they were there” has been included, as it reflects a speech act, though it does not give us the exact words used. Only instances when the speaker reported is talking about the military conflict or the diplomatic moves involved are counted, not where an engineer “explains” some figures on a computer screen, for example.

This is a positive reporting verb. One usually only “explains” what is true. There is a great difference between “The Prime Minister explained that the Budget measures were necessary” and “The Leader of the Opposition claimed that the budget measures were unnecessary”,^{xx} for the former implies truth while the latter does not. This argument is applicable to the texts under consideration here. “When the shooting starts it will be important to explain to world opinion why war against Saddam is necessary.” (August 19th, Leading article), and “Mr Bush had to explain to Congress why the liberation of Kuwait was essential to the national interest.” (November 14th, by Martin Fletcher)^{xxi} The examples above presuppose that war against Saddam was indeed necessary and that the liberation of Kuwait essential, otherwise the journalist could have written “why he thought the liberation of Kuwait was essential...”, “why he thought that the UN demands could certainly not admit compromise, and that Iraq posed a danger”. It is sometimes, however, used with the explicit proviso of neutrality: “In Cairo, explaining his version of events, Mr Hurd said...” (October 15th, by Philip Webster)

This reporting verb is more neutral than “disclose” for example, and is applied to both sides: “Explaining the decision to go ahead with the ground war, Cheney said...” (February 24th, by John Cassidy) and on the other hand “Mr Aziz had agreed to see the diplomats to explain President Saddam's proposals for ending the conflict.” (August 16th, Anonymous article) But even when it refers to the Iraqi side, it is hedged about modally, as in the above example, with phrases such as “tried to explain”, “need to explain” or “said he would explain”. The allied leaders’ problem, according to *The Times*, is to explain to the troops why they are there, not to “argue”, “convince” or “debate”, as the position of the government is portrayed as the only reasonable one. Over the whole period, allied sources “explain” fifty-eight times, while the Iraqis “explain” only ten times. (Appendix, Figure 21)

g. Inform: This reporting verb is most often used in the passive voice. “The prime minister was informed”, “we have not been informed”, and so on are relatively frequent without saying who informed, unlike the use I have chosen to pinpoint as a reporting verb with a

specific speaker: "...a series of brief telephone calls from Bush to the other heads of state, including John Major, the prime minister, informing them that an attack was imminent." (January 13th, by John Cassidy) If one informs of something, it is assumed that it is true, as in: "Israel radio informed us that missiles had struck Tel Aviv and Haifa." (January 19th, by Richard Owen) It is less likely to be said that "Iraqi radio informed us that a shelter had been bombed". Indeed, it is explicitly said that the Iraqis do not "inform": "We have already heard enough from Saddam Hussein and his henchmen to know that they rarely speak to inform or to advance a considered argument." (January 26th, Letter from Mr Ivor Davies) This verb is used eight times to report allied sources and never for the other side, so it may be concluded that, for *The Times*, it is only the West that "informs". (Appendix, Figure 21)

h. Make clear: As a reporting verb, "make clear" is used more to describe "our" words.^{xxii} The implication is obvious. A person, usually a Western elite person, clarifies, makes plain, what is true, in the opinion of the journalist. Thus, the journalists in the examples quoted apparently believe that the US is not aiming to go beyond Kuwait into Iraq, and that Saudi Arabia egged on the US rather than vice versa.

The construction is often impersonal, with the implied subject being the West, as in "It must therefore at once be made clear to Saddam that a 'human shield' policy will gain him no military protection." (January 22nd, Leading Article) and "It should be made clear that any further Iraqi incursions into Kuwait would be met with massive retaliation." (February 3rd, by Robert Harris) It is occasionally used for "their" words.^{xxiii} Words from the allies "make something clear" one hundred and seven times, while words from the Iraqis do so only nineteen times. (Appendix, Figure 21)

i. Point out: If one "points something out", "emphasizes the point", "underlines the point", "rams the point home" or "makes the point that...", all found in the texts selected, it is to be assumed that the "point" is partly valid at least. So when British sources said that Baghdad's action "underlined the importance of the points she (Mrs Thatcher) was going to make" (August 3rd, by Peter Stothard), they are taking for granted that the point made is

true. Or if it is said that “Saddam needs to get the point”, or “... the (Baker) tour is designed.... to ram the point home to President Saddam Hussein that the US is deadly serious” (November 5th, by Martin Fletcher), it is presupposed that the “point” is worth getting or ramming home. In the same way, it is often said that Western sources “point out” some fact.^{xxiv} Sentences such as “The White House response pointed out”, “As Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, has pointed out”, “Whitehall sources pointed out”, “The Pentagon discreetly pointed out”, “Pentagon sources pointed out”, “State Department officials pointed out” and so on, are quite frequent. It is also used sometimes in a passive form: “At the Foreign Office.... it was pointed out that....(September 3rd, by Marc Weller) It is seen that the journalist regards the words as probably justified and even obvious.

With rather less frequency this verb can also be used for the other side.^{xxv} The verb “point out” is used thirty-seven times with allied sources, and only six with Iraqi or anti-war sources. (Appendix, Figure 21) On the majority of occasions, “point out” is used to report allied voices, showing a distinct bias in their favour.

j. Reiterate: This verb is used exclusively for the allied side. Though it is not obviously biased in favour of the speaker for any semantic reason, the connotations are positive. Perhaps the reason is simply that the allies are the only ones to be frequently given the opportunity to reiterate statements, or perhaps because it is rather more formal and authoritative. “Mr Baker reiterated in a television interview at the weekend....” (December 3rd, by Susan Ellicott) and “Mr Bush reiterated that he would not negotiate over a withdrawal” (December 7th, Anonymous article) are examples.

k. Reveal: Only occasions where the verb is used for reporting on what someone said are included, not those when something or somebody “reveals the seriousness of the situation” or “reveals military bungling”, or “an inspection revealed a great amount of damage”, “reveal secret information to the enemy”. However, the speech act may be somewhat removed from the reporting act and still be included.

Like “disclose”, “reveal” is used to describe a speech act that tells the truth and similarly implies privileged information. Although there are some examples of “reveal” where the information comes from Iraq, such as “Aerial photographs reveal that the bridge was destroyed”, there are no examples of its use by journalists reporting Iraqi spokesmen, politicians or people, or any other Arabs either. Many things are “revealing”, many others are “revealed” or “should not be revealed”, “can be revealed”, and so on, in an impersonal way, and there are numerous “revelations” about the progress of the war, but never with the Iraqi side of the story as the source.^{xxvi} The allies “reveal” twenty-four times during this period, while this reporting verb is never used for speech acts from the Iraqi side. (Appendix, Figure 21)

I. Spell out: This reporting verb is as authoritative as “point out”, but far less frequent. “John Major spelt out yesterday that only one man could now prevent war.” (December 22nd, by Robin Oakley), and “Then Tom King, the defence secretary, spelt it out on Sunday.”(January 29th, by Michael Evans) Iraq also made certain things very clear at the beginning of the conflict, when it had the whip hand: “Iraq's uncompromising, bullying stance which was spelt out in its government press” (August 2nd, by Michael Theodoulou) and “Such worries did not concern Saddam. During an interview with French television, he spelt out his strategy: he would win just by hanging on.” (September 2nd, by Marie Colvin)

This reporting verb is used twelve times with an allied source and only twice with anti-war or Iraqi speakers. (Appendix, Figure 21) Thus, considering that the majority of reported speech acts are carried out by the allied side, the evidence is perhaps inconclusive due to its scarcity.

m. State: This reporting verb, which has an authoritative ring to it, is relatively rare, and when it does appear it almost invariably refers to words uttered by an elite person in the West.^{xxvii} There are occasional references to Iraqi words: “President Saddam Husseinhas stated to the world that he will never leave Kuwait.” (January 9th, by Michael Evans)

The statistical details are that allied words are “stated” twenty-two times while Iraqi words only five times. (Appendix, Figure 21) However, there is a use which is more ambiguous, not recorded here, which talks of “stated intentions”, “stated determination” or “stated purpose”, which implies that the intention or purpose were not the same as those stated, as in: “The French abandoned a previously stated policy of confining operations to Kuwait.” (January 25th, by Michael Evans) With this implication it is never applied to the British or Americans.

n. Tell how: The pragmatic force of this expression is identical to “tell of” and, unsurprisingly, is never used for the Iraqi side. As in the case of “tell of” it is reserved practically exclusively for refugees’ and hostages’ reports on the state of occupied Kuwait.^{xxviii} In “The woman told how Kuwait was a nation waiting for war” (September 16th, Anonymous article) the implication, if not the meaning of “said that Kuwait was a nation waiting for war” is totally different and would contain less favourable bias towards the woman and consequently against Iraq. As with “tell of” however, a few of the words reported as supposedly true are unfavourable to Western interests: “The report tells how the US, British and French forces, as well as Iraq, have ‘filtered and moulded information’ to achieve their own objectives.” (February 20th, by Melinda Wittstock)

o. Tell of: The implication of both “tell of” and “tell how”, but not of “tell that”, is that the words reported are true, and they are used almost exclusively for utterances of hostages, individual service personnel or escapees from Kuwait or Iraq. “Refugees from Kuwait tell of looting and armed resistance” (August 11th, by Hazhir Teimourian) “British pilgrims tell of their lucky flight from Iraq” (August 17th, by Christopher Walker).^{xxix} Some of these eyewitness reports are unfavourable to Western interests, it has to be said, and one or two come from Iraqis: “A few survivors told of the last minutes before the shelter was hit.” (February 14th, by Marie Colvin) It is also used for the words of elite figures, always on the Western side: “Bush tells of ‘combat terror’ as Congress opens war debate” (January 11th,

by Martin Fletcher), and “Major tells of dangers to come” (January 18th, by Peter Mulligan and Robert Morgan).

p. Warn: This verb is quite frequent but is generally used in a neutral way, and both sides may warn of the consequences of this or that action. It is more frequently used with Western sources, though this may be due to the amount of coverage given to each side. But sometimes there is an impersonal use, whereby the implied receiver of the warning is the West or Iraq, although unstated. Here the two sides are clearly differentiated and the receiver is quite clearly defined though only implied. So in “Israeli officials.... warned of a ‘red line’ that would trigger an immediate response” (August 4th, Anonymous article), the implication is that the Iraqis were warned, while in “They have warned that Saddam's strategy may be to resist until a frontal ground assault by the allies is imminent” (February 3rd, by Jon Swain, quoting American experts) or “Lord Bramall.... warned that there was still much to do to free Kuwait” (January 22nd, Anonymous article), the implied receiver is “us”.

7.5. Unfavourable Reporting Verbs

The Iraqis are afforded less opportunity to speak, but their words are nevertheless reported, subject to some restrictions. They are given less favourable treatment in the matter of reporting verbs.

a. Allege: This reporting verb sows the seeds of doubt in the reader's mind as to whether the words stated are correct, and consequently the verb, and its related noun “allegation” is applied more to what “they” said: “The failure of the alleged new rulers of Kuwait to show themselves on the screen” (August 9th, by Christopher Walker) and “Iraqi officials alleged that bombs dropped by Tornados on Thursday had missed a bridge and struck an apartment building.” (February 17th, by Richard Ellis) However, “allege” is also used to insinuate what is unproved about occupied Kuwait, and journalists occasionally use the word to apply to allied leaders, insinuating that some course of action is viewed

negatively.^{xxx}

Statistically, “allege” is used to describe words uttered by “us” on eighteen occasions, and by “them” on another eighteen. Considering the great frequency with which the allies are quoted, “allege” is proportionally used more to report “their” words.

b. Claim: Territorial “claims” have been excluded, as I am only interested in the claim of facts being stated, not on whether one country claims the territory of another, though the two concepts are not entirely separate. There are dozens of examples, especially in the early part of the crisis of this sort of Iraqi claim. In the following example, there is certainly a semantic link between “Saddam’s claims to disputed oilfields” and “Saddam claims the oilfields are his”, but so as to avoid possible confusion it has been excluded. I have excluded references to insurance claims, groups claiming responsibility for terrorist acts and the like, and those second hand claims, where “X said that Y claimed”. I have included “claim” as a noun, where it is sometimes accompanied by adjectives that show clearly the negative nature of this word: “Nor do they accept Saddam Hussein's absurd claim...” (January 15th, by Richard Owen)

The quotation from Almeida (1991: 247) in the section on “explain” contrasts these two reporting verbs. A report quoted by Fowler (1991: 116) from *The Guardian* 16th April 1986, begins “Libya yesterday claimed to have destroyed an American-manned communication station.” An article from *The Sun*, also quoted by Fowler (p116) reads: “Gaddafi's 15-month-old adopted daughter Hanna died in his Tripoli HQ, Libyan doctors claimed. His two youngest sons were also injured.” The enemy or outsider “claims” while “we” “say”, “state”, “explain”, “make clear” or “disclose”, as the following example shows: “The ship's Iraqi captain, keen to make the most of the incident, claimed two women had miscarried and two others had had heart attacks when they saw marines boarding the vessel. But a US Navy doctor said nobody was hurt.” (December 27th, by Michael Theodoulou) The journalist also appears to be giving his own opinion, that is, that the Iraqi captain was trying to “make the

most of the incident". The Iraqi is the one who "claimed", while the US doctor "said" that nobody was hurt.

In the following example, too, the Iraqi "claim" is countered by "Bush said", juxtaposed with it: "Responding to Iraqi claims that the letter was written in language unsuitable for heads of state, Mr Bush said that it was 'not rude but direct'. He said that...." (January 2nd, by Peter Stothard) The choice of the verbs "report", "claim" and "said" is a deliberate way of showing who is telling the truth in the following example: "Three American jets and two British Tornados were reported lost yesterday. The spokesman said 15 Iraqi planes had been destroyed and 40 Iraqis killed. The Iraqis claimed, however, that they had shot down 154 allied aircraft." (January 21st, by Christopher Walker) The implication of some reporting verbs is that the establishment view is better informed, for explanation comes from a position of strength or knowledge, while "claim" may come from a position of weakness, inferiority or ignorance. It is also an indication that speakers have something to prove, so improving their position in public opinion. At the very least it sows the seeds of doubt in the reader's mind about the truth of what Jesse Jackson or Saddam say.^{xxxii} This reporting verb can sometimes be used for the coalition as well.^{xxxii}

In the first phase of the crisis, even leading articles distanced themselves from the words of the American president. It had yet to be seen how positions would harden. Bush's actual words are placed within inverted commas, as is seen in: "When Bush first sent the troops in early last week, the White House claimed it was sending a small force to defend Saudi Arabia" (August 12th, by John Cassidy). In one article, the reports from each side are listed as: "Allied Claims" and "Iraqi Claims". (January 22nd, War Diary) However, this seeming neutrality is spoilt a little in other similar articles where the two lists are "Claims" and "Iraqi Claims", with "our" being understood in the former case, and when used for Iraqi claims, in case there were any doubt, one journalist calls their allegations "spurious claims" (March 3rd, by Marc Weller). In all, this reporting verb is chosen on one hundred and sixty-five occasions for allied sources, and two hundred four times for the other side, which is

statistically given less opportunity to speak. (Appendix, Figure 21)

In the following example it is seen how far journalists will go to distance themselves from the Iraqi side: "The Iraqi spokesman repeated previous undertakings not to invade Saudi Arabia, claiming that the "merger" was not a precedent and stating that Baghdad had no ambitions on any other territory." (August 9th, by Christopher Walker) In the course of this brief quotation, we see the use of three different reporting verbs, as if the journalist at each step wants to make it crystal clear that the words are not his own but come from the enemy side. We also see how the inverted commas round the single word "merger" almost certainly distances the journalist from the source.

c. Taunt: Minnini shows how certain reporting verbs are only used for "them", for example "taunt", as in "'Kill us or get out' Arabs taunt as rocks and bullets fly in Gaza. (*New York Times* 16/12/87) In *The Times*, this verb is used only once to describe Iraqi words: "Baghdad Radio taunted coalition forces: 'Total destruction awaits you'" (February 24th, by Richard Caseby) and on three occasions to describe words used by allied soldiers, though always to deride their companions, not the enemy.

It is not true that one side is given preferential treatment through being accorded proportionally more access through direct speech. I find that both forms are used for both sides, where the reporting clause is followed by the actual words, as in "President Saddam said: 'Right is on our side. Let us fight the infidels and their agents wherever they are are' " (January 2nd, by John Holland), and where the reported clause is followed by the reporting clause, as in "He predicted a military battle throughout the Arab world against the West. 'The main thrust of the military battle may be Iraq, but the theatre of our operations includes every struggler and holy fighter,' he told his army leadership on Sunday." (January 8th, by John Holland) The second passage includes Saddam's words in both indirect and direct speech.

It has to be taken into account, when considering the statistics, that most speakers accessed are Western. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that “explain”, for example, occurs less with Iraqi speakers, as they are given less space, less opportunity to “explain” themselves, and this must be taken into account when conclusions are drawn from these statistics. With this proviso, however, it must be said that the overwhelming weight of proof is that favourable reporting verbs are reserved almost entirely for the coalition.

7.6. Fronting of Reported Words

In broadcast news the vast majority of attributions are at the beginning of the item, but in written news, the attribution may be postposed. There is much direct quoting of Mr Bush, with his letter of ultimatum to Saddam quoted verbatim, in its entirety (January 13th). Journalists vary their technique, with the less frequent, more stylistically awkward fronting of the reported sentence occurring occasionally: “Iraq's future is at stake; the choice is yours, Bush tells Saddam” (January 14th, Headline, Anonymous article) or “No price is too heavy to pay to regain Kuwait, Bush says” (January 3rd, Headline, by Martin Fletcher), and the same article goes on: “Iraq's invasion of Kuwait has presented the world with its biggest challenge since the second world war, President Bush said in a television interview with David Frost.” The reason for this change may be that the writer is inviting acceptance of his words, as fronting appears to give more importance within both utterance and discourse. The hypothetical headline “Iraq claims ‘Women and children were massacred’” does not impinge so much on readers’ sensibilities as “‘Women and children were massacred’, Iraq claims.” I have found both reporting clause and reported clause in front position on the allied side, as in “There would be no concessions, no face-saving offers, he promised” (December 1st, by Peter Stothard, quoting Mr Bush), and “Israel yesterday claimed that cracks were appearing in the coalition” (November 1st, by Richard Owen).

On the Arab side the formula “Reporting phrase + reported utterance” is common: “Officials had stated that Syria would have no choice but to side with Iraq if an Iraqi-Israeli front opened up.” (November 1st, by Richard Owen) On the other hand, the formula “Reported

utterance + reporting phrase” is extremely rare when any Arab source is quoted. In fact, during the whole period the formula “Reported utterance + (President) Saddam (Husseini) said / stated” and “Reported utterance + Iraq said / stated” are nowhere to be found, while there is no shortage of direct and indirect quotations with the formula “Saddam said + Reported utterance” or “Iraq said + Reported utterance”. This seems to indicate that the formula “Reported utterance + X said” is reserved for the allied side, and I conclude that this is probably due to its being favourable to the source.

7.7. Free Indirect Speech and “Blurring”

Free indirect speech is rarer in journalism than in fictional narratives. It was a characteristic of the more emotionally involved journalism of the early twentieth century, but even nowadays, journalists often let hidden preferences creep in unawares. If a news bulletin says that “The Prime Minister appealed to management and unions in the car industry to cut down on what he called manifestly avoidable stoppages”, the journalist is making clear that the words are not his/her own, but if, on the other hand, the journalist reports “The Prime Minister has appealed to workers in the car industry to cut down on avoidable stoppages”, it is unclear who is defining what is “avoidable”, the Prime Minister or the reporter. There are examples outside the texts of where Western journalists let their prejudices creep into their reporting: “Moslems of the dominant Shi'ite sect are opposed to the Shah's efforts to modernize...by granting freedom to women and redistributing church lands.” (Associated Press, October 29th, 1978) Modernization and tradition are portrayed by the journalist himself as respectively supporting or obstructing development.

What appear to be stylistic devices can turn into ideological devices, as these selections can set the framework for debate. Journalists can, perhaps unconsciously, identify themselves with certain groups, with a hidden “we” of consensus behind such terms as “hopeful” or “unexpected”, “cheering” or “bad”, in expressions such as “Some cheering news on trade figures....”, “Bad news from the car industry....”. The text is being mediated for the reader, and certain ideologies supported. If a journalist talks about “the railwaymen’s

dispute” (s)he is implicitly blaming the railwaymen for upsetting the order of things, while referring to “the dispute on railwaymen’s pay” would be strictly neutral.

The position of the journalist as “one of us” is often clear. If it is written that “The war with Iraq will begin with the heaviest allied bombing raids since the second world war” (January 15th, by Michael Evans) then he is aligning himself with those allies, otherwise the text would talk of “the war between the allies and Iraq”. Boundaries between what a person reportedly said and what the journalist comments are often blurred. Bell (1991: 208) gives an example from the New Zealand press: "Scientists say the hole in the ozone layer will have dramatic effects on the southern hemisphere. New Zealanders will all have to wear protective glasses....." We do not know whether the second sentence is a comment by the journalist or by the scientist, or by someone else in a press conference. Journalists draw on a variety of sources, spoken and written, and rework them into a unified story.

In *The Times*, when reporting James Baker, George Bush and Norman Schwarzkopf, there is often merging between their words and the journalist’s:

Bush said Saddam already posed a strategic threat to the capitals of the Middle East. ‘Each day that passes brings Saddam Hussein further on the path to developing biological and nuclear weapons and the missiles to deliver them.’ That message was reinforced in Baghdad yesterday when Taha Yassin Ramadan, the deputy prime minister, warned that any war would extend to other Arab nations. (January 6th, by Marie Colvin)

In saying that the message was reinforced by an Iraqi warning is to back the American president’s utterance. The War Diary on January 31st, includes the commentary that “After Saddam’s threat to use chemical and nuclear weapons, Marlin Fitzwater, the White House press secretary, said the Iraqi leader must be stopped.” That is, the press secretary’s words are reported in such a way as to be justified by Saddam’s threat. News dispatches are selected and processed by US-based news agencies and news magazines which, in spite of their international distribution cater primarily for their domestic audiences.

General Schwarzkopf made clear that the briefing and those to come.... would not be dominated by questions of the 'body count', a reference to the highly inaccurate totals of estimated casualties that came to dominate the discredited briefings in Saigon. (January 19th, by Christopher Walker)

The reporter sides with General Schwarzkopf in his disapproval of the use of body counts, calling it "highly inaccurate", and the briefings when they came into the open "discredited". The reporting verb "made clear" is also significant. This phenomenon is quite common. Phillips (1990: 225) shows way how in many British newspaper stories the writer's words and those of Conservative politicians are merged, without markers, while usually those of Labour speakers are marked off by speech marks.^{xxxiii}

There are also gratuitous comments made as "riders" to news items. If it is said that "Britain's air traffic controllers call on other members of their union to come out on strike. That would lead to a shut-down of all Britain's airports", the second sentence is a statement that may express the journalist's own opinion. There are thus switches of speaker which are sometimes not clearly marked off, though there is obviously not always ideological manipulation behind them. Some devices may be used due to text-building or other principles. The following instances show how the reporters on *The Times* often added their own comments to what was said:

The British Ministry of Defence described the move as 'a sensible precaution.... and there was a desire to do something and to be seen to do something,' said an MoD source. But such symbolism will do little to deter Saddam, or his 100,000 troops. (August 5th, by James Adams)

The rider at the end of this quotation forecasts the Iraqi reaction, and is an example of how the reporters put themselves "inside the skin", as it were, of the Ministry of Defence or of the White House. When John Cassidy (September 16th) comments that:

"The White House was particularly pleased about the British, Syrian and French decisions to send armour. These forces will profoundly alter the political complexion

of the anti-Iraq forces in Saudi Arabia. As one American official put it: ‘How can Saddam claim this is Iraq versus the United States when we have 50,000 Syrians, Saudis, Egyptians and Brits around us in the desert?’”

It is unclear whether the second sentence is a continuation of the White House’s words or the journalist’s commentary on them. Also, the first word in the third sentence “As”, strongly implies agreement on the part of the writer.

Similarly, in the following example, the journalist’s words within the hard news section of the newspaper are a gratuitous commentary on “mistaken” Argentinian opinions.

This force has not been submitted to congress for approval, and is opposed by 70 per cent of Argentina's population, according to opinion polls. However, this view is largely founded on two mistaken assumptions: that the Gulf conflict will not affect Argentina, since Kuwait is ‘a faraway country about which we know nothing’, and that Buenos Aires will have to foot the bill for these military operations in a time of extreme economic difficulty. (September 16th, by Michael Soltys)

The journalist clearly aligns himself with the official pro-war position when he calls the majority assumptions “mistaken”.

The headline “The terror that stalks us all in Kuwait” (September 16th, Anonymous article) immediately labels the woman as one of “us”, and the article ends:

Last week she told how Kuwait was a nation waiting for war. My life here has taken a turn for the worse. I am no longer allowed to go out and our telephone conversations can last no more than two minutes.

The truth of her remarks is taken for granted. For example “told how” implies strongly that her statement is true, unlike “she told *The Times* that” (See 7.4.n). It is similarly taken for granted that she is in real danger. “She simply cannot be identified for her own safety”, the journalist goes on to say, not “According to her friend...” or “She said that...” Her words are quoted direct, without speech marks, in the last paragraph, a privilege usually reserved for elite speakers. They are supposed to be dramatic evidence of the cruelty of Saddam

Hussein's regime, and are not commented on or contrasted with other opinions. In an anonymous article entitled "Seven told to leave in fears over terrorism" (January 19th), whose title already presupposes the reality of the threat of terrorism, the journalist goes on "Iraqis were banned from entering Britain in a move aimed at tightening security." This aim was probably told to the journalist by an official source but (s)he simply repeats it uncritically, without dividing it off from his / her own words in any way.

Free indirect speech is polyphonic, as in "He said the issue was justice rather than oil, and then there was the whole question of Middle East stability." It can be used neutrally, when the sheer length of the speeches reported would make it tedious reading, with the journalist constantly saying "Mr Bush said...." or "He added that...." , but there are many examples like the above, where the last clause or sentence is almost a journalistic comment. This merging could be considered a part of a kind of internal monologue, as in some kinds of modern literature, where the narrator seems to have access to the inner workings of the speaker's mind. In fact the birth and development of this kind of indirect speech is parallel with its use in nineteenth and twentieth century literature.^{xxxiv} The resulting text is a smooth-flowing whole, but with the source of some parts of it made unclear.

Free indirect speech is used far more with Western figures and hardly at all with Iraqi or indeed any Arab figures. A sentence such as "The general ordered the enemy to be engaged, in response to Iraqi attacks" blurs the general's and the reporter's own words, though in *The Times* they do try to make it clear who is speaking. Causal relations and intentions cannot be proved, but by reporting devices reporters do tend to include them in their reports. Free indirect speech is open to manipulation. It does seem to be a device which merges the identity of the reporter with that of the speaker, as has been noted elsewhere.^{xxxv} For example, in the following instance, it seems the journalist is justifying the American stand historically, calling the Iraqi treatment "severe" and attributing the American action in Panama to a response to aggression:

The White House's recent focus on the plight of American hostages has raised

speculation that it might consider the severe treatment of the captives sufficient provocation for an attack against Iraq. The invasion of Panama was launched on the grounds that Panamanian troops had harmed American citizens. (November 1st, by Susan Ellicott)

In the following example, it is unclear whether in the second sentence, the problem seems to be such to the journalist or if it is still the comment of the American sources:

American sources say Britain has provisionally agreed that Royal Navy vessels in the area could provide support for American warships imposing a blockade. The main problem seemed to be the attitude of Saudi Arabia and Turkey, strongly resisting American pressure to close down the oil pipelines and supporting instead an “Arab solution”. (August 5th, by James Adams)

Although a “common-sense” view would make free indirect speech into a more marked distancing device than reported speech or direct speech, this is in fact not so. The exception is indirect speech, in which the reporting clause is embedded within a sentence, whereas the other forms contain whole sentences reflecting the words of the original, though in different ways. (Sternberg, 1982: 111; Clark and Gerrig, 1990: 787) Free indirect speech covers a multitude of phenomena.^{xxxvi} News is a complex mixture of voices, some of which speak for themselves, whilst others speak professionally. The multiplicity of voices and speakers does not appear to the reader as mere confusion, since each speaker is subordinate to the overall discursive unity of the bulletin.

7.8. Unattributed Embedding

Newspapers usually attribute sources such as news agency copy, but there are often vague attributions given, such as “reliable sources”, “a senior administration official”, “one top-ranking US official”, “one senior aide”, “officials throughout the administration”, “several of the president’s closest advisers”, and so on. These labels claim standing for their sources, but readers cannot contrast them, and are in the hands of the newspaper’s scale

of values in sources, whose reliability the reader cannot challenge.^{xxxvii} The press worldwide use quotations uncritically, with expressions such as “It is said....”, but without answering the important question “By whom?” (See 5.5.1) The speakers journalists reference are all too often anonymous collective bodies. Journalists tell audiences that “experts say”, not always that “John Smith says” or that “officials indicated”. Journalists use quotes to lend authority to largely unspecified sources behind the news.” Statements which begin “Police spokesman says....”, “Proponents of abortion indicate....”, “Ecologists claim....” beg the obvious question: “Which ones ?” All too often institutions say things that their individual members might not, for example, “the allies say....”, “the army stated...” This is entirely incontestable. The assumption is made that spokesmen really do represent who they’re supposed to. (Hodge and Kress, 1979: 187)

More seriously, sometimes, the words spoken by officials, reports and spokesmen are not present in the text simply because their truth is taken for granted. This “unattributed embedding” (Bell, 1991: 205) is found frequently in *The Times*, though it depends very much on which journalist is writing. Some regular contributors, such as Charles Bremner, are always scrupulously careful and avoid this phenomenon, while others are not. “Embedding” in linguistics is generally a term used to describe grammatical relations between smaller units “embedded” within larger ones, but here it is applied to suprasentential discursive phenomena. On numerous occasions it is stated that the prime minister “will” leave for Helsinki (as has already been commented on in 6.4.1.), or that the President has gone somewhere, without giving any source for the information. The inevitability of allied plans being carried out is assumed. For example, that a certain number of planes or ships will be sent to the Middle East and arrive on such and such a day, is taken for granted and sources for such information are simply omitted: “A ship laden with about 6,000 tons of food for 140,000 Indians stranded in Kuwait is to be allowed through the blockade and will sail from India today” (September 15th, by Nicholas Woods), and “ ‘Blitzkrieg force on Saudi border’ (Headline) The Iraqi forces massed on the border with Saudi Arabia yesterday with tanks, armoured personnel carriers and regular forces....”

(August 5th, by James Adams) or, on the Iraqi side “Constant probing will be aimed at putting the allied units off guard.” (February 2nd, by Michael Evans) Many supposed facts about the other side are reproduced, even though unnamed and non-contrasted sources are being drawn on. I have given only a few examples of the hundreds present in the texts, mostly in opinion articles but sometimes, too, in features and hard news.

7.9. Non-Reporting of Original Words

Although the source of the original speech act may be made clear, the actual words said may be hidden, without appearing in any reporting clause, as noted by Quirk (1985: 1021), who cites as an example the sentence “He is opposed to change”. This is part of the severest kinds of editing, whereby radical summarization takes place, and reflects one of several possible utterances. It lies behind some reporting verbs, such as “confirm” or “deny”. The reports that follow reflect original speech acts by Patriot crews, soldiers and RAF airmen, reflecting their exhilaration and delight, gladness and excitement, but none of their actual words are reproduced: “The initial exhilaration shown by the Patriot crews is understandable” (January 23rd, Leading article), “RAF airmen who flew on missions returned last night from sorties against Iraq delighted at the success of their latest mission” (January 22nd, by Lin Jenkins) and “Captain Eaton, of HQ Battery, said: ‘The lads have been here for 125 days. It's been a long wait and they are now glad to be involved.’” (February 22nd, by Gordon Ains). There are hundreds of other examples during the allied attacks not quoted here.

It is thus impossible for the reader to recover the precise original words, though they can be guessed at. In the following example, which is at a mid-point somewhere between the previous examples and free indirect speech, there is also a conversation behind the scenes, but again the actual words are lost: “We thought then we may have ruptured a tank.... We were going to push our luck to the limit so if we had to eject, we wouldn't do it in a place where there were so many Iraqi troops.” (January 25th, by Ramsay Smith, quoting a British pilot) When these indirect speech events are given without attribution, there are

ideological implications. Almeida (1991: 247) shows how the verbs “fear” and “expect” are used in a similar way: “Haitians fear the rise of a new dictatorship”, “US officials expect...” or “The hostage-taking is expected/ feared to be part of a new policy”, without naming the source. This can be a manipulative practice, with the source’s identity and exact words both being unverifiable on the part of the reader. This non-reporting of the actual words, hiding the speech act, is a device used exclusively for “us” as a source in the texts studied. This may be because “positive” characteristics, emotions such as delight, as well as others listed in 4.6.1. and 4.6.3., that is, prudent fear, anxiety, caution and rationality, are described in these reports.

7.10. Privileged Access

In literature or scientific writings, the narrator gives more space to those who have more importance for him/her. The access of voices to the news text is doubly important because, however well or badly someone’s words are treated in that text, the very fact that a person is mentioned and their words are reported means they are important. There is undoubted ideological significance in the choice of voices heard in the news. Zelizer (1989: 373) maintains that reliance on accredited sources permits elites to help manage the news, and that by relying on quotes from those who are supposedly involved, journalists adopt a position of technical neutrality. However, this overuse of other peoples’ voices, in which journalists use quotations of other people’s opinions as a substitute for the facts of real life, gives an aura of authority to certain frequently heard voices. In other words, reporters use quoting to create the illusion of a whole, reflecting positively on the authority of those journalists who brought it together.

It is often not what a person says, but who says it, when and where, that give the statement importance in the media. The way an event is reported always affects readers’ interpretation of reality. High status sources in government, industry and business are given preference over lower status sources, such as the man in the street. In news discourse, sources are used to create an “internally self-validating web of facticity” (Tuchman, 1978: 86), the

sources themselves often determining what is a fact, while the newswriters “absolve themselves of responsibility”.

For one’s utterances to have news value, it is often enough to be an elite person. Roeh found that out of six hundred stories, sixty-eight per cent featured elite persons saying something, while for a non-elite person the only sure way to get into the news is by being the victim of something, either a crime, an accident or a disaster. He takes samples from the news and news magazines, and finds a difference of emphasis between hard and soft news, although both favour the elite voices.³⁸ Likewise, admittedly in a study twenty years old, less than fifty people appeared regularly in the news in the US, in descending order, the president, presidential candidates, federal, state and local officials, famous violators of the law or morality, members of the Kennedy family and astronauts. (Gans, 1979) We often get to know the name and status but little else about the character of the voice. The news story characterizes its actors in passing, within the flow of telling the action. A frequently recurring pattern is that some important personality says something with regard to some interruption in the “normal” flow of life. Some “declare”, some “state”, “point out” or “warn”, as has been shown above.

The higher the status of the speaker, the greater the amount of media attention, the more direct the presentation, and the greater the tendency for media personnel to endorse the speaker's assumptions. (Davis, in Van Dijk, 1985: 46) There is, if this is true, a very small group of people who actually get to speak. Davis, writing in the eighties, gives the example of car industry strikes, which were only two per cent of those going on at one time, but which got twenty-five per cent of media coverage, due to the number of elite persons who spoke about them.

The bureaucratized nature of media processes makes journalists rely on a limited number of sources, the more elite the better, as most people want their views to be backed by the majority, or at least the respectable and well-known, a phenomenon called “anxious

unanimity” or “the conventional wisdom” by Galbraith, quoted in *The Times* itself in the texts studied.³⁹ The overwhelming voice in *The Times* is an elite, mainstream Western one, whoever is talking, the journalist, the actor or the spokesperson. It is difficult to see the news from the Gulf from the point of view of an ordinary Iraqi citizen, for example, so limited is their access to the media, partly due, it is true, to institutional factors such as availability, censorship, and the simple fact that Arab speakers need to be translated for them to get into print in the English press. A useful exercise for readers of any text, would be to reconstruct it from the point of view of another character. (Burton, 1982: 207) Were media receivers willing and able to do this, they would discover other ways of expressing “reality”. This is not easily done, nor is it encouraged, unfortunately, in the media itself.

Vincent (1992: 183), talking specifically about the Gulf conflict, lists the sources of the *CNN*. He shows how press briefings, speeches and other staged news events by political and military leaders, tapes and interviews supplied by military or government sources, press pool stories and reports in studio and on location from consultants and experts far outweighed in importance other sources, such as interviews of non-elite sources, original stories based on staff research and events in which news personnel were allowed to share protagonism in the story. Powerful politicians need not even speak themselves. They may be preferentially quoted, however, even so, as they have people who speak and write for them. They have bureaucratically backed professional organizations, such as press agents and/or spokesmen, which formulate their speeches and press releases.

The president, or prime minister, and the professional journalists who report their words, are primary sources of public understanding, as the president is both himself and represents his people. In the US the president is both ultimate news actor and news source.⁴⁰ Even when presidents say nothing, it is still news.⁴¹ Many headlines in *The Times* quote President Bush’s words direct, so to some it has seemed that articles see through his eyes and express opinions through his words.⁴² The president of the United States in *The Times* has privileged access. For instance, an article which is word for word the letter sent

by Bush to Saddam Hussein is published on the eve of the allied attack (January 15th).

The question of access to *The Times* has already been studied throughout chapter 3, especially section 3.3, where it was shown that editorial opinion, other opinion, journalists themselves and readers' letters are weighted in favour of pro-war and pro-Western opinions. The following articles, quoted here in chronological order from the hard and feature news sections, have been chosen to illustrate in more detail the weighting that consistently exists in favour of "our" voices. There is an embarrassment of riches in this large corpus, that is, articles illustrating the points made abound throughout the conflict and dozens of others could have been quoted. I hope to have chosen a representative cross-section. There are many of the devices studied earlier in this work. In articles (a) and (b) I have placed a number before each speech act referred to.

a. "Tank Dogged by Disappointment"

On September 16th, we find the following "Insight" article, written by James Adams, which is given here in full:

(1) The prime minister had good reason last week to question the common sense of sending Challenger against the massed tank legions of Saddam Hussein. Just 10 days ago, (2) one of her senior advisers was arguing that there was little point in sending the Challengers to Saudi Arabia because "if they didn't work in Germany, there was not much chance of them working in the desert". For the past 18 months, (3) she has been told repeatedly by the army that the tank was unreliable and did not inspire confidence among the men who had to sit inside it. Although it may be better armoured, faster and with a more accurate gun than the ageing Soviet tanks used by the Iraqis, it fares miserably against its rivals within Nato. Margaret Thatcher has become so incensed by the tank's alleged shortcomings that (4) she made it clear to the manufacturers last week that the 120 machines heading for Saudi Arabia had better work. (5) According to one well-placed source, (6) she said that if they failed, "who would ever buy a British tank again, including us?"

We note that the different voices here are (1) The Prime Minister (2) One of her senior advisers (3) The army (4) Margaret Thatcher (5) One well-placed source, and (6) She (the Prime Minister). So Mrs Thatcher is the only named speaker, which could be considered favourable treatment. The only other person mentioned by name is Saddam Hussein. The author favours the Prime Minister's opinions. She "had good reason", she "made it clear". The allies are personalized, the Iraqis are depersonalized, and as has been seen elsewhere, there are both institutional and linguistic constraints on "their" utterances. The enemy is formed, in this extract, by serried ranks of machines: "the massed tank legions of Saddam Hussein". The author limits himself exclusively to elite voices, which are authorized, reliable and well placed.

b. "Sending the First Division Firepower"

The following, longer, article shows how, in the space of a few lines, there are dozens of patent and hidden speech acts, having as their protagonists elite figures. This article has been chosen as typical of much reporting in *The Times*, which is privy to decisionmaking processes hidden from most readers. Again, I have numbered the speech acts, occasionally "thought acts", reported, but have kept the original punctuation.

Just after 4pm on Thursday, Tom King, the defence secretary, accompanied by half a dozen of his most senior military advisers, walked out of Downing Street across Whitehall and into the Stalinesque entrance to the Ministry of Defence. King had just outlined to Margaret Thatcher details of Britain's biggest military deployment since the second world war. The following morning (1) the cabinet's overseas and defence committee approved the package without dissent and (2) Thatcher immediately telephoned George Bush to give him the news. (3) "It was a tough decision, a quantum decision," said one senior government figure afterwards. "There was no

disagreement.” But events leading to the deployment have not been quite as smooth as the government would have liked. Last weekend, soon after (4) Thatcher had announced that extra forces would be sent to the Gulf, Downing Street learnt that (5) Bush was about to issue a statement thanking Britain for sending the aircraft carrier *Invincible* to the region. (6) Although the navy had been lobbying hard to send the carrier, no decision had been taken and the government realised it was in danger of being acutely embarrassed. (7) Messages were flashed to the White House that (8) the cabinet had still to make up its mind. (9) But it emphasised to Whitehall that (10) the Americans wanted a rapid decision, and one that counted. (11) On Tuesday, the overseas and defence committee was presented with nearly 20 military options by Air Marshal Sir David Craig, chief of the defence staff. These included sending everything from an armoured brigade and artillery to more fighters or ships. (12) The army had made it clear that if about 100 tanks were sent, then it would need a total force of about 10,000 men. (13) Thatcher knew that (14) the Saudis and Americans wanted heavy tanks and were not interested in lightly armed troops or artillery. (15) But she was also worried about the expense an estimated £2m a day, the numbers of men and the reliability of the tanks. (16) “It kept coming back to tanks. Nobody wanted tanks, but there was no alternative,” said a senior defence source. (17) On Tuesday, to the consternation of the army, (18) the committee compromised. It agreed provisionally to send tanks, but only 4,000 men in order to save money. (19) Over the next 48 hours, the army fought to convince (20) a sceptical prime minister that (21) it needed more men to ensure that the tanks worked. (22) “It’s fine to make the grand political gesture,” said one defence source. (23) “What the politicians wanted was the television pictures. (24) But we have to deal with the reality of a shooting war. You can’t simply send the forces and expect them to rely on the Americans for support.” So on Friday morning, after (25) King’s briefing, (26) the committee agreed to send more men, a total that may rise eventually to 8,000. (27) It was not quite what the army wanted, but it was enough. (September 16, *Insight* article, by John Cassidy and others)

In this short article, there are twenty-seven speech acts, in either direct or indirect speech, or hidden acts of thinking or speaking. The following speakers take part: (1) The cabinet's overseas and defence committee (2) Mrs Thatcher (3) One senior government figure (4) Mrs Thatcher (5) Mr Bush (6) The navy (7) The government (8) The cabinet (9) The government (10) The Americans (11) Air Marshal Sir David Craig (12) The army (13) Mrs Thatcher (14) The Saudis and the Americans (15) Mrs Thatcher (16) A senior defence source (17) The army (18) The committee (19) The army (20) The prime minister (21) The army (22) One defence source (23) Politicians (24) One defence source (25) Tom King (26) The committee (27) The army / the journalist.

We find here several points made elsewhere during this chapter, and to some extent they are typical of news discourse as a whole. Firstly, of the twenty-seven speech acts, only eight have a named source, the others being anonymous. Secondly, most of these are elite and presumably reliable sources, but it is rarely made clear who actually did the speaking. Quotes lend authority to unspecified collective sources behind the news. Certain sources are quoted so often that their authority is doubly certified, as without more than one quote a journalist is not considered reliable, a process which has been called "collective legitimation". Thirdly, the original speech act is often unrecognizable, far removed from the quotation and often impossible to recover accurately. Fourthly, at the end (27) it is unclear whether the comment "it was enough", is a conclusion made by the journalist or by an army spokesman (Blurring / Merging). If it is the latter, then the journalist is clearly biased in favour of the British government. Fifthly, the approval (1), decision (3) or statement (5) are often the result of negotiation and discussion, complex processes which are either unclear, unmentioned or simplified in the journalist's final text. Finally, the quotee is sometimes in turn a quoter of others, in a stratification or layering of quotes that is often not made explicitly. All this may be seen as logical in an article about government policy concerning a tank. It must be said, that in *The Times* the quotes with the greatest dramatic effect are often those from ordinary people, not the officials. However, as we shall see, these voices

are not reported as prominently as they might be.

c. “Hundreds of Iraqis killed in shelter”

This article, published on February 14th, by Martin Fletcher and the Foreign Staff, after the attack on the Iraqi bomb shelter at Amiriya on February 13th, 1991, is not given here in full due to its length, but I have included the beginning of each paragraph. It contains a mixture of voices, making a battlefield of the text, but although there is more variety of voices than in the two articles cited previously, it is an unequal struggle. The article also contains other elements commented on elsewhere.

Paragraph 1: “Allied leaders claim bombed bunker was legitimate military target....” The allied voices are thus given prominence over those that question them by fronting, within the already important headline. The first paragraph then goes on to say that their views are being questioned, without saying specifically by whom, or mentioning the content of such criticism.

Paragraph 2: “Allied leaders moved swiftly to defend the attack, saying that the bunker was really a command centre....” The “allied leaders” are unnamed in the first two paragraphs, but powerful enough to get quoted in privileged positions. The idea that the allies must defend themselves against some attack is present throughout the news discourse of *The Times* (See 4.6.5.), even though the source of the attacks is unnamed and criticism rarely gets into print. This is an example of setting up a straw man and knocking him down, very common in both politics and the press.

Paragraphs 3 and 4: The third and fourth paragraphs are first-hand reports on the consequence of the bombing, then again the allies are given the chance to defend themselves in paragraph 5.

Paragraph 5: “Moving aggressively and in concert to avert a public relations disaster, American spokesmen in Washington and Riyadh suggested that Saddam Hussein might deliberately have put....” As seen in 4.6.6a, “aggressive” is less negative than “aggression”,

and is sometimes applied to the allies. The “disaster” referred to is the loss of face, not the loss of life. The reporting verb “suggested” has more positive connotations than “insinuated” would have, for example. “In concert” emphasizes the consensus and widespread agreement achieved in the allied camp (See 4.6.5a).

Paragraph 6: “General Thomas Kelly, director of operations for the joint chiefs of staff, said he could not rule out ‘a cold-blooded decision on the part of Saddam Hussein to put civilians into a facility’ “ This spokesman is simply spreading a rumour and hoping it will be believed by media audiences. It adds nothing to the facts, but the nature of the speaker’s position makes his utterance important enough to be reported.

Paragraph 7: “At the White House, Marlin Fitzwater said the loss of civilian lives was ‘truly tragic’, but.... “ The use of “tragic”, here intensified by “truly” is commented on in 4.6.3j.

Paragraph 8: “Administration spokesmen and intelligence officials said the bunker had been built as a civilian bomb shelter during the Iran-Iraq war and converted into a control centre in the late 1980’s.....”

Paragraph 9: “One military official said that the bunker had been transmitting military signals up to the time it was attacked. ‘Those weren’t five-year-old kids on the radio and telephones....’ ”

Paragraph 10: “Terry Gander, an armaments expert from Jane’s, said that many bunkers in Iraq had....” The status of sources as “experts” is commented on in 4.6.1d.

Paragraph 11: “In spite of the hasty moves to repair the public relations damage, the attack is certain to increase concern....” Here, the “damage” referred to, just as the “disaster” referred to in paragraph 5, is that done to allied reputations, not to the building or the people inside, just as the “concern” expressed is about the “propaganda victory” the civilian victims might bring to Saddam through their impact on a supposedly more sensitive Western audience.

Paragraph 12: “In Baghdad, the shelter manager insisted: ‘We didn’t have a single military man in the shelter. It is allocated to civilians.’ The health minister, Abdul-Salam Mohammed Saeed, said there were no military targets in the area. ‘This was a criminal, pre-meditated,

pre-planned attack against civilians.’ Tariq Aziz, the Iraqi foreign minister, called on the UN, which was meeting last night to discuss the war, to condemn the ‘hideous crime’.” Opposition voices, whose existence has only been suggested until now, surface in the penultimate paragraph. Even more than in the allied camp, no internal opposition or alternatives within Iraq are mentioned, making “them” appear a homogeneous bloc.

Paragraph 13: “A spokesman for the Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, said that he was dismayed by the magnitude of the casualties and deplored the loss of civilian life.”

So the privileged position the allies are granted within this article is overwhelming. Three Iraqis are quoted, but their reports, which must have been available in a fuller form than this, are squeezed into a single paragraph, the penultimate, while the United Nations Secretary General, as often in British newspapers, has merely a quotation in the last paragraph. It is striking that the named allied speaker is given front position in each case, except in the last paragraph. This is typical of reporting of the Gulf conflict in *The Times*. When important military matters are touched on, non-elite persons have little to say, unless they are armed services personnel.

7.11. Constraints on Opposition Voices

Some attitudes in the press are probably improving. Assertions that ordinary people’s opinions are “invisible in news” (Hartley, 1982: 44) are questionable, and certainly not so true now as in the past. However, if not wholly invisible, “their” voices were certainly marginalized in the texts considered. The absence of minority voices in the Gulf conflict probably contributed to the absence of opposing opinions. Opponents spent most of the little media space they were granted defending themselves from the attacks of the others, about their patriotism, normality and legitimacy. The slogan “No blood for oil” was the most frequently quoted one, reflecting the belief that the war was in the interests of the giant oil companies, and “Send George Bush” (See 7.2.). Other anti-war arguments were the US government’s alleged desire for war, the environment, the death toll, and the war’s roots in capitalism, imperialism and interventionism.⁴³ Though restrictions on reporting were great, voices denouncing them were largely absent from the media.

I trace here the occurrences of certain key words that have to do with access to the media, and show how it was unevenly divided. I also consider in this section the question of how long and how complex is the message given by the spokesmen of each side. When the “other side” was allowed to speak, were their utterances given a fair airing ?

a. Censorship: Censorship imposed on journalists in the Gulf rarely surfaced in reports from *The Times* correspondents. Only two articles (August 22nd by Charles Miller, and March 2nd by Gordon Airs and Colin Wills) indicate in the dateline that they are from the press pool in Dhahran, though some reports admit having been censored, and censorship was complained about by individual journalists during and after the end of the conflict. There were several special factors in the Gulf conflict that accentuated restrictions and *The Times* makes no bones of the fact that these exist.⁴⁴ However, although some editorial comment also warns against censorship, opinion in *The Times* is ambivalent, possibly as it benefitted as an institution by its inclusion, blaming censorship on the enemy, the Vietnam experience, and journalists’ craving for sensationalism, and it is clear whose side the newspaper is on, claiming that “journalists will always co-operate with the military to save lives, if not to save reputations.” It is clear whose lives are being referred to, “ours” not “theirs”.⁴⁵ The in-group assumed beforehand is never questioned. James Adams, defence correspondent of *The Sunday Times*, who was consulted in drawing up the rules for reporting, concludes that “it will be vital in this war that the politicians and the military learn to trust the media if they want to win the other war of public opinion.” That is, it is “vital” for “us”, in the sense that an opportunity must be given to “our” journalists. French and other European journalists were censored more than their British and American counterparts, as a result of their governments’ lukewarm response to the war effort, but there is no objection made to that in *The Times*. It is merely mentioned in passing. British public opinion at the time saw censorship as advisable to save soldiers’ lives, as the article “War reporters under fire on the home front” (February 10th, by Brian MacArthur) makes clear.

It is noticeable that Iraqi censorship is referred to far more than its allied counterpart. There are many references to censorship in Arab countries, especially Iraq, and Israeli censorship is also occasionally mentioned.⁴⁶ There are mentions of the word “censor” to refer to the allies, but in *The Times* these references are rare.⁴⁷ Those quoted here are the only mentions of allied censorship during the whole campaign. There is just not enough mention of press pooling and censorship on the part of the allies, probably because the mere mention of it was not allowed to filter through to the readers. Censorship is something of a dirty word, and there seems to be a reluctance to call it by its name. Dispatches from Israel and Saudi Arabia, however, usually state when they have been censored, while writers stress much more the censorship to which correspondents are subjected in Baghdad. Just as journalists in the First World War were given knighthoods for keeping silent, so there was certain journalistic collusion with the censors in the Gulf.

Some journalists are more sensitive than others to censorship. Christopher Walker frequently mentions it, while others seldom or never do. Richard Beeston mentions it often when reporting from Baghdad, and Brian MacArthur writes a somewhat critical article on the subject. The matter is considered so sensitive and important that Simon Jenkins, the editor of *The Times*, writes an article on the subject (February 18th), claiming that censorship has been encountered but that *The Times* states when it takes place.⁴⁸ On the highly critical side, there is Melinda Wittstock’s article on February 20th “Press group complains of ‘moulded’ information”, written just after the bombing of the Amiriya shelter. There were indeed steps taken by independent organizations to free the press from wartime restrictions, but to no avail.⁴⁹ In this sense, it is probably true that the war ended too soon for the truth to get out.

b. Press Pool: Journalists were obliged to distribute a report at the press centres in Riyadh and Dhahran for common use by the press corps assembled there, but there was self-censorship by the press before it got to that point. Most journalists interviewed afterwards said they were unsatisfied with the work done. Press conferences and interviews with

generals, politicians, and even occasionally with soldiers and pilots involved, are not the best way to becoming well informed, but there was little alternative for reporters in the Gulf. *The Times* comments on the news blackout but does not condemn it, probably because it benefitted from the system.⁵⁰

I have searched for the words “press pool”, “pooling”, and derivatives, during the whole of the period under consideration. The press pool is mentioned several times, and it is admitted that it is used as a weapon in the conflict.⁵¹ Criticism exists on the part of individual journalists towards the end of the conflict, though perhaps the most striking and surprising thing is the infrequency with which the terms “press pool” and “censorship” appear. In letters and editorials in *The Times*, the words “pooling” and “press pool” simply do not exist.

c. Propaganda: Propaganda is generally considered something used mainly by dictators and terrorists.⁵² It is striking that despite the fact that propaganda was used by both sides for their respective audiences, and censorship and press pooling were rife, the word almost always refers to Iraqi propaganda.⁵³ It is a term used mostly for the information spread by the Iraqi leader, and only occasionally for the messages sent out by the Americans or the British. The most that is usually admitted is that there is a propaganda war being waged by both sides, and that the Israelis may be waging a propaganda war as well.⁵⁴ As applied to Britain and the West, it is mainly a thing of the remote past, such as during the First World War.⁵⁵ It is taken for granted that “we” usually tell the truth and that there is no anti-Iraqi disinformation campaign, while “they”, Saddam’s Iraq, use propaganda as an everyday measure, quite shamelessly. Their propaganda is a well-oiled machine just as their army is, and they will unscrupulously use prisoners of war, hostages and their families as part of it.⁵⁶

d. Spokesman: The term “spokesman” is used almost exclusively, the non-sexist alternative “spokesperson” never appearing, and “spokeswoman” only appearing six times, for instance on August 25th. It is ideologically neutral, and I have chosen it partly for the

reason that the allied spokesmen and their Iraqi counterparts are referred to with the same label. Mere mention of the word and the number of quotes from the spokespersons of each side is no guarantee of bias, as there was far more access to Western spokespersons, for a variety of reasons, that have already been mentioned. I would assume, on the other hand, that the longer the turn granted to the spokespersons of each side indicates favourable or unfavourable attitudes of the news outlet towards them. I have shown above how the citing of single words or phrases is no guarantee of journalistic complicity, rather the contrary (See 7.2.). I trace instances of “spokesman” through the texts to test the truth of this minihypothesis. I have chosen only the core countries, that is, on one side Britain and the United States, and Iraq, and only official government spokespersons are referred to, those of the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Defence, the State Department, the Pentagon and the White House, not those of political parties, or the armed forces, such as “one American army spokesman”, or other non-official bodies.

I count instances where non-clausal statements (normally noun phrases) are quoted in direct speech from the spokesmen of each side, such as “...what Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, called the ‘imminent threat’ to Saudi Arabia” (August 9th, by Martin Fletcher), “The Iraqi spokesman claimed that the ‘merger’ was not a precedent” (August 9th, by Christopher Walker), and others such as “humiliated”, “mother of all battles”, “nineteenth province”, “brutal American sanctions” (Iraqi spokesmen) and “sickening”, “a cottage industry of ploys” and “comfortable” (spokesmen on the allied side). Then I count those in which there is a single but complex sentence quoted, as in “ ‘They were still capable of attacking that kingdom,’ Pete Williams, Pentagon spokesman, said, ‘but they appeared to be consolidating their position in Kuwait.’ ” (August 10th, by Martin Fletcher) There are examples from both sides of quotations two sentences long: “An Iraqi spokesman added: ‘Iraq did not attack the West. Iraq is a peaceful nation.’” (August 19th, by James Adams) The full table of findings is to be seen in the Appendix, Figure 22.

The Iraqi spokesmen are named on only one occasion, being anonymous mouthpieces, as

are all British spokesmen but one, while the name of the White House spokesman is nearly always given. There are very few occasions when the Iraqi spokesman is given more than three sentences of space, and these are early on in the conflict (e.g. August 11th, by Christopher Walker), before moral closure took place, although in February there is a whole article which reproduces the Iraqi Revolutionary Council's broadcast. There are, however, several where the allied spokesman is given this privileged access, as on August 16th (Anonymous article). It is seen that when the shooting started there was practically a blackout on Iraqi spokesmen, that is, during the first months of 1991. It has been confirmed in this survey of the word "spokesman", that there is no distinction between the two sides in the matter of whether direct or indirect speech are used, but that the length of utterances, and above all their complexity, is greater when the spokesman is "ours".

It had already been shown above (5.4.3.), how reporting devices, such as the number of times the reportee is allowed to speak, influence the focus of attention of a report. This section has confirmed the data given before, in that the length and complexity of utterances allowed to each side are different.

7.12. Conclusion

It has been seen in this chapter how what is superficially a series of unrelated phenomena in fact reflects an underlying system in reporting techniques. This "systematic" (though not necessarily "deliberate") approach ranges from "scare quotes" for Iraqi and internal opposition voices when quoted directly, prominence granted by the "fronting" of allied words and sources, together with their privileged front position within articles, the use of favourable reporting verbs, the merging of official Western utterances with journalists' words, unattributed embedding, whereby the truth of allied sources is taken for granted, the enormous difference in space given to each side's spokesmen, together with the grammatically simplified nature of opposition utterances in contrast with the more grammatically complex ones of allied ones. There is also the press pooling, which bound journalists to the allied forces, making for empathy between writer and source.

The phenomenon of privileged access is present worldwide, and possibly in Britain it is less true to say that marginal voices are excluded than in some other countries in the world. However, there are consequences at an intercultural and international level of all that has been said in the course of this section on reporting devices. When access is denied to certain voices in English-speaking media, this restriction tends to have international repercussions. Independent sources and voices are drowned out internationally. It is not *The New Statesman* that is quoted in European newspapers, but *The Times*, among other outlets. The prominence granted in the English-speaking press to establishment figures is faithfully reflected in the Spanish press, for example, where the same privileged opinions are quoted in lead paragraphs as in Britain or the USA, while others are relegated to the inside pages, when they get a mention at all.

I have described the way in which reporters have in fact become more slavish to official sources over the last twenty or thirty years. This can be illustrated comparing coverage of the Vietnam and Gulf conflicts and the 1999 NATO attacks on Serbia. Whether this is due to the increasing dependence on new technologies or to a change in mentality is arguable, but it does seem to be a fact. During the attacks on Serbia, the media frequently connect live with NATO headquarters, where spokesmen and generals chat with journalists on first name terms and answer thinly-veiled prepared questions, while critical voices are silent or silenced. Indeed, it could be affirmed that there has been less public voicing of opposition to allied actions in Yugoslavia in Britain than during the Gulf conflict.

NOTES

i. Zelizer, 1989: 370ff

ii. Lehrer, 1989: 115

iii. “Even when the journalist is in a position to observe an event directly, he remains reluctant to offer interpretations of his own, preferring instead to rely on his news sources. For the reporter, in short, most news is not what has happened, but what someone says has happened.” (Zaller and Zhiu, 1996: 386).

iv. Coulmas, 1986: 4; Fowler, 1991: 134; Goodman and Manners, 1997.

v. Lehrer, 1989: 108. Clark and Gerrig (1990: 796f) give examples to show how difficult it is to memorize verbatim even the shortest passages of speech.

vi. Halliday, 1985; Downing, 1992: 297.

vii. Givón 1993, Vol 2: 21f

viii. Clark and Gerrig, 1990: 765

ix. Fairclough, 1989: 89

x. In fact it comes from the battle of Qadisiwa in 636AD, where the Arabs fought for the first time as a united force and won a great victory against the Persians. (Lázaro Carreter, 1997: 572)

xi. The reports of continued resistance to the occupation army were confirmed by a major of the Kuwaiti army. (August 11th, by Hazhir Teimourian)

A minister of the Kuwaiti government-in-exile yesterday confirmed that troops were “destroying whatever they cannot remove”. (September 22nd, by Michael Evans)

British sources confirmed that the Iraqis had “failed to get their act together”. (January 18th, by Michael Evans)

US officials in Washington yesterday confirmed that large numbers of Iraqi troops were concentrated close to the border with Kuwait. (August 1st, by Michael Theodoulou)

xii. Saddam issued an intransigent warning that Iraq was ready for “the mother of all wars”. (January 7th, by Michael Knipe)

Saddam’s latest speech that the Americans would soon swim in their own blood, and that Iraqis longed for the coming of “the mother of all battles”. (January 11th, by Hazhir Teimourian)

.... the defiant Iraqi president said this morning.... that the “mother of all battles” had begun, and that Iraq would never surrender. (January 17th, Anonymous article)

- xiii. Israel's self-declared "security zone" (February 1st, by Richard Owen)
"Radio rebels call for overthrow of 'mad' Saddam" (January 3rd, Headline, by Michael Theodoulou)
- xiv. Waugh, 1995: 139
- xv. Clark and Gerrig (1990: 792f)
- xvi. Waugh, 1995: 143
- xvii. Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, last night appealed to Tony Benn to call off a visit to Baghdad. (November 9th, by Philip Webster)
The United States has recently appealed for Nato assistance in transporting the 150,000 extra men it will have based in the Saudi desert by early next year. (November 15th, by Martin Fletcher)
Britain's consideration of tank deployment is in response to appeals from the US for help in narrowing the artillery gap. (September 12th, by Arthur Leathley)
- xviii. It was confirmed that RAF Jaguars were involved in attacks against Iraqi troops in the Khafji area. (February 3rd, by Lin Jenkins)
"Woman GI is confirmed lost" (February 1st, Headline, by Susan Ellicott and Martin Fletcher)
- xix. President Bush disclosed for the first time yesterday that Iraqi troops were deploying powerful surface-to-surface missiles. (August 9th, by Martin Fletcher)
US authorities did not immediately disclose the outcome. (October 22nd, by Ruth Gledhill)
.... aides disclosed that she was concerned about securing long-term stability in the Gulf. (October 28th, by Andrew Grice, about Mrs Thatcher)
Pentagon officials disclosed that some of the 500,000 Iraqi troops had started to change position. (January 29th, by Michael Evans)
- xx. Ghadessy, 1988: 8
- xxi. Mr Bush must explain why the demands of the United Nations.... admit of no compromise. He must explain why Iraq's military ambitions pose.... (November 16th, Leading article)
The onerous task now facing Mr Major is to explain to this nation why it has to go to war. (December 2nd, Leading article)
.... the turkey-shooting image may become serious enough for Washington and London to explain to their allies that it is all in the cause of forcing the Iraqis out. (February 5th, by Michael Evans)
- xxii. President Bush has made clear this week that he is not aiming to go beyond Kuwait....

(August 30th, by Charles Bremner)

Mrs Thatcher said: "You have to deter an aggressor by making it absolutely clear that if he moved, we would be strong enough together to...." (September 3rd, by Philip Webster)

American officials made clear that the Saudis were encouraging the US into war rather than vice versa. (October 27th, by Peter Stothard)

The government has made it clear that those who would suffer grave hardship will be exempted. (December 31st, Leading article)

Shamir.... made it clear that any further attacks would bring Israel into action. (January 20th, Anonymous Insight article)

xxiii. Saddam also made clear that while he would withdraw some troops. (August 5th, by Martin Fletcher)

Iraqi officials have made clear that, if shooting starts, their intention is to use chemicals first. (August 12th, by James Adams)

Saddam made it clear to the ambassador, Mrs April Glaspie.... (September 19th, by Conor Cruise O'Brien)

xxiv. "General Colin Powell said that.... the Iraqis, whom he pointed out "were not 10ft tall".... (August 12th, Anonymous Insight article)

Kuwait had formally requested American help, he pointed out. (August 14th, by Martin Fletcher, quoting James Baker)

.... government sources pointed out that modern communications made it easy to keep the prime minister fully informed of events in the Gulf. (August 15th, by Nicholas Wood)

xxv. Saddam, rightly, has pointed out that the UN has made no provision.... (August 17th, by Barbara Amiel)

Palestinian leaders point out that the United States has failed to get Israel out of the West Bank. (August 23rd, by Richard Owen)

The anti-war party points out that a Britain dragged on America's coat-tails.... (September 10th, Leading Article)

....but he pointed out that Iraq had already held one fruitless round of talks with Senor Perez de Cuellar. (January 10th, by George Brock, quoting Mr Aziz)

xxvi. The state department has revealed that US diplomats have spotted suspicious people. (January 9th, by Martin Fletcher)

General Schwarzkopf later reveals that US intelligence sources learn that Saddam has sent execution squads to the front line. (March 1st, Anonymous Diary article)

In Washington, Pentagon officials revealed that many of Saddam's senior officers might have been killed in the last hours of the war. (March 3rd, by John Cassidy)

xxvii. the allied forces have stated their combat readiness (December 21st, Anonymous article)

Let me state, too, that the United States will not tolerate the use of chemical or biological weapons. (January 13th, transcript of Letter from Mr Bush to Saddam Hussein)
 the allied governments have stated openly the size of their contribution to the United Nations' force. (February 17th, by Sir Anthony Farrar-Hockley)
 The US previously stated that 38 Americans were missing. (March 6th, by Michael Evans)

xxviii. Mr Waji, aged 54, told how Iraqi troops at the border had seized all the souvenirs. (August 17th, by Christopher Walker)
 A woman hostage told how she had been interrogated by Iraqi soldiers. (September 11th, by Michael Knipe)
 A BBC producer who saw the early allied attacks on Baghdad, told how the accuracy of the cruise missiles had been "absolutely incredible". (January 20th, by Andrew Alderson)
 Schwarzkopf tells how his battle plan tricked the enemy. (February 20th, by Michael Evans)

xxix. Quoted in Fowler (1991: 214): "Thatcher tells of Gaddafi guilt" (*Daily Mirror*)
 "Escapers tell of desert dash past tanks to freedom" (August 19th, Anonymous article)
 "UN told of atrocities by troops" (September 11th, Anonymous article)
 Mr Al-Djabbouri, who says he was Saddam's bodyguard, tells of the Iraqi president's indifference to the fate of those around him (February 5th, by Dr Thomas Stuttford)
 "Kurdish resistance tells of allies' precision bombing" (February 1st, by Hazhir Teimourian)
 "Pilot tells of rescue mission into Iraq" (January 23th, by Denholm Barnetson)

xxx. The degradation of Kuwait pales beside the alleged atrocities of the occupiers and particularly the most chilling allegation of all: that the Iraqis.... (January 13th, by Andrew Alderson)
 Soldiers were alleged to have slit 12 victims' throats and then cut off their heads. (February 15th, by Ray Clancy)
 In the town there was no evidence that American allegations of Iraqi officials damaging buildings were true. (February 19th, by Marie Colvin)

xxxi. oil drilled on what it claimed to be Iraqi territory. (August 1st, by Michael Theodoulou, quoting an Iraqi newspaper)
 He claims Israel's invasion of Lebanon had less justification than Iraq's latest conquest. (August 17th, Letter from Mr Simon Lyons)
 Mr Jackson, however, has already found his way into newspaper headlines by claiming that the Bush administration is seeking to thwart his trip. (August 23rd, by Susan Ellicott)
 Saddam claimed he had a new Iraqi missile which could.... (January 16th, by Susan MacDonald)
 Iraq has now claimed that it has freed all allied prisoners. (March 6th, by Michael Evans)

xxxii. British pilots who have helped train the Saudi air force claim it is among the best in the business. (August 5th, by James Adams)

It was claimed that American public opinion backed US military action against Iraq. (August 4th, by Martin Fletcher)

Mr Bush felt confident enough to claim on Friday night that the Iraqi dictator was “isolated” and had been “backed into a corner”. (August 12th, Leading article)

xxxiii. She quotes *The Independent* October 12th, 1991. Headline “Mr Major provides a strong finish”: “Among his strengths are his ability to radiate sincerity, his skill in relating policy to his own life, and thus to that of ordinary people. One of the best was the slogan he offered the party: ‘the power to choose and the right to own’, which he contrasted very effectively with the higher taxes and interference - from unions as well as government - that a Labour victory would, he believed, bring.”

xxxiv. Coulmas (1986: 9): “The narrator lends his voice to the hero without giving up his own identity”.

xxxv. Waugh, 1995: 145

xxxvi. Waugh, 1995: 129; Coulmas, 1986: 6-10

xxxvii. Bell (1991: 193) names several: a senior Reagan administration official; one top-ranking US official; one senior aide; officials throughout the administration; several of Reagan’s closest advisers, and so on.

38. Roeh, 1982: 154. In his survey, in hard news stories, elite “say” stories outnumbered non-elite “action” stories in a ratio of 5:3, while in news magazines and soft news, elite “say” stories outnumbered non-elite “action” stories less overwhelmingly, in a ratio of 5:4.

39. “There are many reasons why people like to hear articulated that which they approve. It serves the ego: the individual has the satisfaction of knowing that other and more famous people share his conclusions. To hear what he believes is also a source of reassurance.” (September 2nd, by Ben Pimlott, quoting John Kenneth Galbraith)

40. Lindegren, in Van Dijk, 1985: 185f

41. Roeh (1982: 20) points out that the news is often non-news or even anti-news, for example “there has been no reaction from the British government”, or “the president has refused to comment on....”. On the other hand, this silence may be bad for their image.

42. Martín Rojo: 1995: 55

43. Hackett and Zhao, 1994: 526ff

44. Given the suspicion of the media by the military.... strict rules will govern what the Western

world watches on television or reads in newspapers...what is observed at the front line will have been vetted by military censors before it is seen or read. (January 13th, by Brian MacArthur)

45. The complaints against the media by the military have a point, especially if competitive journalists anxious to scoop their rivals alert the enemy to secret battle plans.... Television news also tends to emphasise incidents that are visually exciting, often without background explanation or context. (January 13th, by Brian MacArthur)

46. an army of censors who ensure that the world's television companies do not show an inch of footage that Iraq does not approve. (August 28th, by Christopher Walker)
....television companies were being duped into sending heavily censored material purporting to be everyday life in the Iraqi capital. (August 31st, by Christopher Walker)
In Israel, military censors deleted key sections from reports out of Jerusalem claiming that the country's air force had been placed on alert. (August 13th, by Christopher Walker)
(Dispatch contains only material passed by the Israeli military censor)....(Dispatch from Jerusalem contains only material passed by the Israeli military censor) (January 25th, by Richard Owen)

47. Whether there is any profit in censoring news of deployments is doubtful: censorship comes to blight the good news as well as the bad. (August 13th, Leading article)
What is observed at the front line will have been vetted by military censors. (January 13th, by Brian MacArthur)
.... rules issued by the Pentagon last week included a requirement that military censors review all reports before they are disseminated.... (January 13th, by Brian MacArthur)

48. Reporters who plead for an uncensored war are naive. War reporting does not start pure and become tainted by censorship. It starts censored and is an act of de-censoring. That de-censoring must take place at every stage in the journalistic process, listening, writing and editing. *The Times* has sought to tell readers clearly of this fact. (February 18th, by Simon Jenkins)

49. Censorship and news management by the Iraqi and allied authorities are to be investigated by the British executive of the International Press Institute, a worldwide body which campaigns for press freedom. It is looking for direct testimony from British reporters in Saudi Arabia and Iraq which highlights cases of censorship.... (February 13th, by David Young)

50. The Defence Department.... has restricted reporters to tight "pools" subject to censorship. The Pentagon.... controls the news as it controls the skies over the desert. Television networks and the press, applying a dose of self-censorship, have followed a line of subdued loyalty.... Much of the information about the war is government-issue. (January 23rd, by Charles Bremner)
"Allies aim to triumph in war of words" Coalition forces have begun a concerted effort to silence President Saddam Hussein's radio and television transmitters.... President Bush has become

increasingly disturbed at the way Saddam is continuing to broadcast to his people and to spread horror tales of attacks on civilian targets. (February 13th, by Peter Stothard)

51. US troops are being moved close to the Kuwaiti border, according to military officials quoted in Pentagon media pool reports. (August 21st, Unnamed journalist)
 reported the White House pool reporter. (November 25th, by John Cassidy)
 “Allies draw up battle plan for assault by the media”.... Limited numbers of correspondents will be accredited by the US and British armies and they will travel in “combat pools”. (November 30th, by Christopher Walker)
the American media is upset that the Pentagon once again has prevented it from accompanying the troops . The Pentagon said it could not allow a rotating team of journalists, the so-called Pentagon press pool, to travel with the US troops. (August 10th, by Susan Ellicott)

52. Martín Rojo (1995: 68) contrasts the use of “the words of Bush versus the propaganda of Saddam Hussein”.
 We need to be tactful and conciliatory if we are not to provide propaganda for the demagogues. (August 12th, by Brian Walden)
 With his own rhetoric and propaganda, he has convinced himself that his army is invincible. (August 23rd, by Michael Evans)

53. The propaganda war in the Gulf is hotting up. The propagandist’s honeyed tones are beamed to Saudi Arabia. (August 20th, by Christopher Walker)
the 54 million people of Egypt have been harangued nightly with such Iraqi propaganda and calls to subversion. (August 14th, by Christopher Walker)

54. Israeli officials are keeping up a barrage of propaganda designed to deter President Saddam.... (August 18th, by Richard Owen)
 The White House.... is engaged in an all-out propaganda war broadcast propaganda is expected to play an important role on both sides. (August 20th, by Christopher Walker)
the television station which is being used as an unofficial propaganda channel by both sides.... (August 26th, Insight article)

55.that allied propaganda about 1914-8 was mainly right. (August 26th, by Norman Stone)
 It was initiated by Western-educated....intellectuals, and encouraged by British propaganda during the first world war. (August 14th, by Conor Cruise O’Brien)

56.even the most determined efforts by the government propaganda machine. (January 22nd, by Richard Beeston, on the Iraqi government)
 “Saddam launches propaganda blitz” (August 28th, Headline, by Christopher Walker)
 The propagandist’s reference to Iraq’s fighters using “anything” to defend their land. (August 20th, by Christopher Walker)
 The hostages will play a central part in all propaganda aimed at saving Iraq. (August 21st, by

Daniel Johnson)

8.1. Introduction

The present study is concerned with discourse analysis, and to be believed must prove its point. A study of discourse such as the present, based as it is on a slice of naturally-occurring language, here real media texts, relies on consistent regularities and “significant frequency”.¹ Despite the wide variety of lexicosyntactic phenomena studied in the piece of news discourse selected, these are found throughout.

There is a unified news discourse in the texts studied, from which conclusions can be drawn. Despite marginal differences according to their ideological viewpoint, the stage of the conflict being reported on, and the section of the newspaper considered, contributors make similar lexicosyntactic choices. Due to the variety of linguistic phenomena studied, each chapter leads me to make different, though connected, conclusions. Generalizations must be tempered, as the identity of the two sides varies according to (a) the period studied, and (b) which structure is studied, that is to say, according to which difference is being stressed. Thus, the difference is not always between the West and the Arab world, but sometimes between opponents and supporters of the war effort.

8.2. The Communicative Context

If it is true that *The Times* divides the world clearly into “us” and “them”, it is also true that this was nothing new. The media world of 1990 was already clearly divided into those who spoke and those who had little or no chance to. The world information order is an offshoot of a wider world order, that permeates the cultural world, having its centre in the West, where most news agencies, newspapers and television networks are based, making the information order rather uniform worldwide. Acceptance of the status quo of the international order as the natural state of things is encouraged at government and bureaucratic level. These same organizations have privileged access to the media.

News production, selection, distribution and editing takes place in the news centres in

developed countries, where technological and financial infrastructures of news production are owned. News about Third World countries is often stereotyped and scarce, in comparison with news about First World countries.ⁱⁱ Similarities worldwide are more striking than the differences, with health, science, education and culture taking up only a small part of newspaper space.

Though it has been found that mainstream news has a lot of assumptions which are never argued through, that things have a “normal”, good state of affairs, and so on, one must certainly question whether the past was any better than the present. Public or state broadcasting can insulate public corporations from criticism and competition. How to steer clear of state interference while having state service is an eternal problem. There is still coverage of important issues, there is high risk for elite figures in public appearances, which are a two-edged sword, and the media now approach elites and institutions less deferentially than before.ⁱⁱⁱ Media critics have been saying for the last forty years that private conglomerations have eroded variety in news content,^{iv} but the media can still also challenge the official line and disclose hidden facts, while if the government is unpopular, there is nothing a pro-government press can do about it. The media are battling for public ratings and approval, and it has been shown in this chapter how the reader is an active selector of what to read and what to ignore.

There exists a kind of “conspiracy theory” of the media, which mobilizes “support for the special interests that dominate the state and private activity” (Herman and Chomsky, 1988: ix.) It is true that there is preferential treatment for the powerful, who have people who speak and write for them, with organizational backing, such as speech writers, press agents or spokesmen, that formulate their words. The frequency of occurrence of topics that are the concern of elite figures is great, but we cannot make unjustifiable generalizations, of “the White dominant group”, “a racist society”, “dominant white subgroups”, “the reproduction and legitimation of social power”, “the mass media (who) reproduce white control institutionally and throughout society as a whole”. (Van Dijk, 1988a: 146-152) These

dramatic terms do not reflect the reality of the media in the nineties.

Most studies that say the press is consciously manipulated date back to the seventies and eighties, but things have changed considerably since then. Ideological significance does not exist in every syntactic option, and to imply that newswriters deliberately conspire to produce nominalization and agent deletion in passives would be absurd. Similarly, there is no convincing evidence that the news product reflects the personal views of journalists, who are generally apolitical, and may write as they think the person above them wants them to write, but also to appeal to their audience, which is the criteria shared by their superiors too. (Gans, 1985: 29-33) To argue that the media perform a political or ideological function, in the grip of politicians or economic interests, I believe, is unjustified. The supposed manipulation of the community of newspaper readers, processing reality in a way “appropriate to its ideological and political function” is tantamount to saying there is not a free press. (Kress, 1983: 43f) This is plainly false in the period under study. In 1990 in Britain, a Press Complaints Commission was set up to enforce a code of practice, and this was in operation by the time of the Gulf conflict. The news media in Britain are traditionally bound, legally or conventionally, to be impartial in matters of social controversy, at least at the surface level of who is allowed to speak. (Davis and Walton, 1983: 59) Despite the fact that there is an undoubted imbalance in the news outlets, with bias towards the political right, the birth of *The Independent* in 1986 shows that the press is not an impenetrable wall of conservatism.

Textual evidence does not point necessarily to direct influence on news discourse by “institutional” factors, such as the management, ownership, even Rupert Murdoch’s, gatekeeping factors such as editing or journalists’ opinions, dependence on international news agencies, or economic dependence on advertising. There is no evidence of a high-level conspiracy to deceive the reader on the part of these institutions.

8.3. *The Times* and the Gulf Crisis

The picture presented to the world's audiences of the Gulf conflict was a seriously flawed and biased "rhetorical vision". Alternative voices did exist and were available to the public, but these had to be actively searched for, as the vast majority of news outlets, and thus the mainstream media message, both in Britain and America, were in favour of the war effort. In the main, a simple distinction was made, between "our" civilization and democracy on the one hand, and a primitive dictatorship on the other. This includes *CNN*, which was new and revolutionary in its newsgathering but not in its ideology. The categories are "givens", rather than propositions to be discussed or argued about at all. In Chomsky's words (1992: 51), "the basic doctrines are out of sight, out of mind, like the air we breathe, beyond the possibility of discussion."

The Times responds to the social and political climate created over time, rather than creating it. In Britain, public identification with the cause was strong, and sprang from a pre-existing sense of group identity, reinforced during the conflict by the fact that there was a war on, which was perceived as a threat to national security. The quality media outlets were less explicitly biased, but the basic story line contained important factual omissions, and an absence of a fair and contrasted historical background to the conflict.

There is ample evidence of journalistic involvement on the allied side, with almost universal journalistic acceptance of the underlying assumptions of mainstream Western news discourse, and the division of the world into "us" and "them". Correspondents shared their daily life with service personnel and rubbed shoulders with Western spokesmen. However, there is some evidence of fair play and neutral reporting, even at the height of the conflict. Quality newspapers, including *The Times*, could be favourably compared with television, radio and tabloid newspapers as far as fairness of reporting was concerned.

As far as the different sections of the newspaper are concerned, leading articles are found to be the most "hawkish" and full of constructions of modal obligation, with the West exhorted to see the matter through to a military success in two thirds of editorials, whereas

a mere five per cent are “dovish”. This shows how *The Times*, as an institution, consistently cheers on the home team, especially in the crucial months of August 1990 and January 1991, as well as the first half of February 1991, when the proportion of “hawkish” leading articles was greater than the average over the whole period. There was increasing “moral closure” as the conflict went on, in leading articles, excluding the Iraqis from normal human relationships, .

The frequent identification of the “we” of news discourse with “the world” and even of “the West” was unrepresentative of real world views at a popular level. However, opinion articles were serious and analytical, and there is an almost total lack of jingoism in the pages of *The Times*. There is also evidence that the newspaper could be a forum for a variety of ideas. Although a majority of writers were pro-war in opinion columns, some of them, including regular contributors, being rabidly so, there is space for some opposing views.

In the letters section, although a large proportion, over a third of the total, expressed their support for the war, at the same time over a quarter were “dovish”, and half during the crucial month of January 1991, that of the allied air attacks. At the same time, many informed opinions were given in this section by experts on the area, its history, the background to the conflict, and so on. This says something in favour of the claims of non-interference by editorial boards in matters of gatekeeping and selection of copy.

8.4. Lexical Items

The press often stresses opposition and contrast. My study of the pronouns “we”, “us”, “you”, “they” and “them”, as well as the possessive adjective “our”, made it possible to sketch out a working model to establish the identity of the two sides. Nevertheless, the quality press is characterized by leaving implicit what the popular press makes explicit. Therefore, “we” and “they” are often understood, and left unexpressed, as identity boundary-marking devices are sensitive and dangerous to analyse too closely in war time.

In fact, the contrast between “us” and “them” is sometimes specifically denied.

Most references to “we” are to in-groups within the Western camp, which is a non-controversial use of the word. Where the referents are more vague and all-inclusive, referring to “the newspaper and its readers”, “the world”, “the West”, “Britain now” and “Britain historically”, they are assumed to be inherited by the news discourse of *The Times* from a pre-existing referential framework. These references are seldom challenged.

Generic “you” has been found to be common among army personnel, and especially in the speeches of Mrs Thatcher. Its use implies a collusion between speaker and hearer, a way of appealing to a feeling of a common bond, at the same time avoiding responsibility for an action, in the same way as the agentless passive. “They” and “them” in a generic sense are avoided, as is “our”, as in “our troops”, because these words are too obviously divisive for the quality press.

The two sides are clearly differentiated by labelling devices, which are non-representational, that is, they are selected not according to the way they reflect the real world, but rather according to a pre-existing framework of mental categories. These initial lexical choices pre-interpret the action for the reader, moving him/her nearer to allied actors in the drama, converting them into familiar members of an in-group. Labelling of Mr Bush shows an increasing use of the term “the president”, which is nearly three times more frequent in January 1991 than in August 1990, as though he were increasingly assumed to be the president of the whole international community, a kind of “unique use” that goes entirely unchallenged. It reflects a unipolarized new world order, in which the expression “the American president” has practically disappeared, appearing in only two per cent of instances, on average, and “the president” is reserved wholly for Mr Bush. Other labels maintain their rate of frequency. Even within an Iraqi context, Saddam Hussein is excluded from the label “the president”. Other labels that assume a world role for the American president are “the sheriff” and “the policeman”.

If “we” are represented in person, partly, by Mr Bush, then it is much more the case that “they” are personalized by Saddam Hussein. The label “President Saddam”, associated with more positive characteristics, practically disappeared in the period between the months of August and January, its frequency dropping from over twenty-eight to only about two per cent, showing that increasingly, the press wrote as if it was dealing with an aberration within the normality of the world, at the same time as “moral closure” took place against the Iraqi president as the conflict progressed. The frequency of the expression “President Saddam Hussein” also fell, while the label “Saddam”, often associated with negative characteristics, increased considerably in frequency (from forty-eight to seventy-three per cent). There are several common historical and fictional parallels to Saddam Hussein that are used by writers, all of them supposed to be uncomplimentary. Thus, he is referred to as a butcher, a dictator, a tyrant, and indirectly called a dog and a monster. He is compared with Hitler, Nasser, Big Brother and the Godfather.

Naming and labelling devices on “our” side have been seen to approximate the reader to far-away actors on the desert stage. Thus, it is common to refer to service personnel, commanders in chief, politicians and presidents by their first names and even diminutives. This is seen to have been exclusively ethnically centred on Anglos. There are favourable terms that are used almost exclusively for “our” side, such as “ally”, “the international community”, “the world” and “the administration” which have connotations of respectability and cooperation, and are simultaneously inclusive of some and exclusive of others.

I have pointed out how the use of labels for the whole of “them” is discouraged, as the opposition was supposed to be composed of Saddam and a closed group made up of his “henchmen” or “cohorts”, together with a “war machine” defending “the regime” or “Saddam’s country”. Thus, attacks on a whole country were justified. The Iraqis in general were not demonized, but were called “masses”, not considered as individual persons, and a range of metaphors was employed which made allied attacks seem less murderous, such

as hunting, sports, cleaning, weeding, flushing a toilet and drawing an insect's sting.

The identification of the two sides with certain clusters of inherent characteristics is assumed in the framework of the news discourse of *The Times*. This is never defined as such, but corresponds to presupposed levels of sensitivity and rationality. Significant lexical choices are made, contributing to a positive view of "our" side in the conflict. "We" are rational and at once sensitive beings, while "they" are composed of irrational, and calculating machine-like, beings. There is a logical contradiction in this that is never pointed out.

The impression of science, modernity and progress being on "our" side is given by a plethora of numbers and statistics, mainly about weapons. This stresses precision and accuracy, but becomes overwhelming and obsessive. There is also the use of numbers to stress the size of the enemy, so as to increase the glory of "our" final victory. There are several terms applied solely to "us", like "expert", "analyst", "caution", "moderate", "necessary" and "resolute", that make it appear that "we" are moved by our heads rather than our hearts. On the other side, there is an application of certain terms almost exclusively, like the prefix "anti-", "madman", and "psychopath", which stress irrationality. It has already been noted that, somewhat surprisingly, there is a lack of certain labels, with the word "extremist" being very rare, while there is no mention at all of "terrorists" as such, in these terms, but over twenty references to possible terrorist attacks by pro-Iraqi groups, during the second half of February. The word "civilization" is also avoided.

Terms that show the West's sensitivity include "agony", "alarm", "anxiety", "concern", "disaster", "tragic", "fear" and "outrage" and "reluctant". In this way "we" are portrayed as doubting and wary warriors, with a prudent fear of death not shared by the other side, and a sense of individual thought and feeling that is born of the tradition of the Enlightenment. On the other side are the serried ranks of callous, chilling, cold-blooded, deliberate characters who do not share the above characteristics. These conclusions are very like

those reached by Herman (Appendix, Figure 16), who makes similar observations made on the basis of lexical data from the press.

Apart from these inherent characteristics, there is also a more dynamic distinction, whereby “we” are pictured as the passive objects of their “aggression”, limiting ourselves to “responding” and “retaliating”, while “they” initiate and provoke violence. This image is achieved by lexical choices that take violent activity away from our side. The positive word “order” is a key term, in “firm” defence of which any action is justified, to “deter” the “disorder”, “mayhem” and “chaos”, which are threatened by “them”. Other connected terms used frequently are “stability”, that is, our stability, “peace”, but not the peace of the pacifists, whose activities are often couched in warlike terms, “normal” and “agreement” or “consensus”, which are ostensibly unifying but in fact divisive terms, excluding opposition voices at home. The response of the anti-war party, who only “appease” or “tolerate aggression”, will be responsible for more violence in the long term, it is argued. In this way, the news discourse of *The Times* has not changed at all since the Cold War period, only the enemy has.

The lexical choices on the allied side avoid violence, so that attacks are given other names, such as “engage”, “strike”, “pay a visit”, and “take out”, and when it is a mistake the favourite terms are “blunder”, “error” and “incident”. On the other side, the Iraqi actions are full of violence, with the use of “attack”, “rape” and “crime” for phenomena which may not have been so dissimilar, in reality, from the allied actions.

8.5. Agency

Turning to syntactic questions, there is a great divide with regard to the two sides involved in the conflict in terms of agency. As has been seen in chapter 4, negatively viewed behaviours are attributed clearly to the enemy, by means of the active voice. “They” appear as the subjects of verbs such as “attack”, “destroy”, “invade” and “kill”, whereas these verbs with the allies as subjects are generally avoided. The passive voice without the “by” phrase

is reserved almost wholly for the allies as agents, thus shedding responsibility for actions considered sensitive or negative. Especially noticeable are the verbs “attack”, “bomb”, “destroy”, “kill”, “target”, “wound” and “wreck”, bellicose terms that would jar on the ear of the average British reader if they were directly attributed to “our” forces. On the other hand, when negative verbs are used with the enemy as logical subjects of passive verb constructions, there is frequent use of the “by-phrase” with the agent.

Non-negative agentless passives reinforce the impression that actions on the allied side are the result of a civilized consensus. These include “allow”, “ban”, “enforce”, “exclude”, “permit”, “persuade”, “prohibit” and “trust”. It is also noted that the allies are almost exclusively the grammatical subject of the passive construction with the reporting verb “ask”, and only when this verb appears in front position. It was found that this way of distinguishing between the two sides is used increasingly during the conflict, as an increasingly negative image was given to the enemy.

A study of impersonal passive raising constructions leads to a similar conclusion as that of agentless passives with non-negative verbs. This is found especially with speech acts, so that the identity of who something is “thought”, “announced”, “reported”, “rumoured”, “reputed”, “said” and “tipped” by is usually unstated and unknown. In mental acts the conclusion is the same, so that something is “assumed”, “believed”, “considered”, “deemed”, “expected”, “felt”, “found”, “hoped”, “judged”, “known”, “presumed”, “reckoned”, “seen”, “supposed”, “taken”, in the sense of “judged”, “thought” and “understood” by a group which is never identified. Again, when something is “intended”, “authorized”, “entitled”, “obliged” or “required”, it is never said by whom. The verbs, it is understood, have an agent inclusive of all right-thinking people. Later in this same chapter it was shown how some adjectives also have unstated “agents”, that is, when they are used impersonally, the people who are supposed to feel these adjectives, such as “important”, “vital” and “awkward”, are “us”. Somewhat surprisingly, a favourite term in the quality press, “intolerable”, never appears throughout the period, but other similar ones do, such as

“acceptable”, “apparent”, “clear”, “desirable”, “enforceable”, “essential”, “ominous”, “predictable”, “preferable”, “recognizable”, “successful”, “understandable” and “unforgivable” which all hide the “we” of consensus, and are meant to include the allies as well as the community of readers and the newspaper itself. The adverbs “hopefully”, “ideally” and “preferably” work in the same way. The current copular verbs “seem”, “appear” and “be likely to” are also used in an impersonal way, without mentioning those to whom something “appears”.

Turning to the common practice of nominalizing verbs, a process which has been shown to rob them of vitality, attribution of nominals to the agent of the action by means of pre- or post-modification is mainly limited to the Iraqi side. Thus, nominals such as “attack”, “destruction”, “invasion”, “invention”, “occupation”, “threat” and “violation”, are pre-modified by “Iraqi” and “Saddam’s”, or post-modified by “by-phrases”, when the enemy action is mentioned. By contrast, negative actions committed by the allies are mostly left without actors by the use of agentless nominals, such as “action”, “annihilation”, “attack”, “ban”, “bombing”, “defeat”, “fighting”, “force”, “restriction”, “sanctions” and “shooting”, as well as three nominals shared with the Iraqis, that is, “destruction”, “invasion” and “occupation”.

In the same way as non-negative passive constructions stress the idea of consensus on “our” side, so agentless non-negative nominals make it appear that the agent is unnecessary to state, with nominals like “belief”. It is very similar semantically to write that “it is believed”, with a raising structure, as the impersonal “there exists the belief” or “the belief is”. The following nominals have been found apart from “belief”, many of which have their corresponding verb mentioned as raising structures in this same chapter: “attempt”, “concern”, “confidence”, “discovery”, “fear”, “knowledge”, “need”, “permission”, “pursuit”, “success”, “suspicion”, “temptation” and “worry”. These also imply agents on the allied side. Nominals in headlines have been seen to be very frequent, sometimes used simply to economize on space, but often hiding the allied agent, and sometimes used as a way of making a “semi-imperative” calling for an allied action.

With regard to ergative pairs, whereby the same verb has both a transitive and intransitive use, actions carried out by “us” are made to appear to have happened on their own volition. This is the case with “accelerate”, “deepen”, “increase”, and “move”. There are also found to be intransitive verbs that indicate situations that are the result of human activity, that could not happen without a human agent, but which through this intransitive construction appear to happen, again, on their own. In the latter category are the verbs “arise”, “break out”, “deteriorate”, “erupt”, “head”, “slide” and “swing”.

Another device which takes responsibility, or culpability, away from the allies, has found to be the widespread use of the instrument as the agent. That is, partly through personalization of weapons, but mainly through constructions with verbs such as “strike”, “kill” and “destroy”, which omit the allied human agent or decisionmakers behind the action, so that responsibility is again removed. These constructions are not necessarily used consciously, but the effect is the same whether there is intentionality or not.

8.6. Modality

Modality has been shown to be an all-pervading macrocategory of language, whereby various attitudes are expressed towards reality. Britain is a country where modality is especially frequent, even in everyday conversation, but especially in formal written registers. Modality is not limited to the verb phrase, though this is what mainly concerns this chapter. Two compartments of modality have been shown to be especially relevant to this study, expressions of obligation, which belong to “valuative” modality, and conjectural expressions, which are part of “epistemic” modality, though I have also included other elements such as the perfect aspect of verbs.

Expressions of valuative modality of obligation are found to be reserved almost exclusively for “us”, especially in leading articles, which are much more prone to extreme expressions appealing to feelings of shock and other emotions, opinion and letters. The “other side” is

beyond the moral pale. “Iraq / Saddam Hussein should / ought to” is hardly ever found, while this verb is frequently used with the allies as the subject. Impersonal passive constructions with these two verbs are consistently found in advice directed towards the West, as in “Saddam should be told....” or suchlike expressions. There are numerous other impersonal expressions such as “the solution should / ought to lie in....” where the unstated agent for the implementation of these actions is the West. The same is true of other terms expressing obligation as it is for “should” and “ought to”, though the urgency implied in “must”, “have to” and “need to”, means that they are applied with slightly more frequency to the Iraqi side. It has been noticed, in passing, that “need” as a noun, like “necessary”, considered in chapter 4, is very frequent, and hardly ever refers to basic needs, but almost exclusively to Western “needs”, for cheap oil, for example. There are many impersonal constructions, passive and otherwise, that again are directed almost exclusively towards the West. Other expressions of obligation “compelled to”, “forced to” and “obliged to”, are used exclusively for “us”, implying that “we” were drawn into a conflict and are only defending what is legitimately ours. Imperatives, hortative and jussive imperatives with “let”, and “semi-imperatives”, which is a term I use to baptize “-ing” and other forms that exhort “us” and especially “our” leaders, are used exclusively for “our” side.

Expressions of epistemic modality are mainly the modal verbs “will”, “may”, “might” and “could” which express different degrees of certainty. My findings have shown that agency corresponds to the allies the nearer the utterer approaches certainty, a conclusion already noted within chapter 6 itself. The reason seems to be that greater transparency and reliability belong to the allied side in the minds of most writers. Thus, the frequency of speculative “will” is overwhelmingly on the allied side, with seventy-six per cent of agents belonging to “us”, while only the remaining twenty-four per cent have “them” as the subject. When this is compared with the more conjecturally improbable modal verbs “may”, “might” and “could”, the difference is striking. However, between these last three, I was surprised to find that there did not exist the difference according to degree of likelihood that I had expected. Thus, both “may” and “might” are used more with “them” than with “us”, though

this may reflect the fact that at different times Iraq is more the protagonist of the actual “action” than the allies, who are seen as defending themselves against aggression. But “might”, though it is considered to reflect less likelihood than “may”, is only slightly more frequent with “them” as the subject (sixty-three against fifty-eight per cent). Moreover, the case of “could” is strikingly different again, as it is used slightly more with “them” than with “us” as agent. This may be due to my method of gathering, allocating and assessing the data, which is explained in chapter 6, or to the fact that “could” has a special place as a modal verb, straddling epistemic and valuative modality.

The modal verbs “will” and “may” are the most frequently used, 376 and 321 times respectively, twice as many times, each, as either “might” (169) or “could” (166). I have been surprised by the number of references to “Iraq / Saddam will”, which, although a minority, are a sizeable number. It has seemed to me at times a rather presumptuous way of writing about the enemy mind, as if “we” were writing aloofly, from a superior plane, about an object of study.

“Would” is used with great frequency in conditional sentences, often to predict what “they” would do in certain circumstances, the combinations “would probably” and “would likely” being frequent, and also in reported speech. Other words reflecting epistemic modality seem to be applied more to the allies the closer to certainty, such as “probably”, while less likelihood is reflected by “apparently”, “possibly”, “perhaps” and “maybe”.

It has been shown by many examples that in headlines there is more modal certainty than in the main body of articles, possibly due to the function of headlines to attract attention. The body of the article tones down this certainty into doubt, so that “will” often becomes “would”, “may” or other more moderate expressions.

Lastly, perfect aspect has been shown to be used to express the widespread media idea in Britain that “our” side represents modernity, a kind of norm towards which history is

tending, so “ours” is a winning cause. This is shown in the way “still”, “yet” and “already” imply a movement towards acceptance of “our” posture.

8.7. Reporting Devices

This chapter is heterogeneous, including elements at lexical, syntactic and discourse level. It has been shown that reporting devices are all-pervading in news discourse, as this is made up largely of reported speech. The accuracy of reporting must be stressed, as far as the gist of what was said is concerned, with few mistakes or misquotations. However, the journalist is shown to have many options at his/her fingertips in matters of how to report speech acts.

It has been shown that often enough the original speech act is far removed from the act of communication between journalist and reader, whether this is couched in direct or indirect speech, due to the complex nature of news processes. On the other hand, it has not been found that the choice of direct or indirect speech by itself means more or less “mimesis”, or favour shown to either side. Both direct and indirect speech are used for either side, and there are examples where both mediated and unmediated forms are used within the same reporting event to reflect the same speech act.

Direct speech has been indicated by some researchers to be favourable to the speaker, based on the fact that it is more dramatic, and reflects better the original speech act, but in fact I have found the opposite to be the case, where individual lexical items and short noun phrases are concerned. These are often found to be deliberately distanced from the writer by being placed within inverted commas.

Speech acts are given different labels, according to who is being reported on. Which reporting verb is used depends on which side of the conflict is speaking. This is a clear distinction that has been found between reporting “us” and “them”, where the writer reveals his / her attitude towards the speaker. Reporting verbs that have been found consistently used to report the allied cause include “confirm”, “disclose”, “divulge”, “explain”, “inform”,

“make clear”, “point out”, “reiterate”, “reveal”, “spell out”, “tell how” and “tell of”. These incline the reader to consider positively the words reported. Few reporting verbs are consistently used to report “them”. These include “allege” and especially “claim”.

It was found that there was considerable blurring or merging of journalists’ words with those of establishment figures. Often this is perceived in a kind of free indirect speech which leaves open the door to ambiguity, doubts as to who is speaking, the source or the journalist. This only happens with the speech acts of people favourable to the Western war effort. There are also instances of gratuitous “riders” giving the journalist’s stance on what has been said. There are also vague attributions, where reliability is accorded to speakers on the grounds of their holding some unmentioned office, with a supposed privileged access to information, such as “senior aide”. There are also seen to be occasions when sentences such as “the soldiers are happy” hide the actual words said, are an attempt to enter the minds of those cited, and are applied exclusively to persons on “our” side. Another device which divides the allies from their enemy is that the reported words of the former are sometimes placed before the reporting clause, whereas the reported words of latter have nowhere been found placed in that order.

The words of the allies are given privileged access to the discourse, but more striking is the fact that it is elite people who talk, while those lower in the social scale do most of the acting. There are many cases when the representative quality of these elite figures is questionable, and some of their utterances were not reported direct, but were vaguely paraphrased. It is also striking that the allies’ plans are often reported without reporting clauses, taking for granted that they will without doubt be carried into effect.

The dominant voice in the news discourse of *The Times* is the Western, mainly British and American, establishment of political and military elites, news institutions, journalists and readers alike, who share basically the same hierarchical view of the world according to an established status quo of power. The higher the status of the speaker, the more space they

are granted, especially the British prime minister and the American president, and the content is generally rugged pragmatic common-sense.

The situation which conditions the trail of power followed by journalists in their daily work was exacerbated during this period. The institutional constraints on voices reported were considerable, through censorship and press pooling, so more than ever those heard were mainstream voices, representing organizations and officialdom, rather than individual ones. Individual service personnel are heard on many occasions. Anti-war opinions, when they got into print, were often simplified but seldom ridiculed in this newspaper. Utterances made by each side are also distinguishable by their length and complexity. It has been shown, by looking at utterances made by the spokesmen of either side, how shorter, simpler utterances are made by “them”, while “we” are privileged in the way “our” speech acts are longer and more syntactically complex. It is also noticeable that “our” speaker is named more often than “theirs”.

8.8. General Conclusion

The common thread running through all of the items and constructions studied is their non-representational nature. Similar phenomena are referred to with different language, depending on which side of the conflict is referred to. The main hypothesis, then, has been found to be true. *The Times* does divide the world into “us” and “them”, with the former being favoured by a variety of linguistic devices.

Furthermore, having made a wide selection from a large corpus, and having observed a large number of lexicosyntactic items, I feel able to extend my findings to other quality news outlets. Indeed, I have found them confirmed by numerous observations since completing this work. At the time of writing these conclusions (1999), the NATO attack on Serbia is being reported in the mainstream news outlets in a similar way, with the same reporting devices as those observed here.

8.9. New Elements in this Study

My conclusions are consistent with the findings of other researchers mentioned in chapter 1, and my own intuitions have been shared by them, and have therefore been easier for me to categorize and contrast with one another. It cannot be affirmed conclusively that the results of this study can be extended to other quality news outlets, but it can be strongly inferred. This study contains the following aspects not dealt with, as far as I know, by other researchers:

1. The contradiction involved in defining “us” as technically expert but sensitive, while “they” are calculating and machinelike but irrational. (Chapter 4, Part Two)
2. The statistically backed study of certain labels used to refer to the leaders of each side in the conflict. (4.5.2)
3. The widespread use of diminutives for the first names of Western political and military elites. (4.5.3a)
4. The interest in the agent of the reporting verb “ask” and its exclusive application to “us” in front position. (5.4.4)
5. The use of the “-ing” form as a semi-imperative in headlines. (6.3.7d)
6. The distinction based on the frequency of modal verbs of obligation that refer almost exclusively to actors with whom writers feel identified, in this case, the allies. (6.3)
7. The greater frequency of more certain modal verbs of conjecture for “us”, and the correspondingly greater frequency of modal devices expressing less probability to apply to what “they” will do. (6.4)
8. The fronting of reported words as a device favourable to the quoted source. (7.6)
9. The complexity of the reported speech act as a way of measuring the extent to which access is granted. (7.11)

8.10. Future Perspectives

News discourse is constantly changing. Since the period in question, there have been dramatic and, I believe, largely positive, changes in the way events are reported in the media. There are major shifts taking place in the priority given to news events, and, in the

last analysis, in people's tastes. Mental compartmentalizing through language is a living, dynamic process. For example, "the international community" does not mean the same in 1999 as it did in 1989.

New technology, such as electronic page assembly, on-line and database research, digital photo transmission, with more attractive design, has led to more and shorter stories based on timely events rather than longer and more analytic stories, with shorter and shorter sound bites and staccato type superficial news items out of context. This may reduce the quality of news. The wonders of modern communication have to be taken cautiously. The same claims made for the Internet about lack of control and freedom of individual choice were also made about the radio, until governments bought all the best wavelengths. Some people fear that in the future there will be more conglomerations, fewer viewpoints and more mainstream information with blanket coverage.

News discourse is packaged in such a way as to make its contents palatable for the public at large. One result of this is that the mass media are "democratic", in the sense that even the leaders of the world's most powerful nations need to justify their actions to millions of ordinary people. However, the danger of passive uncritical acceptance of underlying ideologies is still present. Receivers of media messages of the future need to be prepared to tackle them critically from an early age. Understanding mediated messages is at the same time a process of self-understanding and self-formation. If people try to learn to criticize media messages, and not look merely for reinforcement of their own beliefs and prejudices, this will be a big step forward. Fowler (1991: 232) argues that "critical linguistic analysis is an activity that the individual - the real reader - can practise, and this practice can be a valuable intervention in the deconstruction of the all-too-comfortable 'common-sense' enjoined by the newspapers." He stresses the need to arm children and young people with the linguistic tools to read critically, "so that their experience of public discourse should begin to be actively critical rather than meekly receptive".^v Moreover, the social problem of the reception of news must be seen in a similar light to other tasks of education.

The discourse of news, including its characteristic specialized language, should be dealt with in schools, and students should be trained in the critical evaluation of the political information presented.^{vi}

On the positive side, the newer media are marked by increased user control, more specialized content, speed of transmission. More specialized information is widely available, and user-friendly devices, for example, videos and computers fill educational needs. The majority view among critics seems to be hopeful, that the technological breakthroughs which have reached a large segment of the population in Western democracies will create an environment where there is a more and more open exchange of views even on the most sensitive of topics, and the idea that the media are a kind of impenetrable wall is misguided, as they are dynamic formations.^{vii} Thanks to new technologies like fibre optics and communication satellites, any event can be announced all over the world while it is actually happening. We cannot be constantly complaining about the "system" because systems evolve over time, and we have more real information at our fingertips in a single day than people in the nineteenth century had in the course of a lifetime. In the same way, terms which are often used rather loosely by critics, such as "status quo" and "normal" are redefined after each generation, or within the lifetime of each generation, and are thus reflected in the media. We would not feel at home with media messages of thirty years ago, and neither will we with those that appear in thirty years' time.

To sum up, I agree with Martín Rojo's conclusion (1995: 77):

"As readers, we should react, questioning the existence and relevance of that united "we". We should oppose the.... irrationality and the illusion which not only transformed us into heroes but made the world we live in into the incarnation of good."

It is not enough for the media to offer us two choices, "us" and "them". As media receivers and consumers people have the right to choose a third way. Journalists can bring ideas

from outside into the mainstream so that the newspaper becomes a cultural forum in which people attempt to review important aspects of society.

But even a single demonstrator will receive media coverage, even during military conflicts. Crises are often moments of truth, called “news icons”,^{viii} revealing patently characteristics which are latent during more normal times. One such was the Gulf crisis, which despite the negative aspects of its coverage, drawn attention to here, has given birth to many critical studies. News is professionally produced and aims more to inform than to persuade, and in the future it is likely to continue to behave in this way. The ultimate blame for audiences’ lack of knowledge in the West at present, if it exists, is more the reader’s for his/her inertia and the desire for reinforcement of his/her own ideology.

NOTES

-
- i. Brown and Yule (1983: 22) and Chomsky (repeatedly) consider that it is sufficient to show consistency. This question has already been discussed in the section on methodology (Chapter 1)
 - ii. Van Dijk, 1988a: 41; Gerbner, 1985: 16.
 - iii. In 1992, less than a year after the Gulf crisis, Arsenio Hall said, on knowing Bush would not be on his show: “Excuse me, George Herbert irregular-heart-beating, read-my-line lipping, slipping-in-the-polls, do-nothing, Quayle-loving, sushi-puking Bush ! I don’t remember inviting your ass to my show !” (Quoted in Sigelman, 1992: 409)
 - iv. Lazarfeld and Merton, 1960: 505; Curran, 1996: 82; Thompson, 1990: 240.
 - v. Bennett (1992: 405) also stresses the need for education in receiving media messages from an early age, as does Fairclough (1989: 233-247)
 - vi. Wodak (1987: 406)
 - vii. Golding and Murdock, in Curran, 1996: 15.
 - viii. Hackett and Zhao, 1994: 509ff

Appendix

Figure 1: The Corpus

The tables below show a breakdown of the corpus used.

1990	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
WORD COUNT	250834	155717	81017	72572	81031
SENTENCE COUNT	29922	18610	9771	8734	9542
*PAGES	575	362	191	173	188
LEADING ARTICLES	20	9	5	4	7
LETTERS	70	50	26	33	23
**HARD NEWS & FEATURES	234	112	119	113	118
**OPINION & MISC-ELLANY	123	59	35	30	44
TOTAL ARTICLES	447	230	185	180	192

Appendix

1991	JAN	FEB	MAR 1-15	TOTAL 90/91
WORD COUNT	405575	282495	110820	1440061
SENTENCE COUNT	48992	34248	13784	173603
*PAGES	934	654	258	3335
LEADING ARTICLES	25	20	11	101
LETTERS	82	88	52	424
**HARD NEWS & FEATURES	488	285	80	1549
**OPINION & MISCELLANY	184	159	67	701
TOTAL ARTICLES	779	552	210	2775

* Wordperfect 6.1, Times New Roman.

** The allocation of articles into either of these two sections has been carried out as follows:

“Hard News and Features” includes more or less recent news from home and abroad related to the Gulf Crisis, the War Diary, and military or diplomatic aspects of day-to-day events. Also included are reports on parliamentary debates and public opinion, and feature articles about the immediate effects of the conflict on education, the environment, the media, science and technology, and short-term economic and financial matters.

“Opinion and Miscellany” includes articles that give historical background material, personal opinion by regular “Insight”, “Comment”, “Diary”, “Profile” or “Focus” teams, writers or guest writers, photograph captions, and Chronology sections.

Figure 2: Jacobson’s Model of Communication

(Reproduced in Berger, 1995: 15)

Appendix

Context
Message

Sender ----- Receiver

Contact (medium)
Code

Figure 3: Leading Articles according to Month and Tendency

	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR1 -15	ALL
HAW	16	7	4	2	6	16	12	5	68 = 67.5%
DOV	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	5 = 5%
MIX	4	2	1	2	1	8	4	6	28 = 27.5%
TOT	20	9	5	4	7	25	20	11	101

Figure 4: Contributors to Hard News and Feature Articles

The most regular contributors to *The Times* during the period under study in the “Hard News and Features” section (in alphabetical order) are:

James Adams (Defence Correspondent)
 Nicholas Beeston (Saudi Arabia, Baghdad)
 Michael Binyon (Brussels, Venice)
 James Bone (New York)
 Charles Bremner (Washington)
 John Cassidy (Washington, Prague, Dhahran)
 Marie Colvin (Amman, Baghdad)
 Susan Ellicott (Washington, Virginia)
 Richard Ellis (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait)

Appendix

Michael Evans (Defence Correspondent)(Brussels)
Martin Fletcher (Washington, North Dakota)
Richard Ford (Political Correspondent)
Juan Carlos Gumucio (Dubai, Ruwaishid)
Philip Jacobson (Amman)
Andrew McEwen (Diplomatic Editor) (Muscat, Jedda, Amman)
Michael Knipe (Diplomatic Correspondent) (Cairo)
Robin Oakley (Political Editor)(Washington, Taif, Riyadh)
Richard Owen (Jerusalem, Aqaba, Amman)
Peter Stothard (US Editor) (Washington, San Diego)
Michael Theodoulou (Nicosia)
Christopher Walker (Nicosia, Baghdad, Damascus, Hafer el Batin, Amman, Kuwait)
Philip Webster (Chief Political Correspondent)(Prague)
Nicholas Wood (Political Correspondent)

Other contributors (in alphabetical order):

Paul Adams; Tony Allen-Mill; Jay Andrews; Shaul Bakhash; Fred Barnes; Martin Barrow (The City); Ian Birrell; Patrick Bishop; James Blitz (Moscow); George Brock (Geneva, Strasbourg); Richard Brookhiser; Richard Caseby; William Cash; Ray Clancy; Bruce Clark; Henry Cockburn; Alan Coppins; Quentin Cowdry; David Cragg (HMS Cardiff); Martin Cropper; James Dalrymple; Peter Davenport; John Davison; Jamie Dettmer (Ankara, on board HMS London, HMS Cattistock); Mary Dejevsky (Moscow); Michael Dockrill; Keith Dovkants (Saudi Arabia); Andrew Duncan; Michael Dynes; Harvey Elliott (Air Correspondent);Walter Ellis (Amman); Janet Evans; Ivan Fallon; Elaine Fogg; Brenda Fowler; Jeff Franks (Kuwait); Adam Fresco; Bill Frost (Incirlik, Diyarbakir); John Furbisher; Penny Gibbins; Tom Giles; Kerry Gill; Ruth Gledhill (Religious Affairs Reporter); Ian Glover-James (Amman, Abu Dhabi, Cairo); Edward Gorman (Amman); Mike Graham (New York);Christopher Greenwood; Andrew Grice; Peter Guilford (Brussels); Sheila Gunn (Political Reporter); Rasit Gurdilek (Ankara); Fred Haliday; Alan Hamilton; Norman Hammond; Omar al-Hassan; Lucy Hodges; John Holland (Baghdad);Mark Hosenball (Washington); David Hughes (Chief Political Correspondent); Zahid Hussain (Pakistan); Roy Isacowitz (Tel Aviv); Lin Jenkins (Bahrain, Kuwait City); Joe Joseph (Tokyo); Efraim Karsh; Richard Kay; Adam Kelliher (Amman);Neil Kelly; Geoff King; Pat Koza; David Landau; David Leppard (Saudi Arabia); Arthur Leathley; John Lewis; Edward Luttwak; Susan MacDonald; Anne McElvoy (Berlin); Alan McGregor (Geneva); Victoria McKee; James MacManus; Michael McCarthy (Environment Correspondent); Paul Martin; David Mason (Riyadh); Charles Miller (Dhahran); Robert Morgan; Christopher Mosey (Stockholm); Nick Nuttall (Technology Correspondent); Peter Mulligan; Ian Murray (Bonn); Colin Narborough (The City);John O'Leary (Higher Education Correspondent); Ronnie Payne; John Phillips(Paris); Joanna Pitman (Tokyo);Thomson Prentice (Medical Correspondent);Tim Rayment;Julian Rollins; Nick Rufford; Sean Ryan; Tony Samstag

Appendix

(Oslo); Michael Saracco (Saudi Arabia); Craig Seton; Jill Sherman (Social Services Correspondent); Catherine Simpson; Martin Skipworth; David Smith (Economics Correspondent); Ramsay Smith (Saudi Arabia); Michael Soltys (Buenos Aires); Mark Souster; Robin Stacey; Janet Stobart (Rome); Jon Swain (Saudi Arabia); Simon Tait; Stewart Tandler (Crime Correspondent); Alice Thomson; Leslie Tiley; Alan Tiller (Paris); Daniel Treisman; Peter Victor; Peter Vine; Nicholas Watt; David Watts; Stuart Wavell (Paris); Stuart Weir; David Wickers; Paul Wilkinson; Tony Winton (Saudi Arabia); Pearce Wright; David Young;

TOTAL: 151 journalists.

Note:

- a) The list of their locations is not exhaustive, many of them writing from London as well. Not all the articles written by the above contributors indicate where they are writing from.
- b) There are many articles by unnamed journalists.
- c) None of the articles bears a date.

Figure 5: Contributors to “Opinion” Section

The following writers, in alphabetical order, contributed their opinions to *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* during the period of the Gulf Crisis:

Barbara Amiel; Jay Andrews; Michael Armitage; Paul Barker; David Bradshaw; John Bullen; Ronald Butt; Jon Connell; Ivor Crewe; Janet Daley; Adrian Dannatt; Norman Dixon; Anthony Farrar-Hockley; Alan Franks; Conor Gearty; John Gray; Jonathon Green; Alan Hamilton; Robert Harris; Nigel Hawkes; Dennis Healey; Edward Heath; Michael Howard; Douglas Hurd; George Hill; Basil Hume; Robert Hunter; Mary Kaldor; Anatole Kaletsky; Paul Kennedy; Glenys Kinnock; Jeanne Kirkpatrick; Joe Klein; Bernard Levin; Clifford Longley; Brian MacArthur; Norman MacRae; Joy Melville; Judith Miller; Sheridan Morley; Wolfgang Munchau; Laurie Mylroie; Conor Cruise O’Brien; David Owen; Anthony Parsons; Ben Pimlott; Rosemary Richter; David Rose; James Sherr; Henry Stanhope; Denis Staunton; Norman Stone; Thomas Stuttaford; Amir Taheri; Hazhir Teimourian; Charles Tripp; Brian Walden; Alan Waters; Pearce Wright; Woodrow Wyatt. (TOTAL: 60 contributors)

Figure 6: Letters to *The Times*, according to Month and Tendency

	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR1 -15	ALL
HAW	29	20	7	6	7	24	46	25	164 =

Appendix

									38.6%
DOV	20	10	13	10	9	24	13	13	112 = 26.4%
MIX	21	20	6	17	7	34	29	14	148 = 35%
TOT	70	50	26	33	23	82	88	52	424

Figure 7: The American President

	“BUSH”	“MR BUSH”	“PRES. BUSH”	“PRES. GEORGE BUSH”	“THE AMERICAN PRES.”
AUGUST	93 (24.5%)	148 (39%)	123 (32.5%)	12 (3%)	3 (1%)
JANUARY	122 (27%)	163 (36%)	162 (35.5%)	6 (1%)	1 (0.5%)

Figure 8: The Iraqi President

	“SADDAM”	“SADDAM HUSSEIN”	“PRESIDENT SADDAM”	“PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN”
AUGUST	547 (47.8%)	147 (12.8%)	326 (28.5%)	125 (10.9%)
JANUARY	1310 (73.3%)	263 (14.7%)	43 (2.4%)	172 (9.6%)

Figure 9: Instances of the Expression “The Iraqi Dictator”

Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar
14	9	0	4	4	14	4	4

Appendix

Figure 10: Instances of the Expression “The Tyrant” to Refer to Saddam Hussein

Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar
12	6	0	1	4	20	4	0

Figure 11: Hartley’s Contrasts

Negative	Neutral	Positive
terrorist	guerrilla	freedom fighter
inflexible	unchanging	firm
violent	violent	uncompromising
extremist	fundamentalist	convinced
fanatic	active	firm
invade	take	liberate
mob rule		democracy
traitor		dissident
queue jumping		choice
wet		moderate
agitator		activist
power	interests	authority
class antagonism		natural differences
hesitant		moderate

Figure 12. Chibnall’s and Fowler’s Contrasts

Positive legitimating values	Negative illegitimate values
legality	illegality

Appendix

moderation	extremism
compromise	dogmatism
cooperation	confrontation
order	chaos
peacefulness	violence
tolerance	intolerance
constructiveness	destructiveness
openness	secrecy
honesty	corruption
realism	ideology
rationality	irrationality
impartiality	bias
responsibility	irresponsibility
fairness	unfairness
firmness	weakness
freedom of choice	monopoly/uniformity
equality	equality
self-reliance	dependence

Figure 13. Martín Rojo's Contrasts

civilization	barbarity
--------------	-----------

Appendix

reason	madness
stability	chaos

Figure 14. Campos's Contrasts

Us	Them
The West	The East
democracy	fundamentalism
democracies	dictatorships
state, government, country	regime
law and order	crime

Figure 15: *The Guardian's* Contrasts

We have:

They have:

--	--

Appendix

Army, Navy and Air Force	A war machine
Reporting guidelines	Censorship
Press briefings	Propaganda

We:

They:

Take out	Destroy
Suppress	Destroy
Neutralize	Kill
Decapitate	Kill

Our boys are...

Theirs are...

Professional	Brainwashed
Lion hearts	Paper tigers
Cautious	Cowardly
Confident	Desperate
Heroes	Cornered
Dare-devils	Cannon-fodder
Young knights of the skies	Bastards of Baghdad
Loyal	Blindly obedient
Desert Rats	Mad dogs
Resolute	Ruthless
Brave	Fanatical

Figure 15 (contd)

Our missiles cause...

Their missiles cause...

--	--

Appendix

Collateral damage	Civilian casualties
-------------------	---------------------

George Bush is...

Saddam Hussein is...

At peace with himself	Demented
Resolute	Defiant
Statesmanlike	An evil tyrant
Assured	A crackpot monster

Figure 16: Herman's Contrasts

Soviet action	Israeli action
----------------------	-----------------------

Appendix

ambush	aggression
assassination	assault
atrocities	blunder
barbaric	disaster
callous	disheartening
chilling	error
cold-blooded	fury
crime	ill-fated
deliberate	incident
evil	outrage
heinous	over-reacted
horrible	shocked
inexcusable	siege mentality
liars	tragedy
murderous	unpardonable
outrage	
reprehensible	
revulsion	
slaughter	
terrorist	
tragedy	
wanton	

Figure 17: Instances of “Will”, with Agent Corresponding to Each Side

MONTH	“US”	“THEM”	ALL

Appendix

AUGUST	85	17	102
SEPTEMBER	40	7	47
OCTOBER	24	6	30
NOVEMBER	24	7	31
DECEMBER	8	0	8
JANUARY	63	28	91
FEBRUARY	30	23	53
MARCH 1-15	12	2	14
TOTAL	286 (76%)	90 (24%)	376

Figure 18: Instances of Speculative “May” with Agent Corresponding to Each Side

MONTH	“US”	“THEM”	ALL
AUGUST	29	55	84
SEPTEMBER	17	14	31
OCTOBER	5	5	10
NOVEMBER	16	13	29
DECEMBER	12	11	23
JANUARY	26	53	79
FEBRUARY	23	30	53
MARCH 1-15	7	5	12
TOTAL	135 (42%)	186 (58%)	321

Figure 19: Instance of Speculative “Might” with Agent Corresponding to Each Side

MONTH	“US”	“THEM”	ALL

Appendix

AUGUST	10	24	34
SEPTEMBER	12	12	24
OCTOBER	3	2	5
NOVEMBER	3	2	5
DECEMBER	4	7	11
JANUARY	11	30	41
FEBRUARY	13	20	33
MARCH 1-15	6	10	16
TOTAL	62 (36.7%)	107 (63.3%)	169

Figure 20: Instances of Speculative “Could” with Agent Corresponding to Each Side

MONTH	“US”	“THEM”	ALL
AUGUST	18	18	36
SEPTEMBER	7	6	13
OCTOBER	6	4	10
NOVEMBER	9	4	13
DECEMBER	2	6	8
JANUARY	16	21	37
FEBRUARY	19	22	41
MARCH 1-15	4	4	8
TOTAL	81 (48.8%)	85 (51.2%)	166

Figure 21: Occurrences of Reporting Verbs according to Month and Source.

Appeal

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Appendix

	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Total
Us	14	7	4	3	8	10	8	0	54 = 54%
Them	18	0	2	2	0	12	10	2	46 = 46%

Claim

	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Total
Us	20	7	7	7	4	43	72	5	165 = 44.7%
Them	29	10	7	5	9	59	73	12	204 = 55.3%

Confirm

	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Total
Us	31	15	5	12	7	37	23	12	142 = 91.6%
Them	3	1	0	2	1	4	1	1	13 = 8.4%

Disclose

	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Total
Us	7	3	6	5	5	14	4	2	46 = 93.8%
Them	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	3 = 6.2%

Explain

	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Total

Appendix

Us	8	6	4	7	3	19	10	1	58 = 85.3%
Them	3	2	1	1	0	1	2	0	10 = 14.7%

Inform

	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Total
Us	4	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	8 = 100%
Them	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Make clear

	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Total
Us	19	18	10	3	7	24	21	5	107 = 84.9%
Them	6	3	1	1	1	2	5	0	19 = 15.1%

Point out

	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Total
Us	10	7	2	0	4	11	3	0	37 = 86%
Them	2	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	6 = 14%

Reveal

	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Total

Appendix

Us	2	2	3	2	0	10	3	2	24 = 100%
Them	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Spell out

	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Total
Us	2	2	0	0	1	3	3	1	12 = 85.7%
Them	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 = 14.3%

State

	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Total
Us	4	1	2	1	2	8	3	1	22 = 81.5%
Them	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	5 = 18.5%

Figure 22: Utterances by Spokespersons from Each Side

A = single words / non-clausal word groups

B = one sentence (single clause)

Appendix

C = one sentence (compound or complex)

D = two sentences

E = three sentences

F = more than three sentences

US	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	ALL
"A"	4	0	1	0	0	5	4	0	14
"B"	1	1	2	2	3	10	3	3	25
"C"	16	1	3	2	0	6	4	2	34
"D"	3	1	1	0	0	5	3	1	14
"E"	4	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	9
"F"	1	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	6

THEM	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	ALL
"A"	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
"B"	6	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	11
"C"	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
"D"	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	5
"E"	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"F"	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	3

Bibliography

Primary Source

The Times and *The Sunday Times* have been studied using 2 CD's, one each for the years 1990 and 1991. Margaret Park (December 2nd, 1990) relates that they were the first newspapers in Britain available in this form, together with *The Independent* and *The Independent on Sunday*. The 1990 edition was the first to be published in this form, though it had been stored electronically since 1986.

Books and Articles Cited

Aksoy, Asu and Kevin Robins (1992) "Exterminating Angels: Morality, Violence and Technology in the Gulf War" in Mowlana et al. 1992, pp202-212.

Alcaraz Varó, E. (1990) *Tres Paradigmas de la Investigación Lingüística* Marfil, Alcoy.

Almeida, Eugenie P. (1991) *Factuality and Non-Factuality in Newspaper Discourse* Unpublished dissertation. Department of Communications, SUNY at Buffalo.

Almeida, Eugenie P. (1992) "A category system for the analysis of factuality in newspaper discourse" *Text* 12 (2) pp233-262.

Althusser, Louis (1971) *Lenin and Philosophy and other essays* Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Ammon, U., N. Dittmar and K.J. Mattheier (eds) (1987) *Sociolinguistics: An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society Vol 1* Berlin, Walter de Gruyter.

Anderson, Benedict (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* London, Verso.

Ang, Ien (1990) *Watching "Dallas"* London and New York, Methuen.

Asch, S.E. (1952) *Social Psychology* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall.

Bagdikian, B.H. (1992) *The Media Monopoly*, Boston, Beacon Press.

Baker, C. Edward (1994) *Ownership of Newspapers: the view from positivist social science* Cambridge, Mass. Joan Shorenstein Center on Press, Politics and Public Policy, Research paper R-12, Harvard University.

Barthes, Roland (1973) *Mythologies* translation by Annette Lavers, St Albans, Paldin.

Beard, Henry, and Christopher Cerf (1992) *The Official Politically Correct Dictionary and Handbook* London, Harper Collins.

Beeman, W. (1991) "Renewed Debate: Covering the Aftermath of Victory", in Graduate

Bibliography

School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley, *The Media and the Gulf: A Closer Look* Conference proceedings, May 3rd-4th, pp41-2.

Bell, Allan (1989) *Hot news - media reporting and public understanding of the climatic change issue in New Zealand: a study in the (mis)communication of science* Wellington, Victoria University.

Bell, Allan (1991) *The Language of News Media* Oxford, Blackwell.

Bellah, Robert N. (1970) *Beyond Belief* New York, Harper and Row.

Bennett, W. Lance (1980) *Public Opinion in American Politics* New York; Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Bennett, W. Lance (1983) *News, the Politics of Illusion* New York, Longman.

Bennett, W. Lance (1992) "White Noise: The Perils of Mass-mediated Democracy" *Communication Monographs* Vol 59, December, pp401-406.

Bennett, W. Lance (1996) "An Introduction to Journalism Norms and Representations of Politics" *Political Communication* 13, pp373 - 384.

Bennett, W. Lance, and Regina G. Lawrence (1995) "News Icons and the Mainstreaming of Social Change" *Journal of Communication* 45 (3) Summer, pp22-39.

Berger, Arthur Asa (1995) *Essentials of Mass Communication Theory* California, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.

Bernstein, Basil (1974) *Class, Codes and Control* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Biber, Douglas, Susan Conrad and Randi Reppen (1994) "Corpus-based Approaches to Issues in Applied Linguistics" *Applied Linguistics* Vol 15 No 2, pp169-189.

Bloomfield, L. (1933) *Language* New York, Holt.

Blumler, J. G. and Michael Gurevitch (1996) "Media change and social change: linkages and junctures" in Curran and Gurevitch, 1996, pp120-137.

Bolton, Kingsley and Helen Kwok (eds) (1992) *Sociolinguistics Today: International Perspectives* London, Routledge.

Bormann, Ernest G., John F. Cragan, and Donald C. Shields (1996) "An expansion of the rhetorical vision component of the symbolic convergence theory: the Cold War Paradigm

Bibliography

Case" *Communication Monographs* Vol. 63, March, pp1-28.

Borrat, Héctor (1992) "Coverage of the Gulf War by the Spanish and Catalanian media" in Mowlana, et al 1992, pp158-162.

Bowen, Gordon L. (1989) "Presidential Action in Public Opinion about US Nicaraguan Policy: Limits to the Rally Round the Flag Syndrome" *Political Science and Politics* 22, December, pp793 - 800.

Bromley, Michael (1997) "The End of Journalism?" in Michael Bromley and Tom O'Malley (eds) *A Journalism Reader* London, Routledge, 1997, pp330-350.

Brown, R. and A. Gilman (1960) "The pronouns of power and solidarity" in Giglioli, 1972, pp252 - 282.

Brown, Gillian and George Yule (1983) *Discourse Analysis* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Bryant, J. and P.W. Comisky (1978) "The effect of positioning a message within differentially cognitively involving portions of a television segment on recall of the message" *Human Communication Research* 6, pp9-36.

Burton, Deirdre (1982) "Through Glass Darkly - Through Dark Glasses" in Carter, Ronald (ed) (1982) *Language and Literature: An Introduction Reader in Stylistics* London, George Allen and Unwin, pp195-214.

Bybee, Joan L and Suzanne Fleischman (eds)(1995) *Modality in Grammar and Discourse* Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

Calhoun, Craig (ed) (1993) *Habermas and the Public Sphere* Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press.

Campos Pardillos, Miguel Ángel (1997) "Us vs Them: Ideological Bias and Confrontation in Newspaper Leaders" *Estudios Ingleses de la Universidad Complutense*, 5, pp185-203.

Carter, Ronald (1982) *Language and Literature: An Introduction Reader in Stylistics* London, George Allen and Unwin.

Cawelti, J. (1976) *Adventure, Mystery, Romance* Chicago, University of Chicago.

Chibnall, Steve (1977) *Law and Order News* London, Tavistock.

Chilton, Paul (1985) "Words, discourse and metaphors: the meanings of *deter*, *deterrent*

Bibliography

and *deterrence*" in Chilton (1985).

Chilton, Paul (1985) *Language and the nuclear arms debate: Nukespeak Today* London, Frances Pinter, pp103-127.

Chilton, Paul (1990) "Politeness, politics and diplomacy" *Discourse and Society* Vol 1 No2, pp201-224.

Chilton, Paul, and Christina Schäffner (1997) "Discourse and Politics" in Van Dijk (1997a)

Chomsky, Noam (1988) *Lectures on Government and Binding* Holland, Foris Publications.

Chomsky, Noam (1992) *Deterring Democracy* London, Vintage Books.

Chomsky, Noam (1994) *World Orders, Old and New* London, Pluto Press.

Clark, Billy (1993) "Relevance and Pseudo-Imperatives" *Linguistics and Philosophy* Vol 16, pp79-121.

Clark, David M. (1998) "Burger off !" The Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease and the Language of Scottish Populism" in *Lenguaje y Textos*, Vol 10 pp43-54.

Clark, Herbert, and Richard Gerrig (1990) "Quotations as Demonstrations" *Language* Vol 66 No 4, pp764 - 805.

Coates, Jennifer (1995) "The Expression of Root and Epistemic Possibility in English" in Bybee and Fleischman, 1995, pp55-66.

Cohen, S. (1980) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* Oxford, Robertson.

Cole, P. and J.L. Morgan (eds) (1968) *Syntax and Semantics Vol 3: Speech Acts* New York, Academic Press.

Connell, Ian and Adam Mills (1985) "Discourse and Mass Communication" in Van Dijk, 1985, pp26-43.

Cook, John (1994) "Discourse, Ideology and Literature" in *The Pergamon Encyclopedia of Language and Literature Vol 2* London, Pergamon Press, pp965 - 969.

Coulmas, Florian (1986) "Reported Speech: Some general issues" in *Direct and Indirect Speech* Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, pp1-28.

Cruse, D.A. (1973) "Some Thoughts on Agentivity" *Journal of Linguistics* Vol 9, pp11 - 23.

Bibliography

- Curran, James, Michael Gurevitch and Janet Woollacott (eds) (1977) *Mass Communication and Society*, London, Arnold.
- Curran, James, and Michael Gurevitch (1996) *Mass Media and Society* London, Edward Arnold.
- Curran, James and Jean Seaton (1997) *Power without Responsibility; The Press and Broadcasting in Britain* London, Routledge.
- Davis, Howard H. (1985) "Discourse and Media Influence" in Van Dijk, 1985, pp44-59.
- Davis, Howard H. and Paul Walton (eds)(1983) *Language, Image, Media* Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- De Mateo, Rosario (1989) "The Evolution of the Newspaper Industry in Spain, 1939 - 1987" *European Journal of Communication* 4, pp211 - 226.
- De Vos, George (1982) "Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accommodation" in De Vos and Romanucci-Ross (eds).
- De Vos, George, and Lola Romanucci-Ross (eds) (1982) *Ethnic Identity: Cultural continuities and change* Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press.
- Downing, Angela and Philip Locke (1992) *A University Course in English Grammar* New York, Prentice Hall International.
- Duszak, Anna (1991) "Schematic and topical categories in news story reconstruction" *Text* 11 (4), pp503 - 522.
- Elliott, W.R. and C.P. Quattlebaum (1979) "Similarities in patterns of media use: a cluster analysis of media gratifications" *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 43, pp61-72.
- Ettema, J.S., D.L. Process, D.R. Leff, P.V. Miller, J. Doppelt and F.L. Cook (1991) "Agenda setting as politics. A case study of the press-public-policy connection" *Communication* (12) 2, pp75 - 98.
- Fairclough, Norman (1989) *Language and Power*, London, Longman.
- Fairclough, Norman (1996) "A Reply to Henry Widdowson's 'Discourse analysis: a critical view'" *Language and Culture* Vol 5 (1) pp49 - 56.
- Festinger, L. (1950) "Informal Social Communication" *Psychological Review* 57, pp271-282.

Bibliography

- Findahl, O. and B. Höijer (1981) "Media content and human comprehension" in Rosengren, Karl Erik (ed) *Advances in Content Analysis* 1981, Beverley Hills / London, Sage.
- Firth, J.R. (1950) "Personality and language in society" in *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951* London, OUP, 1957, ch 14.
- Fishman, Joshua A. (1970, reprinted 1989) *Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective* Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.
- Fiske, John (1989) *Understanding Popular Culture* London, Unwin Hyman.
- Foucault, M. (1971) "Orders of Discourse" in *Social Science Information* Vol 10 No 2, pp7 - 30.
- Fowler, Roger (1979) "Linguistic Criticism", Inaugural Lecture, School of English and American Studies, University of East Anglia.
- Fowler, Roger (1991) *Language in the News* London, Routledge.
- Fowler, Roger (1994) "Representation" in *The Pergamon Encyclopedia of Language and Literature*, Vol 7, pp3554 - 3556
- Fowler, Roger and Tim Marshall (1985) "The war against peacemongering: language and ideology" in Chilton, 1985.
- Francis, Gill and John Sinclair (1994) "'I Bet He Drinks Carling Black Label': A Riposte to Owen on Corpus Grammar" *Applied Linguistics* Vol 15 No 2, pp190-200.
- Galtung, Johann and Mari Ruge (1973) "Structuring and Selecting News" in Cohen, S. and J.Young (eds), 1973, pp62-72.
- Galtung, J. (1987) *United States Foreign Policy as Manifest Theology* La Jolla Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California at San Diego.
- Gans, Herbert J., (1979) *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time* New York, Vintage Books.
- Gans, Herbert J. (1985) "Are US journalists dangerously liberal ?" *Columbia Journalism Review* Nov - Dec, pp29 - 33.
- Ghadessy, Mohsen (1988) *Registers of Written English: Situational factors and linguistic features*, London, Pinter Publishers.

Bibliography

- Giglioli, P.P. (ed) (1972) *Language and Social Context*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- Giles, H (1992) "Current and future directions in sociolinguistics: a social psychological contribution" in Bolton and Kwok, 1992, pp361-368.
- Giles, H., A. Mulac, J.J. Bradac, and P. Johnson (1987) "Speech Accommodation theory: the first decade and beyond" *Communication Yearbook* 10 pp13-48, Newbury Park, California, Sage.
- Giles, H. and P.M. Smith (1979) "Accommodation Theory: Optimal levels of convergence" in Giles H. and St Clair, R. (eds) *Language and Social Psychology* Oxford, Blackwell.
- Gitlin, T. (1980) *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left* Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California Press
- Givón, T. (1993) *English Grammar: A Function-based Introduction Vols I and II* Amsterdam John Benjamins.
- Givón, T. (1995) *Functionalism and Grammar* Amsterdam, John Benjamins.
- Glasgow Media Group (1976) *Bad News* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Glasgow Media Group (1980) *More Bad News* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Golding, Peter and Phil Harris (1997) *Beyond Cultural Imperialism* London, Sage.
- Golding, Peter and Graham Murdock (1977) "Capitalism, Communication and Class Relations" in N. Armistead (ed) (1977)
- Golding, Peter, Murdock, G. and Schlesinger, I.M. (eds) (1986) *Communicating Politics* New York, Holmes and Meier.
- Golding, Peter and Graham Murdock (1996) "Culture, Communications and Political Economy" in Curran and Gurevitch, 1996, pp7-30.
- Goldman, Susan R, Elizabeth U. Saul, and Nathalie Coté (1995) "Paragraphing, Reader and Task Effects on Discourse Comprehension" *Discourse Processes* 20, pp273 - 305.
- Goodman, Sharon and Paul Manners (1997) "Making it 'Real': Words and Pictures in Television News" *Language and Communication* Vol 17 No 1, pp53 - 66.

Bibliography

- Goodnight, G.T. (1990), "The rhetorical tradition, modern communication, and the grounds of justified assent" in Williams, D.C. and M.D.Hazen (eds) *Argumentation Theory and the Rhetoric of Assent* Tuscaloosa, Alabama; University of Alabama Press, 1990, pp173-195.
- Graddol, David and Oliver Boyd-Barrett (eds) (1994) *Media Texts: Authors and Readers* Open University, UK, Multilingual Matters.
- Graziano-King, Janine (1994) "Selection Properties of Raising Verbs" *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* Vol. 24, Nos 1/2, pp203-214.
- Grice, H.P. (1968) "Logic and Conversation" The William James Lectures, Harvard University, 1967-8, in Cole, P. and J.L. Morgan (eds) 1968, pp43-58.
- Grimshaw, Allen D. (1987) "Sociolinguistics versus sociology of language: tempest in a teapot or profound academic conundrum?" in Ammon, Dittmar and Mattheier (eds), 1987, pp9-15.
- Grimshaw, Jane (1990) *Argument Structure* Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press.
- Gumperz, John (1968) "The Speech Community" in Giglioli, 1972, pp219-232.
- Gunder Frank, Andre (1992) "A Third-World War: A Political Economy of the Persian Gulf War and the New World Order", in Mowlana et al, 1992, pp3-22.
- Gunter, B. (1987) *Poor Perceptions: Misunderstanding and Forgetting Broadcast News* Hillsdale NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Gurevitch, Michael and Anandam P. Kavoori (1992) "Television Spectacles as Politics" *Communication Monographs* Vol 59 December, pp415-420.
- Habermas, Jürgen (1989) *The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* English translation by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence, Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Hackett, Robert A., (1984) "Decline of a paradigm ? Bias and objectivity in news media studies" *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 1 (3) pp229-259.
- Hackett, Robert A. (1991) *News and Dissent: The Press and the Politics of Peace in Canada* Norwood, NJ, Ablex.
- Hackett, Robert A. and Yuezhi Zhao (1994) "Challenging a master narrative: peace protest and opinion/editorial discourse in the US press during the Gulf War" *Discourse and Society* Vol 5 (4) pp509 - 541.
- Hall, Stuart (1977) "Culture, the media and the 'ideological effect' " in Curran, Gurevitch

Bibliography

and Woollacott (eds) 1977, pp341-353.

Hall, Stuart (1982) "The Return of the Repressed in Media Studies" in Gurevitch M., T. Bennett, J. Curran and J. Woollacott *Culture, Society and the Media* London, Methuen, pp56-90.

Hall, Stuart (1994) "Encoding / Decoding" in Graddol and Boyd-Bennett, 1994, pp200-211.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1978) *Language as Social Semiotic* London, Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1985) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* London, Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Second Edition) London, Edward Arnold.

Hammersley, Martyn (1997) "On the Foundations of Critical Discourse Analysis" *Language and Communication* Vol 17 No. 3, pp237 - 248.

Harré, Rom (1983) *Personal Being: A Theory for Individual Psychology* Oxford, Blackwell.

Hartley, John (1982) *Understanding News* London, Routledge.

Hasan, Ruqaiya (1992) "Meaning in Sociolinguistic Theory" in Bolton and Kwok, 1992, pp80-119.

Hatim, Basil and Ian Mason (1990) *Discourse and the Translator* London, Longman.

Herman, E.S. (1986) "Gatekeeper versus Propaganda Models: A Critical American Perspective" in Golding, Murdock and Schlesinger, 1986, pp186-195.

Herman, E.S. and N. Chomsky (1988) *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* New York, Pantheon Books.

Higgins, E. Tory (1992) "Achieving 'Shared Reality' in the Communication Game: A Social Action that Creates Meaning" *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* Vol. 11 No. 3, pp107-131.

Higgins E. Tory and W.S. Rholes (1978) "Saying is believing: Effects of message modification on memory and liking for the person described." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 14, pp363-378.

Hodge, Robert and Gunther Kress (1979) *Language as Ideology* London, Routledge.

Hodge, Robert and Gunther Kress (1988) *Social Semiotics* Cambridge, Polity Press /

Bibliography

Blackwell.

Horkheimer, Max, and Theodore W. Adorno (1972) *Dialectic of Enlightenment* Translation by John Cumming, New York, Seabury Press.

Hymes, D. (1964) "Toward Ethnographies of Communicative Events" in Giglioli, 1972, pp21-44.

Isaacs, Ellen A., and Herbert H. Clark (1990) "Ostensible Invitations" *Language in Society* Vol 19, pp493 - 509.

Jaeggli, Osvaldo (1986) "Passive" *Linguistic Inquiry* Vol 17 pp587-623.

Johnson, Haynes (1991) *Sleepwalking through history: America in the Reagan years* New York, Norton.

Katz, E, J.G. Blumler and M. Gurevitch (1974) "Utilization of mass communication by the individual" in Blumler, J.G. and E. Katz (eds) *The Uses of Mass Communications: Current Perspectives on Gratifications Research* Beverley Hills, Sage, pp10-32.

Katz, E, M. Gurevitch and H. Haas (1973) "On the use of the mass media for important things" *American Sociological Review* 38, pp164 - 181.

Keen, S. (1991) Interviewed by R. Cox in *Propaganda Review* No7 pp19-21.

Kellner, Douglas (1992) *The Persian Gulf TV War* Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press.

Kellner, Douglas (1995) *Media Culture: Cultural studies, identity and politics, between the modern and the postmodern* London, Routledge.

Keyser, Samuel and Thomas Roeper (1994) "On the Middle and Ergative Constructions in English" *Linguistic Inquiry* Vol 15, No 3, pp381-416.

Kintsch, W. and Teun A. van Dijk (1978) "Toward a model of text comprehension and production" *Psychological Review* 85, pp363 - 394.

Kitagawa, Chisato, and Adrienne Lehrer (1990) "Impersonal uses of personal pronouns" *Journal of Pragmatics* 14, pp739 - 759.

Klapper, J.T. (1963) "Mass communication research: an old road resurveyed" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 27, pp 515 - 527.

Bibliography

- Klinge, Alex (1993) "The English Modal Auxiliaries: from Local Semantics to Utterance Interpretation" *Journal of Linguistics* Vol 29, pp315-357.
- Kress, Gunther (1983) "Linguistic processes and the mediation of 'reality': the politics of newspaper language" *International Journal of Society and Language* 40, pp43-57.
- Kress, Gunther (1990) "Critical Discourse Analysis" *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* Vol 11, pp84 - 99.
- Lahav, Pnina (ed) (1985) *Press Law in Modern Democracies: a Comparative Study* New York, Longman.
- Lakoff, G. (1992) "Metaphors and war: their metaphor system used to justify war in the Gulf" in Pütz, M. (ed) *Thirty Years of Linguistic Evolution*, Philadelphia and Amsterdam, John Benjamins, pp463 - 81.
- Larsen, Steen F. (1983) "Text Processing and Knowledge Updating in Memory for Radio News" *Discourse Processes* 6, pp21 - 38.
- Lazarfeld, Paul and R. Merton (1960) "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action" in Schramm, W. (ed) *Mass Communications* Illinois, University of Illinois Press.
- Lázaro Carreter, Fernando (1997) *El Dardo en la Palabra* Barcelona, Galaxia Gutenberg, Círculo de Lectores.
- Leech, Geoffrey and Jan Svartvik (1975) *A Communicative Grammar of English* London, Longman.
- Lehrer, Adrienne (1989) "Remembering and Representing Prose: Quoted Speech as a Data Source" *Discourse Processes* 12, pp105-125.
- Leitner, Gerhard (1983) "Review article on *More Bad News*, by the Glasgow Media Group" *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 40, pp107-120.
- Levy, M.R. (1983) "Conceptualizing and measuring aspects of audience activity" *Journalism Quarterly* 60, pp109 - 114.
- Lewis, David (1986) *On the Plurality of Worlds* Oxford, Blackwell.
- Liebes, Tamar, and Rivka Ribak (1991) "A Mother's Battle against TV News: A Case Study of Political Socialization" *Discourse and Society* Vol 2 (2) pp203-222.

Bibliography

- Lin, Carolyn A. (1993) "Modeling the Gratification-Seeking Process of Television Viewing" *Human Communication Research* Vol 20 No 2, December, pp224 - 244.
- Lindgren Lerman, Claire (1985) "Media analysis of a presidential speech: impersonal identity forms in discourse" in Van Dijk, 1985, pp185-215.
- Lock, Graham (1996) *Functional English Grammar: An Introduction for Second Language Teachers* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Loustarinen, Heikki (1992) "Innovations of moral policy" in Mowlana et al, 1992, pp128-137.
- Lutz, Benedikt, and Ruth Wodak (1987) *Information for the informed: Linguistic studies on the comprehensibility and comprehension of radio news* Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Maitland, Karen, and John Wilson (1987) "Pronominal selection and ideological conflict" *Journal of Pragmatics* 11, pp495 - 512.
- Malinowsk, J. (1923) "The problem of meaning in primitive languages" Supplement to Ogden, C.K. and I.A. Richards *The Meaning of Meaning* London, Kegan Paul.
- Manis, M., S.D. Cornell and J.C. Moore (1974) "Transmission of attitude-relevant information through a communication chain" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 30, pp81-94.
- Marantz, Alec (1984) *On the Nature of Grammatical Relations*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press.
- Martín Rojo, Luisa (1995) "Division and rejection: from the personification of the Gulf conflict to the demonization of Saddam Hussein" *Discourse and Society* Vol 6 No1, pp49-80.
- Mascull, Bill (1995) *Key Words in the Media* London, Collins Cobuild.
- McHoul, A. (1994) "Discourse" in *The Pergamon Encyclopedia of Language and Literature*, Vol 2 Ed. R.E. Asher, London, Pergamon Press, pp940 - 949.
- McKenzie, Kevin and Toine van Teefelen (1993) "Taking the Higher Ground between West and Middle East: The discursive achievement of meta-perspective in representations of the Arab other" *Pragmatics* 3:3, pp305 - 333.
- McLeod, Douglas M., William P. Eveland and Nancy Signorielli (1994) "Conflict and public opinion: rallying effects of the Persian Gulf war" *Journalism Quarterly* Vol 71, No 1, Spring,

Bibliography

pp20 - 31.

Milroy, James (1992a) "Social network and prestige arguments in sociolinguistics" in Bolton and Kwok, 1992, pp146-162.

Milroy, James (1992b) "The theoretical status of sociolinguistics" in Bolton and Kwok, 1992, pp351-355.

Mininni, Giuseppe (1991) "The will to peace: a sociosemiotic analysis of the Helsinki 'Final Act' " *Journal of Pragmatics* 15, pp465-486.

Morgan, Michael, Justin Lewis and Sut Jhally (1991) "More viewing, Less knowledge" in Mowlana et al, 1991, pp216-233.

Morley, David (1983) "Cultural transformations: the politics of resistance" in Davis and Walton, 1983, pp104 - 117.

Mowlana, Hamid, George Gerbner and Herbert I. Schiller (eds) (1992) *Triumph of the Image: Media's War in the Persian Gulf - A Global Perspective* Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press.

Mueller, John E. (1970) "Presidential Popularity from Truman to Johnson" *American Political Science Review* 64, May, pp18-34.

New York Times Stylebook (1988).

Nohrstedt, Stig A. (1992) "Ruling by Pooling" in Mowlana et al, 1992, pp118-128.
OED (1994) *Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Orwell, George (1950) "Politics and the English Language" in *Inside the Whale and other Essays* Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp156-170.

Otosen, Rune (1992) "Truth: The first victim of war ?" in Mowlana et al, 1992, pp137-144.

Palmer, Frank R. (1976) *Semantics* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Palmer, Frank R. (1990) *Modality and the English Modals*, London, Longman.

Patterson, Thomas E. and Wolfgang Donsbach (1996) "News Decisions: Journalists as Partisan Actors" *Political Communication* 13, pp455 - 468.

Perse, Elizabeth M., and John A. Courtright (1993) "Normative Images of Communication Media: Mass and Impersonal Channels in the New Media Environment" *Human*

Bibliography

Communication Research Vol 19 No 4 June, pp485 - 503.

Petley, Julian (1997) "Faces for Spaces" in Bromley, Michael and Tom O'Malley (eds) *A Journalism Reader* London, Routledge, pp251-272.

Peuser, G., (1978) *Aphasie, Eine Einführung in die Patholinguistik* Munich, Fink.

Phillips, Louise (1996) "Rhetoric and the spread of the discourse of Thatcherism" *Discourse and Society* Vol.7 No.2 pp209-241.

Phillipson, Robert (1992) *Linguistic Imperialism* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Pilger, John (1992) *Distant Voices* London, Vintage Books.

Radway, Janice (1984) *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Culture* Chapel Hill, University of Chicago Press.

Ransom, Evelyn N. (1986) *Complementation: Its Meanings and Forms*, Philadelphia, John Benjamins.

Roberts, Ian G. (1987) *The Representation of Implicit and Dethematized Subjects* Dordrecht, Foris.

Roberts, Ian G (1994) "Passive" in *The Pergamon Encyclopedia of Language and Literature* Vol 6 Ed. R.E. Asher, London, Pergamon Press, pp2960-2962.

Roeh, Itzak (1982) *The Rhetoric of News in the Israel Radio: Some Implications of Style for Newstelling* Bohum, Studienverlag Brockmeyer.

Roeh, Itzak, and Saul Feldman (1984) "The rhetoric of numbers in front-page journalism: How numbers contribute to the melodramatic in the popular press" *Text* 4 (4) pp347-368.

Rosengren, K.E., and S. Windahl (1972) "Mass media consumption as a functional alternative" in McQuail, D. (ed) *Sociology of Mass Communications* Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp166-194.

Rubinstein, H. (1974) "Psycholinguistics: an overview" in Sebeok, T. (ed) *Current trends in Linguistics* 12, pp1071-1103, Paris / The Hague, Mouton.

Said, Edward (1993) *Culture and Imperialism* London, Vintage Books.

Sainath, P (1992) "The Indian Experience" in Mowlana et al, 1992, pp67-74.

Bibliography

Sapir, E. (1949) *Language* New York, Harvest Books.

Saussure, F. de (1974) *Course in General Linguistics*, London, Fontana.

Scarry, Elaine (1993) "Watching and authorizing the Gulf war" in Garber, Marjorie, Jann Matlock and Rebecca L. Walkowitz (eds) *Media Spectacles* New York and London, Routledge, pp57-71.

Schank, R.C. and R.P. Abelson (1977) *Scripts, Plans, Goals and Understanding* Hillsdale, NJ, Erlbaum.

Schlesinger, I.M. (1989) "Instruments as Agents: on the Nature of Semantic Relations" *Journal of Linguistics* Vol 25, pp189-210.

Schudson, Michael (1996) "The sociology of news production revisited" in Curran and Gurevitch, 1996, pp141-159.

Shaw, Martin and Roy Carr-Hill (1992) "Public Opinion and Media War Coverage in Britain" in Mowlana et al, 1992, pp144-157.

Shujen Wang (1993) "The *New York Times*' and *Renmin Ribao*'s news coverage of the 1991 Soviet coup: a case study of international news discourse" *Text* 13 (4) pp559-598.

Sigal, Leon (1987) "Who ? Sources make the news" in Manoff, Robert Karl and Michael Schudson (eds) *Reading the News* New York, Pantheon.

Sigelman, Lee (1992) "There you go again: The Media and the Debasement of American Politics" *Communication Monographs* Vol 59 December pp407-410.

Sorlin, Pierre (1994) *Mass Media* London, Routledge.

Sperber, D. and D. Wilson (1986) *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Stanfield, J.H. and R.M. Dennis (eds) (1993) *Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods* Newbury Park, California, Sage.

Stubbs, Michael (1994) "Grammar, Text and Ideology: Computer-assisted Methods in the Linguistics of Representation" *Applied Linguistics* Vol 15, No 2, pp201-223.

Stephenson, William (1967) *The Play Theory of Mass Communication*, New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction.

Sternberg, Meir (1982) "Proteus in Quotation-Land: Mimesis and the Forms of Reported

Bibliography

- Discourse" *Poetics Today* Vol 3, No 2, pp107-156.
- Taylor, Peter (1982) "The Semantics of Political Violence" in Carter (ed) 1982, pp211-221.
- Thompson, John B. (1990) *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication* Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Trask, R.L. (1993) *A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics* London, Routledge.
- Tuchman, Gaye (1978) *Making News* New York, The Free Press.
- Turow, L. (1985) "Cultural argumentation through the mass media" *Communication* 8, pp139 -164.
- Van de Velde, Roger G. (1981) "Textuality and human reasoning" *Text* 1, No. 4 pp385-406.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1977) *Text and Context*, London, Longman.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (ed) (1985) *Discourse and Communication: New Approaches to the Analysis of Mass Media Discourse and Communication* Berlin, de Gruyter.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1988a) *News as Discourse* Hillsdale, NJ; Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1988b) "Social Cognition, Social Power and Social Discourse" *Text* 8 (1-2) pp129 - 157.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1993a) "Analysing Racism through Discourse Analysis: Some Methodological Reflections" in Stanfield and Dennis, 1993, pp92-134.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (ed) (1997a) *Discourse as Social Interaction* London, Sage.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (ed) (1997b) *Discourse as Structure and Process* London, Sage.
- Van Teeffelen, Toine (1994) "Racism and Metaphor: the Palestinian / Israeli conflict in Popular Literature" *Discourse and Society* Vol 5 (3) pp381 - 405.
- Verkuyten, Maikel (1996) "'Twelve Angry Men': Accounting for Britain's Minority Position during the EU summit in Maastricht" *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* Vol. 15, No 4, December pp444 - 467.
- Vincent, Richard C. (1992) "Elites talking to elites" in Mowlana et al, 1992, pp181-201.
- Waugh, Linda R. (1982) "Marked and Unmarked: A Choice between Unequals in Semiotic

Bibliography

Structure" *Semiotica* Vol 38, pp299 - 318.

Waugh, Linda R. (1995) "Reported speech in journalistic discourse: the relation of function and text" *Text* 15 (1) pp129 - 173.

Webster's New World Dictionary (1982)

Whitaker, Brian (1981) *News Limited: Why you can't read all about it* London, Minority Press Group.

Wodak, Ruth (1987) "And where is the Lebanon ? a socio-psycholinguistic investigation of comprehension and intelligibility of news" *Text* 7 (4) pp377 - 410.

Wolfsfeld, Gadi (1997) "Fair Weather Friends: The varying role of the news media in the Arab - Israeli Peace Process" *Political Communication* 14, pp29 - 48.

Woodward Smith, Elizabeth (1997) *Lo Formal y Familiar en Español e Inglés*, Universidade da Coruña, Spain.

Zaller, John, and Dennis Chiu (1996) "Government's Little Helper: US Press Coverage of Foreign Policy Crises, 1945 - 1991" *Political Communication* 13, pp385 - 405.

Zarefsky, David (1992) "Spectator Politics and the Revival of Public Argument" *Communication Monographs* Vol 59 December, pp411-414.

Zelizer, Barbie (1989) "'Saying' as collective practice: Quoting and differential address in the news" *Text* 9 (4) pp369-388.

Other Works Consulted

Language and Discourse Analysis

Cook, John (1994) "Discourse, Ideology and Literature" in *The Pergamon Encyclopedia of Language and Literature*, Vol 7, pp965-969.

Geffroy, A. (1985) "Les nous de Robespierre" *Mots* 10, pp63 - 90.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1970) "Language structure and language function" in Lyons, J. (ed) *New Horizons in Linguistics* Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1976) *Cohesion in English* London, Longman.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1976) "Theme and information in the English clause". In Kress, G. (ed)

Bibliography

Halliday: System and Function in Language London, Oxford University Press.

Harris, J. (1987) "Language as social interaction: integrationalism versus segregationalism" *Language Sciences* No. 9 (2).

Van Dijk, Teun A. (1993) "Principles of critical discourse analysis" *Discourse and Society* Vol 4 (2), pp249-283.

Van Dijk, Teun A. (1995) "Discourse Semantics and Ideology" *Discourse and Society* Vol 6 (2), pp243-289.

The Media and The Gulf Crisis

Baudrillard, Jean (1995) *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place* Indiana, Indiana University Press.

Graduate School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley (1991) *The Media and the Gulf: A Closer Look* (Conference Proceedings, May 3-4).

Pan, Zhongdang, Ronald E. Ostman, Patricia May and Paula Reynolds (1994) "News media exposure and its learning effects during the Persian Gulf war" *Journalism Quarterly* Vol 71, No 1. Spring 1994 pp7 - 19.

Smith, H. (1992) *The Media and the Gulf War* Washington, DC, Foreign Policy Institute of the School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University / Seven Locks Press.

Media Studies and Media Language

Becker, L. and D.C. Whitney (1980) "Effects of media dependencies: Audience assessment of government" *Communication Research* 7, pp95 - 120.

Biocca, F (1987) "Opposing conceptions of the audience: the active and passive hemispheres of mass communication theory" in Anderson, J. (ed) *Communication Yearbook* 11, Newbury Park, California, Sage, pp51 - 80.

Contractor, Noshir S., David R. Seibold and Mark A. Heller (1996) "Interactional Influence in the Structuring of Media Use in Groups: Influence in Members' Perceptions of Group Decision Support System Use" *Human Communication Research* Vol 22 No 4, June, pp451 - 481.

Davis, Howard H., and Paul Walton (1983) "Sources of variation in news vocabulary: a comparative analysis" *International Journal of Society and Language* 40, pp59 - 75.

Bibliography

- Eco, Umberto (1980) "Towards a semiotic enquiry into the TV message", in Corner, John and Jeremy Hawthorn (eds) *Communication Studies: An Introductory Reader* London, Arnold, 1980, pp148-149.
- Findahl, O. and B. Höijer (1975) "Effect of additional verbal information on retention of a radio news programme" *Journalism Quarterly* No 52, pp493 - 498
- Fisher, B. Aubrey (1978) *Perspectives on Human Communication* Macmillan, New York.
- Fowler, Roger, B. Hodge, G. Kress, and T. Trew (1979) *Language and Control*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Fishman, Mark (1980) *Manufacturing the News* Austin, University of Texas Press.
- Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Michael Morgan and Nancy Signorelli (1982) "Charting the Mainstream" *Journal of Communication* 32(2).
- Goodnight, G. T. (1997) "Opening up the 'Spaces of public dissension' " *Communication Monographs* Vol 64 September, pp270 - 275.
- Graber, Doris A. (1984) *Processing the News: How People Tame the Information Tide* New York, Longman.
- Graber, Doris A. (1990) "Whither Research on the Psychology of Political Communication?" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, Washington.
- Hauser, Gerard A. (1997) "On publics and public spheres: a response to Phillips" *Communication Monographs* Vol 64 September, pp275 - 280.
- Kniffka, Hannes (1980) *Sociolinguistics and empirical text analysis: Headline and Lead formation in American daily newspapers* Tübingen, Niemeyer.
- Levy, M.R. (1979) "Watching television news as parasocial interaction" *Journal of Broadcasting*, 23, pp69-80.
- Levy, M.R. and Gurevitch, M. (eds)(1994) *Defining Media Studies: Reflections on the Future of the Field* Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Lichtenstein, A. and L. Rosenfeld (1983) "Uses and misuses of gratification research: an explication of media functions" *Communication Research* 10, pp97 - 109.
- Lind, Rebecca Ann (1997) "Ethical sensitivity in viewer evaluation of a TV news

Bibliography

investigative report" *Human Communication Research* Vol 23, No 4, June, pp535-561.

Palmgreen, P. (1984) "Uses and Gratifications: A theoretical perspective" in Bostrom, R. (ed) *Communication Yearbook 8* Beverley Hills, California, Sage, pp20-55.

Palmgreen, P., L.A. Wenner and K.E. Rosengren (1985) "Uses and Gratifications Research: The past ten years" In Palmgreen, P., L.A. Wenner, and K.E. Rosengren (eds) *Media Gratifications Research: Current Perspectives* Beverley Hills, California, Sage, pp11-37.

Perse, E.M., and A.M. Rubin (1989) "Audience activity and satisfaction with favorite television soap opera" *Journalism Quarterly* 65, pp368 - 375.

Peterson, Sophia (1981) "International news selection by the elite press: a case study" *Public Opinion Quarterly* Vol 45, No2, pp143-163.

Rubin, Alan M. (1986) "Uses, Gratifications and Media effects research" in Bryant, J. and D. Zillmann (Eds) *Perspectives on Media Effects* (pp281-301), Hillsdale, NJ, Erlbaum.

Rubin, Alan M. (1993) "Audience activity and Media use" *Communication Monographs* Vol 60, March, pp98 - 105.

Schudson, Michael (1993) "Was there ever a public sphere ? If so, when ? Reflections on the American case" in Calhoun, Craig (ed) 1993, pp143-163.

Wilson, John (1991) "The linguistic pragmatics of terrorist acts" *Discourse and Society* Vol 2 (1), pp29 - 45.

Windahl, S. (1981) "Uses and Gratifications at the Crossroads" in Wilhoit, G.C. and H. DeBock (eds) *Mass Communication Review Yearbook 2* Beverley Hills, California, Sage, pp174-185.

Contents

Contents	i
Chronology	vii
 Chapter 1: Introduction	
1.1. Hypothesis.....	1
1.2. Aims and summary.....	1
1.3. The Corpus.....	3
1.4. A Theoretical Framework.....	8
1.5. Texts, Discourse and Discourse Analysis.....	15
1.6. News Discourse and News Discourse Analysis.....	17
1.7. Methodology.....	24
1.8. Other Similar Studies	27
1.9. The Place of this Study.....	28
 Chapter 2: The Communicative Context	
2.1. Introduction.....	32
2.2. External Factors.....	34
2.2.1. Government and Officialdom.....	34
2.2.2. Outside Private Interests: Advertising.....	36
2.3. News institutions.....	37
2.3.1. News Agencies.....	38
2.3.2. The Owners: News Conglomerates.....	39
2.3.3. Newspapers and their Editors.....	41
2.3.4. News Processes: Selection and Gatekeeping.....	44
2.3.5. Journalists.....	45
2.4. The Reader: Active or Passive ?.....	49

Contents

Chapter 3. The Gulf Crisis and *The Times*

3.1. The Master Narrative: Drama and Myth.....	59
3.2. The World and the Gulf Crisis.....	60
3.3. <i>The Times</i> and the Gulf Conflict.....	65
3.3.1 <i>The Times</i> and its Sources.....	65
3.3.2. Editorial Comment.....	66
3.3.3. Journalists and Opinion.....	67
3.3.4. Letters to <i>The Times</i> : Hawks and Doves.....	72
3.3.5. The Story Line: A Flawed Narrative.....	74
3.3.6. Conclusion.....	83

Chapter 4 (Part One) Lexical Items: Identifying “Us” and “Them”

4.1. Introduction.....	92
4.2. Language, Identity and Culture.....	93
4.3. <i>The Times</i> and “Us”: An Extended Family.....	97
4.4. Personal Pronouns	98
4.4.1. “We”.....	98
4.4.2. “Us”.....	106
4.4.3. “Our”.....	107
4.4.4. “You”.....	108
4.4.5. “They” and “Them”.....	109
4.4.6. Pronoun Use: Conclusion.....	110
4.5. Identification Devices.....	112
4.5.1. Introduction.....	112
4.5.2. Personalization.....	116
4.5.3. Labelling “Us”.....	126
4.5.4. Labelling “Them”.....	133
4.5.5. A Working Model.....	140

Chapter 4 (Part Two) Lexical Items: Characteristics of “Us” and “Them”

CONTENTS

4.6. Introduction.....	153
4.6.1. Rationality.....	156
4.6.2. Irrationality.....	166
4.6.3. Sensitivity.....	170
4.6.4. Insensitivity.....	179
4.6.5. Aggression and Response: Defending the World Order.....	180
4.6.6. Aggression and Response: The Aggressors.....	201
4.7. Conclusion.....	208

Chapter 5: Agency

5.1. Syntactic Questions: Introduction.....	228
5.2. Agency.....	230
5.3. The Active Voice: “Them”.....	232
5.4. The Passive Voice.....	235
5.4.1. Passive Voice with Agent.....	238
5.4.2. Removing Responsibility: Agentless Passives.....	240
5.4.3. “Non-Negative” Agentless Passives.....	247
5.4.4. Interest in the Reportee: “Ask”.....	249
5.5. Raising Constructions.....	251
5.5.1. Speech Acts.....	253
5.5.2. Mental Acts.....	256
5.5.3. Intention.....	262
5.5.4. Authorization.....	262
5.5.5. Raising Adjectives.....	264
5.6. Nominalization.....	266
5.6.1. “Negative” Nominals.....	269
5.6.2. “Non-Negative” Nominals.....	280
5.6.3. Nominalization and “Them”.....	286
5.6.4. Nominalization in Headlines.....	288

CHAPTER 7

5.7. Ergative and Intransitive Verbs.....	289
5.8. Weapons as “Instrumental Agents”.....	294
5.9. Stative Predicates.....	296
5.10. A Note on Adjectives.....	299
5.11. A Note on Adverbs.....	305
5.12. Conclusion.....	305

Chapter 6: Modality

6.1. Modality and News Discourse.....	314
6.2. Modal Expressions in <i>The Times</i>	316
6.3. Modal Expressions of Obligation.....	319
6.3.1. “Should”.....	320
6.3.2. “Ought to”.....	323
6.3.3. “Must”.....	324
6.3.4. “Have to”.....	327
6.3.5. “Need”.....	329
6.3.6. Other Constructions Expressing Obligation.....	332
6.3.7. Imperative Mood.....	333
6.3.8. The Moral Certainty of Headlines.....	337
6.3.9. Modal Expressions of Obligation: Conclusions.....	339
6.4. Modal Expressions of Speculation.....	339
6.4.1. “Will”.....	342
6.4.2. “May”.....	346
6.4.3. “Might”.....	348
6.4.4. “Could”.....	350
6.4.5. Other Expressions of Speculation.....	351
6.4.6. The Modal Certainty of Headlines.....	355
6.4.7. Speculative Modality: Conclusion.....	358
6.5. Perfect Aspect.....	358

Contents

6.6. Modality: Conclusion.....	362
--------------------------------	-----

Chapter 7: Reporting Devices

7.1. Introduction: Reported Speech.....	374
7.2. Direct Speech.....	377
7.3. Indirect Speech.....	380
7.4. Favourable Reporting Verbs.....	382
7.5. Unfavourable Reporting Verbs.....	392
7.6. Fronting of Reported Words.....	396
7.7. Free Indirect Speech and “Blurring”.....	397
7.8. Unattributed Embedding.....	402
7.9. Non-reporting of Original Words.....	404
7.10. Privileged Access.....	405
7.11. Constraints on Opposition Voices.....	414
7.12. Conclusion.....	420

Chapter 8: Conclusions

8.1. Introduction.....	429
8.2. The Communicative Context.....	429
8.3. <i>The Times</i> and the Gulf Crisis.....	432
8.4. Lexical Items.....	434
8.5. Agency.....	438
8.6. Modality.....	441
8.7. Reporting Devices.....	443
8.8. General Conclusion.....	446
8.9. New Elements in this Study.....	446
8.10. Future Perspectives.....	447

Contents

Appendix.....	452
Bibliography.....	470

Chronology

The following summary of the main events in the Gulf crisis is based on Diaries and Chronologies in *The Sunday Times* (January 27th, 1991) and *The Times* (February 27th, March 1st, 1991).

May 28, 1990 Saddam Hussein, at the Arab League Summit in Baghdad, accuses some countries of keeping the price of oil too low through over-production, and making “economic war” on Iraq.

July 18 Tariq Aziz, Iraq's foreign minister, claims Kuwait had stolen \$2.4bn worth of Iraqi oil.

July 24 Iraq sends 30,000 troops to the Kuwaiti border.

July 25 April Glaspie, US ambassador to Iraq, tells Saddam: “We have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts like your border disagreement with Kuwait”.

July 31 Iraqi and Kuwaiti officials meet in Jeddah for talks. An estimated 100,000 Iraqi troops now massed on the Kuwaiti border.

August 1 Iraq quits the talks after Kuwait rejects its claims to the islands of Bubiyan and Warba, which control access to the Gulf, and refuses to write off debt. Oil prices escalate.

August 2 At 2.00am local time, (11.00pm GMT, 1 August) Iraqi tanks and troops invade Kuwait. The Emir, Sheikh Jaber Ahmed al-Sabah, flees to Saudi Arabia.

UN Security Council condemns the invasion in resolution 660, demanding that Baghdad withdraw its forces and begin negotiations. The US freezes Iraqi and Kuwaiti assets, bans trade with Baghdad. Oil prices soar 15 per cent. Britain and France freeze Kuwaiti assets.

Aug 3 Iraq moves troops south to Saudi border. UK backs sanctions call.

About 4,500 British nationals trapped in Kuwait and Iraq. US announced a naval force for the Gulf, and Japan and West Germany, freeze Kuwaiti assets.

Aug 4 The EC joins economic blockade. Iraq takes 35 British servicemen, seized in Kuwait, to a Baghdad hotel.

Aug 6 UN Security Council imposes mandatory sanctions and embargo on Iraq, in resolution 661. Dick Cheney, the US defence secretary, visits Saudi Arabia and asks permission to deploy troops.

Aug 7 President Bush orders 4000 combat troops and warplanes to Saudi Arabia. Nearly 50 US, British, French, and Soviet warships converge on Gulf.

Aug 8 Iraq announces the annexation of Kuwait. US troops begin landing in Saudi Arabia. Bush describes their mission as defensive.

Aug 9 UN Security Council declares the annexation of Kuwait null and void in resolution 662. Iraq tells embassies in Kuwait to move to Baghdad within two weeks. Britain announces RAF aircraft and additional naval forces to be sent to the Gulf.

Aug 13 US threatens offensive action to enforce UN economic embargo. Britain says Royal Navy will take military action in Gulf after request from Kuwait. France, Netherlands and Belgium commit naval units to the Gulf: Pakistan and Syria to send ground forces. Iraqi troops round up Americans and Britons in Kuwait.

Aug 15 Saddam, seeking to secure eastern flank, agrees to Iran's demand for terms to settle 1980-88 Gulf war.

Chronology

- Aug 17 Up to 30 Iraqi divisions move south from the Iranian border to reinforce the 150,000 already in Kuwait.
- Aug 20 Iraq says Western hostages held at key installations as “human shields”, and orders foreign embassies in Kuwait to close within four days.
- Aug 21 Iraq moves Scud missiles into Kuwait.
- Aug 22 Bush calls up 40, 000 military reservists.
- Aug 23 Saddam uses terrified five-year-old British boy, Stuart Lockwood, in failed TV propaganda stunt.
- Aug 24 Iraqi troops surround 11 nine embassies in Kuwait, including US and British.
- Aug 28 Iraq declares Kuwait its 19th province.
- September 1 About 200 British women and children leave Baghdad on first mercy flight. Jesse Jackson returns from Baghdad with 47 US hostages. Iraq imposes nationwide food rationing.
- Sept 9 Bush and Gorbachev hold summit in Helsinki and announce unity on sanctions.
- Sept 10 Iran and Iraq renew diplomatic ties and Saddam offers free oil to the Third World.
- Sept 14 Britain to send more than 6, 000 men and 120 tanks from 7th Armoured Brigade Desert Rats to Gulf, and extra Tornado fighters. Cost doubles to £2 million a day. Iraqi soldiers enter five western embassies in Kuwait.
- Sept 15 France announces increased forces for the Gulf.
- Sept 17 Britain expels two Iraqi military attaches, six embassy staff and 23 others.
- Sept 23 Saddam threatens to destroy Israel.
- Sept 24 Francois Mitterrand proposes peace plan.
- Sept 25 UN Security Council imposes air blockade in resolution 670.
- Oct 4 Primakov arrives in Baghdad for talks with Saddam.
- Oct 8 Israeli police shoot dead 21 Palestinians and injure more than 100 during rioting at the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.
- Oct 21 Edward Heath, the former prime minister, has a three-hour meeting with Saddam in Baghdad.
- Oct 24 Heath returns home with 33 British hostages.
- Oct 29 Iraq allows French nationals to leave and 257 fly home.
- Nov 3 James Baker, US secretary of state, embarks on a seven-nation tour to discuss possible military strike against Iraq.
- Nov 8 Bush orders another 200,000 military personnel and three aircraft carriers to the Gulf.
- Nov 9 Former German Chancellor Willy Brandt leaves Baghdad with 177 hostages.
- Nov 11 Britain decides to increase its Gulf force to 35,000 men.
- Nov 15 Bush calls up a further 72,500 reservists.
- Nov 22 More than 100 European hostages, including 37 Britons, return home. Thatcher resigns.
- Nov 23 Iraq mobilises its army reserves.
- Nov 29 Security Council approves resolution 678, allowing the “use of all necessary means “ to drive Iraq out of Kuwait if it fails to withdraw by January 15.
- Dec 6 Saddam orders the release of all foreigners held in Iraq and Kuwait.
- Dec 9 Full hostage airlift begins. More than 100 Britons arrive home.
- Dec 16 The last two British diplomats leave Kuwait.

Chronology

- Dec 17 Britain invokes section 10 of the Reserve Forces Act to allow for the call-up of reservists. 1,500 extra personnel, mostly medical, are required.
- Dec 18 An Amnesty International report details brutalities by the Iraqi invaders in Kuwait.
- Dec 20 The Prince of Wales visits British troops in Gulf.
- Dec 30 Saddam threatens to attack US interests world-wide if war breaks out.
- January 1 1991 Saddam visits troops in Kuwait.
- Jan 3 Bush proposes talks with Iraq the following week in Switzerland for “one last attempt” at peace. Britain expels eight members of the Iraqi embassy in London and 67 other Iraqis.
- Jan 6 Saddam said Iraq was ready for the “mother of battles”.
- Jan 7 Yasser Arafat, PLO chairman, says Palestinians would fight beside Iraq.
- Jan 8 John Major, the prime minister, visits British troops in Saudi Arabia.
- Jan 9 The Baker-Aziz talks in Geneva fail after six hours.
- Jan 13 Perez de Cuellar leaves Baghdad empty handed after meeting with Saddam.
- Jan 15 Final peace bids by France and EC founder. UN deadline expires at midnight New York time (5am on 16th GMT).
- Jan 16 US and allied airforces start bombing raids on Iraq and Baghdad. Bush launches Operation Desert Storm.
- Jan 20 - Bombing of Iraqi targets in Kuwait begins.
- Jan 22 - Kuwaiti oil facilities ablaze.
- Feb 14 - Bombing of Amiriya bomb shelter near Baghdad
- Feb 23 - Bush announces “the liberation of Kuwait has now entered a final phase”.
- Feb 24 - Allies strike.
- Feb 25 - Baghdad radio announces Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.
- Feb 26 - Saddam says Iraqi troops will complete withdrawal from Kuwait today and Kuwait is no longer part of Iraq. Kuwait City is recaptured.
- Feb 27 - The Republican Guard is encircled.
- Feb 28 - Ceasefire. Iraq is defeated and Saddam Hussein faces an uncertain future.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1. Hypothesis

A lexicosyntactic analysis of the news discourse of *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* relating to the crisis in the Persian Gulf between August 1st 1990 and March 15th 1991 shows that it consistently agrees to present a world divided between “us” and “them”. The lexicosyntactic elements that have been found instrumental in this process mainly have to do with a) Lexical choices b) Agency c) Modality and d) Reporting devices.

1.2. Aims and Summary

I was initially moved to this study by a feeling that the mainstream British media at the time of the conflict in the Persian Gulf were not representing the reality of events in a neutral way, but applying double standards in their treatment of the two sides in the conflict. The present study does not aim merely to show that there was bias in the newspaper’s coverage, but to show how this was realized through language, throwing light on the texts through a close analysis of lexicosyntactic phenomena.

In the present chapter I first describe the corpus chosen, and then propose a theoretical framework within which this study will be carried out, making a series of definitions of key terms. As regards news discourse, I follow the arguments of Critical Discourse Analysis, with some reservations. Then I explain the methodology used, and acknowledge my debt to other writers, explaining finally the place occupied by the present study. I go on in the second chapter to describe the communicative context within which this stretch of discourse takes place, including government and outside private interests, but with special emphasis on the media institutions themselves and their influence on news discourse, that is, the news agencies, news conglomerates and newspapers themselves, editors and others in the newsmaking process, including journalists.ⁱ I then summarize the evidence that ideology is imposed on the reader by the media, taking into account some of the main ideas in communication studies, going on to consider the role of the receiver, that is, his /

Chapter 1 Introduction

her freedom to use, interpret, remember, become involved in, be entertained by, the media text, according to his or her tastes, and finally summarize the world view given by the media, especially newspapers.

The study of the text proper begins in chapter 3, where I shall attempt to show in some detail the “Master Narrative” of Western media in the conflict in the Gulf, first in other media and then in *The Times*. The characteristics of this “Master Narrative” will be presented in detail, and how they are reflected in the different sections of the news, that is, hard news, editorials, opinion and letters.ⁱⁱ The special factors at work in the production of news about the Gulf conflict will be analysed both here and in chapter 7.

I shall analyse lexicosyntactic features from chapters 4 to 7. My aim is to analyse a news text by a detailed lexicosyntactic study divided into macrocategories. This is a way of organizing what strikes critical readers intuitively. I shall give an account of the link between language and identity, and then show how *The Times* divides humanity into two camps, with lexical choices that contribute to the making of “us” and “them”, with the participating entities identified and afterwards classified. Chapter 4 is thus different from chapters 5 to 7 in the kind of unit considered. In the first part of chapter 4 I shall look at the use of personal pronouns, especially “we”, and labelling devices. In the second part of the chapter I go on to show the use of biased terminology and polarized characterizations, classifying the latter into rationality versus irrationality, sensitivity versus insensitivity, and aggression versus defence. This terminology involves a positive view of self, nation and the West, and a corresponding exclusion or “moral closure”, exercised against those who do not belong, represented in the present study by Saddam Hussein and to a lesser extent by Iraq and the Arab world as a whole. I start with lexical items, partly because they are what first struck me personally, and partly because they form a framework of presuppositions that underlie the whole of the discourse. I concentrate on some whose ideological content does not perhaps immediately strike the reader. To some extent, the items that make up this chapter

Chapter 1 Introduction

are comprehensible without reference to the clauses they appear within.

In chapters 5-7 I shall consider mainly syntactic choices. Chapter 5 studies the relation agent / patient and its reflection in passive voice, nominalization and other devices, while chapter 6 looks at the whole field of modality, but concentrates mainly on modal verbs. There is inevitably some overlap between sections, so that chapter 5 deals with the passive voice in general, and chapter 6 deals with modality, but also the passive forms of modal verb constructions. Chapter 7 is about the way different voices are heard in the texts, and differs from the others in that it deals with suprasentential, as well as lexicosyntactic, units. Chapter 8 is where I draw my final conclusions. Summing up, although lexical, clausal and discourse analyses overlap, this study can roughly be divided into chapters 2 and 3, which are about context and discourse, chapter 4, about lexical analysis, chapters 5 and 6 about clausal analysis, chapter 7, concerned with lexicosyntactic and discourse analysis, and chapter 8, in which I relate my conclusions.

1.3. The Corpus

This study takes as its corpus the news concerning the conflict in the Persian Gulf in *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* between the dates of August 1st 1990 and March 15th, 1991. The full statistical data of this corpus are listed in the Appendix, Figure 1. *The Times*, founded in 1785, called by *The Encyclopedia Britannica* “one of Britain’s oldest and most influential newspapers...one of Britain’s ‘big three’....one of the world’s greatest newspapers”, has been taken as an object of study for several reasons. It is both typical and unique in the quality British press. It is widely seen as the spokesman of the British establishment, but has a long tradition of professional journalism, independence and fairness, for example, during the Crimean War. Though it changed its traditional small-ad front page format in 1966, has changed hands many times, and had a circulation of under a million in the period under study, its prestige has been largely maintained. *The Times* is a newspaper large enough to have its own sources of information and not depend on outside

Chapter 1 Introduction

ones, such as press agencies and other newspapers. In fact, *The Times* sold information to other news outlets during the Gulf conflict. It was considered trustworthy enough, together with other British and American newspapers, to form part of the “press pool” in the Gulf, which was the case of only a few newspapers. Thus, it was in a privileged position, having its correspondents in direct contact with the troops on the ground and able to interview them, within the bounds of the censorship in force. *The Sunday Times* was the top-selling Sunday quality newspaper in 1991, with a circulation of well over a million copies.

At the time of the conflict in the Persian Gulf, both newspapers were in the hands of Rupert Murdoch’s *News International*. They had been sold by the Canadian-based International Thomson Organization to *News International* in 1981, the latter being a subsidiary of Murdoch’s multi-national *News Corporation*, which by 1990 included *The Sun*, *Today*, *The News of the World* and *British Sky Broadcasting*, apart from many US and Australian press and book publishing conglomerates.ⁱⁱⁱ From an ideological point of view, *The Sunday Times* is more to the political right than *The Times*, and both are further to the right than most other quality newspapers, but the linguistic features that I have chosen for discussion are typical of those that can be found in other quality newspapers.^{iv} Whenever I refer to *The Times* in the course of this study, I am referring, for the sake of convenience, to both *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*.

This is not a study of all the elements of news discourse. In order for the study to be complete, it would need to be about not only the text, made up of words and sentences as such, but would need to be extended to the layout, paragraphing, the juxtaposition of articles, the number of the page on which they appear, the use of maps, diagrams and photographs, the omission of certain images and the selection of others, the use of colour, even the newspaper’s logo, authoritative and imposing. I include only the printed text directly related to the theme of this study. Even here, however, there are elements that will not be covered, such as the position and prominence or otherwise of headlines and leads,

Chapter 1 Introduction

and typographical features such as the choice of print and capital letters.

The articles are selected from foreign news^v and opinion, including editorial opinion, photograph captions and readers' letters. Those hard news articles and features are included which deal with the relations between Britain and the US, and sometimes the West, on the one hand, and Iraq, and sometimes other Arab countries, on the other. Articles about the relations between Arab states, or those which reflect the relations of the USSR, China or other parts of the world with the Gulf crisis have not been included, and only occasionally the rest of Western Europe, unless Britain is involved. I take data from all sections of news discourse about the Gulf conflict, which gives rise to a very large corpus. There are several reasons. Firstly, the advantage of using a large corpus is that concrete examples can be found of a correspondingly large range of relevant lexicosyntactic features, giving greater lexicographic accuracy.^{vi} Secondly, and by contrast, single examples, or single contributors, such as editorial comment, do not significantly weight the global result of sampling in any one direction. Only fairly typical patterns are usually noted, not exceptions, though the unusual is what often immediately strikes the eye. Thirdly, it is practically impossible to distinguish linguistically, ideologically or in questions of content between hard news and features, between the latter and opinion sections. They are all a mixture of perspectives, opinion and information, whether about recent facts or background, and a study of the differences between the sections is not the subject of this thesis.^{vii} Fourthly, the use of such a large diverse corpus as the present one enables its conclusions to be to some extent representative of a register, and extendable with greater ease to other quality news outlets, giving it more reliability and relevance for other scholars. One practical disadvantage is the difficulty in compiling statistical evidence, and the other is the large number of quotations that have necessarily to be made, as I have to quote not only from other authors but also widely from the texts that form my primary source.^{viii}

I include the words of journalists, but also of sources quoted by them, for two main reasons.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Firstly, the news discourse of *The Times* gives prominence to a series of official opinions from spokesmen and women, that are repeated frequently enough to be assimilated by the audience. All the utterances in the newspaper take up space on the page, are an opportunity for expressing an opinion, and are meant to be read. Secondly, the voices of journalist and source are often blurred and sometimes inseparable, as is shown in chapter 7. Thus, although the period studied spans seven and a half months and the texts are produced by hundreds of people, there is an ideological unity binding it together which makes it, in a sense, a single discourse or even a single text, with the criteria of cohesion fulfilled. This point is made by Waugh (1995: 146) who justifies the use of many voices in her data, saying that although “indirect speech is not necessarily asserted by the reporter”, in certain data “...it does not make much difference whether we interpret the sentence as the journalist’s report or as indirect speech.” Where I consider it does make a significant difference, I have separated the two. Some texts are a result of teamwork, that is, the War Diaries, Insight and Profile articles, which are anonymous. The date given is that of the publication of the newspaper. An effort is made to limit quotations to the minimum length that will make the message clear, and wherever possible I have tried to limit the number of quotations made to those which illustrate effectively the argument expounded. Thus, in the notes at the end of each chapter I have only included a small proportion of those found in the texts relevant to the study, though those included are indeed numerous.

The period in question was chosen in part for its intensity and newsworthiness. It is a period that is out of the ordinary for a number of reasons. There had been over a decade of Conservative rule in Britain, during which time there was a rise of a particular type of discourse in Britain, sometimes called “the discourse of Thatcherism”. (Phillips, 1996) Although during the period in question Mrs Thatcher lost her job as prime minister, being replaced in November 1990 by Mr John Major, no study of the British press in 1990 and 1991 can ignore the spread of a radically different rhetoric during the eighties, which broke from that which had predominated in the previous decades. The socio-political conditions

Chapter 1 Introduction

would seem to favour a type of news discourse shot through with ideology. The fact that the period under consideration is a period of military conflict also adds peculiar factors to the discourse employed. There are critical journalists who speak of a whitewash of events by the media, siding unashamedly with the allies (eg. Pilger, 1992: 100-129), while Chomsky (1992: 409) claims that: "When the guns are firing, even if it is only in one direction, the media close ranks and become a cheering section for the home team". This bias, if it exists, should be clear enough to demonstrate, given the large corpus chosen.

The boundary has been set historically by the topic, the Gulf crisis, treated in the hard news section of the newspaper. In spite of the fairly long period studied, I consider it to be a synchronic study, in that few linguistically significant changes are observed, though they are commented on where present. This study moves within a spatial, temporal and discursive continuity and cohesion, reflected in a consistent coherence. I have deliberately and consistently avoided the expression "The Gulf War" for three reasons. Firstly, war was never officially declared, secondly, the term "Gulf War" is used in *The Times* in this period with reference to the Iran-Iraq war which had ended a short time before it, and thirdly, many people, for example Chomsky and Baudrillard, refuse to admit that either the invasion of Kuwait or the allied attacks were a war at all, if a "war" is defined as "two armies shooting at each other".^{ix} This conflict has turned into a kind of "news icon" (Bennett and Lawrence, 1995: 22), that is, has become loaded with significance for future events. It occurred very soon after the fall of the Berlin Wall, tested the existence of the New World Order proclaimed afterwards, launched the *CNN* and changed the whole newsgathering and broadcasting process worldwide. I consider that, though years have gone past since the events took place, with the advantage of a historical perspective, this period continues to be relevant to linguists and others. Many, if not most, of the lexicosyntactic phenomena included here have reappeared in subsequent conflicts elsewhere.

To summarize the important newsworthy events of the Gulf conflict, it would only be

Chapter 1 Introduction

necessary to write a few pages, but the kaleidoscope of views, denials, claims, promises, threats, plans, regrets, statements, counterstatements and rumours that make up this large stretch of discourse is far richer than mere information transfer. The corpus we have before us is at times words about actions but more often words about words about words. There are preferred choices and sequences for each occasion, such as whether to write “They attacked the city” or “The city was attacked”, each with their own ideological implications, though the real-world event referred to is the same. So this study is lexicosyntactic, but deals with the implications of those lexicosyntactic choices.

1.4. A Theoretical Framework

Non-verbal signs have been divided into different types, "icons", based on identity or likeness, such as road signs, "indices", such as smoke as a sign of fire, and "symbols", with a merely conventional link. The colour red is a good example of the non-arbitrary social nature of signs. British television news bulletins during the Cold War used maps showing the Communist world as a sea of red, both to convey the meaning of danger, and to treat “them” as a bloc. The countries of the Warsaw Pact were portrayed as a mass, acting like robots, while the Western allies had individuality, and in the "Free World" there were no "satellite" states. There is an ideology involved in the encoding and decoding of signs, images and words. Chilton (1985: 118) cites the example of newspaper cartoons that showed a British bulldog deterring a large Russian bear. The imagery was backed up by the words "stand up to", "resist", "bully", "back down", making a semiotic whole. Even the size of newspapers has an ideological significance, the larger ones in Britain being formal, imposing and authoritative, and the smaller tabloids informal. Semiotics has been defined as "the science of the life of signs in society" (Saussure, 1974) and has become a way to analyse media messages globally, taking in as it does all communication, the boundary between language and non-language becoming increasingly blurred, so that, according to some definitions, the term “language” could include films, architectural forms, and so on. So language is just one of the semiotic systems that make up one’s culture, the exchange of

Chapter 1 Introduction

meanings or “symbolic forms”. There are several acceptable models of the communication process, for example Jakobson’s, reproduced in the Appendix, Figure 2, which includes the six elements of any act of communication. This relatively simple model would be later complicated by Jakobson himself, and by others, such as Hymes (1964).

However, language is unique, and far removed from the more primitive mapping of colours and iconic signs. One of its distinguishing features is that it is clearly observed to be a complex “system”, or at least has been mostly studied as such in the twentieth century.^x Linguistic theory in this century has seen two contrasting approaches to systematizing language, which have been analysed and compared elsewhere in greater detail than will be done here.^{xi} One, sometimes called the “segregationalist” approach, founded by Saussure, continued in the USA by Bloomfield and structuralism, and later by Chomsky and the generativists, has three main characteristics. Firstly, it treats languages as objects of study existing in their own right, abstracting them from society and setting up relational systems of linguistic units (competence) outside their performance in communicative contexts. Secondly, it insists on the arbitrariness of the sign, and thirdly, the approach is typically synchronic, omitting diachronic factors. The alternative “integrational” approach sees language as integrated in social interaction. The former has been variously likened to studying a closed electrical circuit, a car engine when it is turned off, or the anatomy of the human body, the latter to studying an engine turning over or the physiology of the human body. The approaches have also been called “formal” and “functional”.

Without wishing to deny the contributions made by the structuralist and generativist schools, whose ideas often give invaluable insights for lexicosyntactic analysis, Chomsky’s dichotomy between competence and performance, between what a speaker knows and what (s)he does, must be ignored in this study. Language cannot here be considered simply as an abstract, formal or ideal system, where there are ordered rules. Generative grammar works give abundant examples of “unacceptable” utterances, together with words

Chapter 1 Introduction

like “deviant”, “ill-formed”, as opposed to “well-formed”, “prohibited”, “incorrect” and “rules”. The structuralist and segregationalist tradition, for all the differences, Saussure’s “langue” being the common possession of the language community, while Chomsky’s “competence” is the possession of the ideal speaker, based on innate aspects of the mind, both tend to make language an autonomous formal mechanism, whose underlying structure can be described and analysed independently of its use in the creative act of performance. But in the context of discourse, the concept of either traditional grammatical or generativist “rules”, the rights and wrongs of language, may change or even disappear, and any attempt to systematize language must admit exceptions and irregularities.

As regards the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign, Sapir, Whorf and others in an anthropological tradition believed that humans classify nature from an early age along lines laid down by their language, but that the categories that we isolate from phenomena are not individual or arbitrary, but organized and classified according to our social context. This idea was later elaborated on, and may be summed up as the belief that the real world is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group, which predispose us to make certain choices. Different languages, and the same language at different moments of history, possess different vocabularies, and map the world of experience in different ways. Our mental categories are constantly changing through experience, and our linguistic categories can be changed too. The linguistic sign is arbitrary, in the sense of the content being independent from the referent, but grammar is not arbitrary. For example, active / passive alternatives derive from the effect intended, and hence have only the appearance of arbitrariness.^{xii} What we see is limited by where we look and what we focus on, or where we are directed to look by writers and speakers. Language, which is given by society, determines which perceptions are socially shared and plays a vital role in the social construction of reality. We can distinguish between the more neutrally representative “denotational” function of language, and the more emotive “connotational” function. In mainstream news discourse the latter is frequent.^{xiii} Choices of words undoubtedly affect

Chapter 1 Introduction

the receiver's view of the world. Thus, the use of language is to a certain extent a vision of the world, with the media being one of the foremost influences over us as language users, and modern communication and media studies stress this frequently.

In the twentieth century, then, there has been an anthropological and humanistic element in language study, according to which, context-free language, that is, apart from society and culture, is not a legitimate object of linguistic study. However, it is not my purpose here to reject either traditional or generative grammar. Each new approach has contributed something to the stock of knowledge in linguistics which had been ignored by its predecessor, and the approaches are not mutually exclusive. No major linguistic school can be rejected out of hand, and anything found useful is applied in this study, whether it comes from traditional, cognitive, generativist or functional linguistics. For instance, traditional grammar is the fruit of centuries of research, and contains categories that are still widely-used, for example by Quirk (1985), and in the present study. I have also included some cognitive terms, especially when I talk about "reference", "retrievability", "accessibility", "activation" and "reactivation", for example in chapter 4. While generativism may not be acceptable in some ways, it makes a valuable contribution to some areas, such as the relationship between agent and grammatical subject, the semantic roles "agent", "patient", and "instrument" (See 5.4.1.) being widely used and popularized by this school. I have used terms from various sources in the course of this study, without worrying too much about where they came from if they were useful for classifying the data found. Chomsky himself has been perhaps the most distinguished critic of the whole ideological framework of Western media discourse, though his contribution in this area has nothing to do with an application of his linguistic theories as such.^{xiv}

On the other hand, the integrationalist approach is the key to a convincing explanation of certain linguistic phenomena, such as language change. The linguistic system, expressed in terms of its grammar, functions and varies diachronically and locationally as an

Chapter 1 Introduction

expression of human needs to express certain ideas within society, and not vice versa, and this fact is recognized in dictionaries, which often define words differently in each edition, according to their multiplicity of meanings in varied settings. A language is a lexicosyntactic system which can be seen from different points of view, one of which is concerned with the interpersonal social view of language. Grammar can legitimately be put to the service of a functional approach, and many linguistic studies these days combine functional and traditional grammatical terminology.^{xv} Halliday argues that: “the study of discourse... cannot properly be separated from the study of grammar that lies behind it.” Functional grammar is a global linguistic theory, essentially a “natural” grammar, in the sense that “everything in it can be explained, ultimately, by reference to how language is used.” The functional approach to language proceeds “from the outside inwards... interpreting language by reference to its place in the social process.” (Halliday, 1985: xiii, 345; 1978: 4) Early on, functionalists tended to ignore grammatical categories, which have been accommodated within it later on by some, but not all. One reason for this was that functionalism was, from the first, greatly concerned with intuition and connotations, not only the structure and meaning of sentences (syntax and semantics) but with the meaning of utterances, texts and discourse (pragmatics).^{xvi} It has an ideological side, in that it is concerned with the linguistic choices made to represent reality, as no two different syntactic choices, that is, surface structures, have the same pragmatic significance. The two sentences “A dog is barking outside” and “There is a dog barking outside” are grammatically and semantically very similar, but pragmatically may be very different, as are “She gave him the book” and “She gave the book to him”, which each concede a different importance to the impersonal and personal objects.

Although all functionalists have some points of view in common, such as the relative importance of the social and communicative, as against the individual aspects of language, there are differences. Within functional grammar there have been some variations in terminology, the same phenomena being variously described as the “topic”, the “theme” and the “front clausal position”, depending on the writer. There is a growing tendency to

Chapter 1 Introduction

place the verb phrase on scales of transitivity or finiteness, rather than in categories of transitive / intransitive and finite / non-finite, while the noun phrase, and especially the pronoun, is often considered in terms of reference within discourse, rather than within each individual utterance. New terms are becoming common in functional analyses, such as “cohesiveness”, “salience”, “hierarchies”, “scales”, “continua”, “cores”, “squishes” and “prototypes”, more discourse-centred than utterance-centred, along with traditional categories. The reason is that functional terms allow for core solidity in categories, often based on frequency of use, but also marginal fuzziness or graduality. This is a long-term consequence of the descriptive, rather than prescriptive, nature of functionalism.

So, language fulfils a purpose, and the choices made in any discourse type depend on which alternative fulfils that purpose most effectively. This is particularly appropriate in the case of news discourse, where the giving of information *per se* is only one of the many functions it has to carry out. The concept of “context of situation”^{xvii} implies that language comes to life when functioning in some environment, which differs in what is actually taking place, who is taking part and what part the language is playing. These three variables determine the range within which meanings are selected and the forms which are used for their expression. In other words, they determine the “register”, differences in the type of language selected as appropriate to different types of situation. For the purposes of this study, it has been generally found that linguists in the functional school have more to say about discourse than generativists, for example. Indeed, there is a modern school which calls itself “Discourse Functionalism”. The reason is simply that in functionalism, naturally-occurring texts are used, embedded in social interaction. The functionalist school is the only one, to date, which has as central the distinction between denotation and connotation, between form and function. The choice made between active and passive voice (considered in chapter 5), has a certain interest for all linguists, but while for traditional and generativist grammar it may be of marginal concern whether one says “They attacked the city” or “The city was attacked”, for functional grammar it may be central. In the same way,

Chapter 1 Introduction

the fact that journalists increasingly use “the president” to denote one particular president may not concern other linguists as much as functionalists.

Language constructs, rather than represents reality, a point often made by functionalists. What seem random, natural and common sense categories to each culture and generation are in fact specific to a certain place and time, not universal. There exist alternative wordings or phrasings which segment or package experience in different ways. Representation is always from some specific point of view, “not an innocent process but a social practice” (Fowler, 1994: 3555). It inevitably contains ideological elements, just as a photograph is always taken from the point of view of the photographer. Thus, a totally objective view of the world is impossible, as it is always the reflection of our consciousness, which varies from person to person. We could say that there is always reference or denotation, a mapping relation between linguistic terms and entities existing in the real world. In news discourse, the exactness of this reference in representation is varied. Language can represent, but also distort, make strange, hide, omit, select and defamiliarize reality or realities.

The functionalist approach is often called a “philosophy”, “orientation” or “attitude” towards naturally occurring language, rather than an alternative system. It considers language as a social activity whose structures serve communicative functions, where meaning depends on context, and where categories are blurred and allow for continua and overlapping. Functionalism and traditional grammar are not mutually exclusive, as the latter allows functionalists to record their intuitions and observations, mapping them onto ordered categories, but functionalism is especially relevant as a theory with reference to discourse at supraclausal level, rather than considering utterances in isolation. It does have one drawback, which is that it does tend to be very much centred specifically on English and ignore other languages. Whereas, in generative grammar, references to other languages abound, this tends not to be so in functional grammar, which was born and bred in English-

Chapter 1 Introduction

speaking countries. There may exist the danger of a new world linguistic order based on English, which does have its own peculiar characteristics not shared by all other languages.^{xviii}

1.5. Texts, Discourse and Discourse Analysis

The present study is about texts. The word "text" comes from a Latin word meaning "something woven together", like "tejido" in Spanish. Etymologically, text is related to textile, and linguists have related the two words: "Texts are not internally homogeneous entities, but entities which draw on many sources....They are comprised of more than one semiotic system interwoven" (Graddol and Boyd-Bennett, 1994: 18), and are "a verbal record of a communicative act." (Brown and Yule, 1983: 6) What a "text" is, abstractly speaking, is not so easy to define as individual texts. Texts must have an element of cohesion and coherence about them, with formal markers relating what comes before to what follows, and a coherent text is usually the target aimed at by language users.

Written texts lack resources that oral ones have, such as intonation, but have others that oral texts lack, such as type, images, columns and pages. Most written texts are at the same time institutional products and commodities, which means that they enter a market for acceptance or rejection by the buyer / reader, and depend on technology to some extent. Texts are a product of a variety of "languages", or semiotic conventions. For example, a newspaper uses words, typographical and layout conventions, photographs, statistics, headlines, juxtaposition of articles, and so on. Thus, it is practically impossible for a single text, especially a news text, to speak with one voice. Apart from the many people who are involved in its production, it relies on a reader's experience of other texts and cannot be interpreted in isolation, but at semantic, sociological and psychological levels. In its most general significance "a text is a sociological event, a semiotic encounter through which the meanings that constitute the social system are exchanged". (Halliday, 1978: 139) A collection of news texts gathered together in an orderly, structured way is news

Chapter 1 Introduction

discourse, for the purpose of this study.

Discourse, in its non-specialist use, means the message, for example in “the discourse of neoliberalism”, but in linguistics it has been defined as: “... language in use a way of ordering categories of thought and knowledge... connected speech or writing occurring at supra-sentential levels. A focus on discourse entails a shift in linguistics away from competence and the *langue*, or the language system, and towards performance and *paroles*, or actual speech events.” (McHoul, 1994: 940) It is thus closely linked to the concept of a text, as both possess features of internal connection and cohesion. There are almost as many definitions of discourse as there are linguists, but discourse analysis is usually nowadays associated with applied linguistics and pragmatics, with connected texts rather than individual sentences, taking into account the contexts of language in use, realized in naturally-occurring data such as newspaper reports.

Discourse analysis also considers the receiver as part of the context, keeping in mind recall and comprehension, attention and selection of reading matter. (Brown and Yule, 1983: 116f) The receiver coordinates the knowledge and incorporates it into his / her own personal mental “encyclopedia”. Even a simple proposition can be interpreted in various different ways. Readers should ideally “construct” a text from the point of view of other characters, too, not only the ones chosen to speak to them. This would show them that there are more ways than one of reporting facts. As will be seen later, in the case of the passive voice, nominalization and some lexical choices, this would certainly be a healthy exercise in the case of the Gulf crisis. Alcaraz (1990: 111) stresses the incipient nature of discourse analysis, and the consequent lack of a thoroughgoing formalized terminology corresponding to it, due to its being historically recent, having developed during the last thirty years of the twentieth century, together with anthropology, conversational analysis, the social and cultural context of discourse, pragmatics and sometimes Marxism. The growth of the functional approach to discourse has had an influence which is beginning to

Chapter 1 Introduction

be felt.

1.6. News Discourse and News Discourse Analysis

News language is practically unavoidable for people to-day in Western society. The figures who feature in the media become common points of reference for millions of people, forming a common experience and a collective memory. Many people hear far more language from the media on a daily basis than they do from those by whom they are immediately surrounded. Millions of words are produced in the form of news texts every day by countless local, national and international outlets. News discourse analysis is both facilitated and complicated by the immense amount of raw material available. The average quality newspaper contains one hundred thousand words or more (Bell, 1991: 3), so that the problem for any media student is not that of getting hold of printed media text from the quality press but of restricting his / her choice.

News texts have some features that distinguish them from other registers. They are divided into paragraphs, shorter than those of a novel, and changing rather due to the whims of those editing them than to topic shift. News discourse is the register that introduces new information most frequently, has few contractions compared with speech and most other registers, and has most distance between the anaphoric noun or pronoun and its referent. News events can be broken down into three aspects, construction and production, transmission or diffusion, and the reception of media messages.^{xix} These messages are received by individuals, and groups of individuals, who are situated within specific social-historical circumstances, and who make sense of the messages received and incorporate them into their everyday lives. The ostensible purpose of a news text is to convey information from journalists who have it to readers who do not. This information is supposed to be made up of facts about the outside world. The informative text is a public document and should be made up of subjects which have interest for the public at large, who choose to pay attention according to the sections the news text is divided into.

Chapter 1 Introduction

News copy can be divided into three broad categories, that is, service information, opinion and news. Service information consists of lists, that is, sports results, television programmes, share prices and weather forecasts. Opinion copy includes editorials, here called “leading articles”, usually appearing under the newspaper's masthead, columns written by regular contributors, letters to the editor, and opinion articles by invited writers. By journalistic tradition, opinion and actual news reporting are supposed to be kept physically separate. Press news itself can be divided into four categories, that is, first, hard news, second, feature articles, third, special topic news, such as sport, business or computers, and lastly, headlines, subheadings and photo captions. (Bell, 1991: 13f)

News stories have been analysed in different ways,^{xx} but have the following three characteristics. Firstly, a news story is structured in a different way from most other texts, in that it begins with the main event, so there is no lead-up and, consequently, no suspense. Secondly, it is chronologically chaotic, with the writer jumping from the present to the past to the future, back to the present, and so on. Thirdly, the characteristics have ideological content, front-positioning imposing on the reader a presupposed order of importance and thereby influencing the interpretation of what follows. The main character is foregrounded, making whatever happens to him / her important to the discourse, for better or for worse. Any labelling that takes place at the very beginning of an event means that in effect that person is compartmentalized, as is seen in chapter 4.

The word “ideology” has been used several times already. The notion has undergone numerous changes since it first appeared in France in the late eighteenth century. “An ideology expresses itself through a variety of key terms which take us beyond the text to an established set of precepts.” (Barthes, 1970, quoted in Hatim and Mason, 1990: 68) So an ideology establishes a series of presuppositions. Nowadays, to characterize a view as ideological is implicitly to criticize it, as it seems to convey a negative sense of dogmatism,

Chapter 1 Introduction

the tendency to think in terms of "-isms" such as Communism or Nazism, instead of people or reality. Ideology, therefore, is usually attributed to others.

However, news discourse, like all messages in the media and elsewhere, is ideological, concentrating on some aspects and ignoring others. The idea of "the end of ideologies", that everyone nowadays should be "pragmatic", stemmed from the decline of Communism during the nineteen eighties, but ideologies are as alive as ever, and the word need not be used negatively. Inasmuch as ideology has to do with ideas, it is perfectly acceptable, and indeed inevitable, to have an ideology. Language choices inevitably modify our experience of reality, and the language of news in *The Times* is no exception. Foucault (1971) saw all discourse as being hedged about with constraints, and claimed that discourses are associated with closed groups, which he called "fellowships of discourse", defined ideologically, which exist inasmuch as the reader can access texts, not simply understand the words on the page, and exclude others from them. Other writers coincide that discourse and ideology are inextricable, and that in order for any discourse analysis, including literary analysis, to have any ultimate aim, there must necessarily be ideology involved, as knowledge "for its own sake" is meaningless, and either supports the dominant status quo or opposes it. Studies of language, according to this critical point of view, cannot be carried out in a vacuum, but should lead linguists to see that there are alternative ways of expressing, constructing and deconstructing "reality".^{xxi}

All communication makes sense of the world through selected terminology and categories, while ignoring alternative terminology. Mainstream news reproduces mainstream ideological discourses, which is not to say that there is a conspiracy in which the mass media are actively involved. It is true, however, that the media tend to avoid what goes against commonly accepted assumptions. The media make contemporary events intelligible to some hypothetical "implied reader" in a system of modern "mythologies" that make sense of reality, encoding a given social meaning given to that reality.^{xxii} The media

Chapter 1 Introduction

work within an ideological framework, a set of “givens”, seldom debated. “News” is not really a synonym of “information”. The latter is something we consciously look for, and includes sections of the media message not usually considered “news”, such as announcements of times and prices. Whose responsibility it is that the items that make up the news are arranged and selected in the way they are, into some kind of socially accepted pattern, what criteria are used, and what determines the way it has developed, are all ideological questions, which are dealt with in chapters 2 and 3.

The news is produced and distributed through mass media organizations. The word “medium” implies someone who acts as a source, another as a mediator, and another who receives, while the word “mass” implies something that is cheaply produced and bought, widely available and usually of poor quality, so “mass media” has negative connotations of mass-produced information, though “mass” can be interpreted as referring more to the availability of the product than to the circulation figures counting consumers, and implies the sharing of media products by a global community of spectators. The process of news diffusion is one of the few speaking to the many, a fact which is in itself of ideological interest. All of the elements in the news production process present a series of choices, so journalism is without doubt an ideological process, even though the dictionary definition is usually something like “Gathering, writing and publishing or disseminating news”.^{xxiii} In receiving mass-media messages, individuals employ conventions of various kinds which enable them to decode, interpret and make sense of the messages.

News discourse analysis can be carried out from various points of view, that are not in principle mutually exclusive. An approach described by different writers as “multidisciplinary”, “integrated”, “whole” or “patchwork” has been accepted by many linguists as valid, involving anthropology, sociology, psychology, cognitive and neuro-linguistics, and even literary criticism.^{xxiv} There are many factors which could be relevant in principle, such as “motivation, interests, knowledge, schemes and scripts.... both

Chapter 1 Introduction

psychological and sociological factors are extremely relevant to the process of discourse comprehension.... relevant factors to which the individual listener is subjected (interest, motives, listening habits, education, prior knowledge, social class, etc).” (Wodak, 1987: 377, 383) A “patchwork” account of discourse analysis is thus felt by some to be not only inevitable but positive, leading to a freshness and *ad hoc* character missing from some other types of linguistic analysis, being “speaker oriented” rather than “system oriented”, and being about “language in use.... in its social embedding” (Milroy, 1992b: 357). A news text can certainly not be studied without including sociolinguistic factors, which are often “read”, as it were, between the lines.

So news discourse analysis is by no means a closed book, and a great variety of disciplines can be used, as both surface and underlying elements are open to critical analysis.^{xxv} Indeed, the attraction of news discourse lies partly in its variety. There are two main schools of thought in its study. There are those who consider that ideologically, news discourse is more or less “one-way traffic”. That is, either the news institutions and processes involved in news production or the economic, military and political establishment from outside that process actively and intentionally influence the ideology passed on to the receiver. The receiver, according to this school of thought, is a more or less passive element, having a limited choice of information, routinely following well-beaten paths set out in a pre-established agenda. The message, largely uncontested, is a closed one, favouring the status quo, bounded by the limits established by the interests of those producing or paying for it. This way of thinking is sometimes called a “Top Down” approach and is one adopted, for example, by exponents of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This school, which in Britain grew out of Critical Language Study (CLS), tends to be sociolinguistic and often has Marxist leanings, dividing society as it does into dominant and dominated, rulers and ruled. It grew up as a critical reaction to the mainstream media messages of the nineteen seventies and eighties. The same names as crop up in CDA are frequently those that occur in any list of eminent functionalists, Hodge, Kress, Fairclough, Fowler, and Van

Chapter 1 Introduction

Dijk, among others. This is no accident of history, and both coincide in many insights. This line of thought is especially pertinent to the present study, as it pays special attention to relations of power, and the importance of ideology in discourse.

The argument of this school is that elites have “discursive strategies for the maintenance of inequality” (Van Dijk, 1985: 252), and CDA has the ultimate task of challenging that inequality, to contribute to a critical framework in which both discourse and sociopolitical analyses are integrated. Unlike other discourse analysts, Critical Discourse Analysis takes an explicit ideological stance, is multidisciplinary, and explains, or claims to, the intricate relationships between text, power, society and culture. Ultimately its success or failure is measured by its contribution to change. CDA is, or pretends to be, an activity not only for scholars, but for ordinary readers to practise, deconstructing the news process and the comfortable attitudes encouraged by the media itself. It is a political project, with the aim of altering the distribution of economic and cultural goods and of unsettling the existing order. It has a definite social function, and is critical of scholars who do not share its point of view, saying, for example, that they “cynically” and directly collude with dominance, by their support and legitimation of Western, middle-class, white, male, heterosexual power elites, or words to that effect.^{xxvi} This school says that there is something missing from discourse analysis if it is not socially oriented.

Other discourse analysts do not rule out ideological elements, especially in times of war, but say there are many other factors that mitigate the “Top Down” nature of news processes. They point out the active nature of the receiver of media texts, stressed in “Reception Theory” or “Reader Response Theory”, also called the “Bottom Up” approach, the complex nature of audiences, the professionalism of those producing media texts, and the balanced nature of information provided by media outlets in a democratic and free-market economy. They would argue that the reader of a newspaper sets his or her own agenda, that there is freedom of expression in Western democracies and that media texts

Chapter 1 Introduction

are a battleground of conflicting interests, shifting ideologically from one position to another over time. They would say that the producer of a text must necessarily tailor his or her message to the audience, being sensitive to those it is directed to, that the consumer rules, and that the source must accommodate to the reader, not vice versa.

Although all discourse analysis sets out to be, and should be, “critical” in the positive sense of the word, the term cannot be kidnapped, as it were, by one school. Hammersley (1997) criticizes the “intolerance” of proponents of CDA, saying that the Critical school springs from a discredited Marxism. Those who have not wholly embraced CDA claim that capitalism is not the only phenomenon to blame for the tendency of human beings to try to control others. The sweeping compartmentalizing carried out by CDA may be rejected, as well as its generalizations and its overambitious claims for possession of the whole truth. The position of several of the advocates of this position, such as Fairclough (1996: 50f) have altered and moderated lately, along with the media themselves. Some of the main tenets of CDA are justifiable, for example that language is only analysable in a social context, that the individual is often at the mercy of large impersonal organizations, and that research should reveal ideologies hidden behind media messages. Others are more arguable, such as the belief that things are going from bad to worse, that a critical approach leads us to an understanding of how society ought to be apart from how it is, and that changes in critical approaches will help to eliminate oppression and make the world a better place. I have found three drawbacks in CDA. The first is that it has tended not to be linguistically rigorous and detailed enough, but has been limited to a kind of running commentary on politicians’ speeches, with two pages of political commentary, usually directed against the “discourse of neoliberalism” to every one page of linguistic analysis. The second is that it has been too politically biased. I have only seen criticism of conservative politicians, though presumably there are others whose discourse could also be taken apart. Thirdly, the most arguable point in CDA from my point of view is its insistence on the intentionality of media ideology. The fact that one finds ideology hidden in

Chapter 1 Introduction

a message is not enough to claim that there is a conspiracy against the truth, firstly because journalists are probably not conscious of the manipulative nature of all they write, and whether they choose to call people “terrorists”, “guerrillas”, “rebels” or “insurgents” may not be because they are favourable or unfavourable to them but simply because that is the word their source provides them with. It is one thing to claim that writers manage their discourse, as everybody does, but another to claim that they manipulate it. Secondly, to place some topic first in a sentence is not necessarily to discriminate others. Sometimes the passive voice and nominalization are options chosen for non-ideological reasons, just as to choose red first in a list of colours is not to discriminate against the others. The intention of writers is often to create an atmosphere of cooperation, synthesis and consensus, just as happens in everyday conversation, and many contributors simply write in the way journalistic tradition lays down.

1.7. Methodology

My study is divided into chapters according to a series of macrocategories. On the level of lexical items it mainly deals with personal pronouns, nouns and adjectives, and is divided into two parts, that is, identification and classification. On a syntactic level it is divided into agency and modality, and on a lexicosyntactic and supraclausal discursive level, into reporting devices and the actual narration of the story line itself. The grammatical system is one way of classifying the linguistic constituents of the discursive whole, and there seemed to me to be no need to substitute it by any others, though new terms are constantly being incorporated and discarded by linguists with the passage of time. There is a need for some sort of categorization system behind any analysis of texts. The danger is that any patchwork sociolinguistic discourse analysis such as those referred to above (1.6.), may not see the wood for the trees, and there exists the problem of relating one set of findings with another, without ending up with pseudo-sociological, -political or -linguistic running commentary on a text.^{xxvii} Without discarding a wholly sociolinguistic approach, it is some of the individual lexicosyntactic elements which make up the texts that are studied here,

Chapter 1 Introduction

showing their function within the discourse. The study has not been called “morphosyntactic”, although morphological changes, for instance in nominalization, are an important element in this study, and also the root word is often the title of a section which also considers its derivatives, but only the morpheme “anti-” has been studied in isolation.

The large corpus I have chosen has provided me with a large empirical database based on my primary source. My analyses are based on authentic, naturally-occurring structures in news texts, so that conclusions are not based on intuition or personal insights alone, though my own observations of media texts, and my own intuitions about them, aided by background reading, are the starting point of each discovery. The second step is the use of the computer as an investigational tool, thus incorporating human and automatic factors, as there has to be a searching, selecting and sampling process of some sort, especially when the corpus chosen is as large as the present one. Whatever linguistic theory is chosen, I would contend that linguistic research, like research in any scientific field, needs to be empirical to some extent, and the fastest and most reliable way to find all the relevant data that interest the researcher, in a systematic and transparent manner, as far as I know, is to use a computer, thereby speeding up the process of comparing structures and vocabulary, and often drawing attention to meanings of the word that would otherwise have escaped me if intuition were my only tool.^{xxviii}

I do not calculate numbers and percentages of occurrences unless I feel it necessary, in order to back up my arguments. I consider that quantitative data are not always relevant to the truth or otherwise of a linguistic assertion, as I do not pretend to make absolute statements on the basis of what is, after all, a corpus of my own selection, but do claim to indicate representative, consistent and illustrative patterns, distinguishing when these patterns are strong, weak or non-existent.^{xxix} The occurrence of some phenomenon on a few occasions, or even only one, if it does not jar with the coherence of the news discourse that makes up its context, is indicative of some sort of correlation between form and

Chapter 1 Introduction

function, and may be enough to indicate the presence of some ideologically significant element. For example, if the word “butcher” is used in the corpus on one hundred occasions to refer to real-life butchers, and five to refer to the “Butcher of Baghdad”, these latter references are still worthy of mention. Had the word “butcher” been used for a figure on the allied side, that would have been taken into consideration as a counterexample, or irregularity, and where lexical items or syntactic constructions are used for both sides, this is made clear and, when deemed necessary, is quantified and remarked on.

So, the general pattern of my research, which I consider to be a scientifically sound methodology, is that firstly, I observe a lexicosyntactic phenomenon which I consider significant. Without this first intuitive step there would be no research. Secondly, I describe its appearance, giving the author as well as the original source, if the latter is different, and at times count its occurrences within the primary source texts, making comparisons, whenever they have been found, with other studies. Thirdly, I make my interpretation of the data found, coming to one conclusion or more, which are included within the chapter concerned. All these conclusions are summed up in chapter 8. Language researchers are still strong enough to have original insights, within a field they themselves define, as against purely computational results. It is unnecessary to be an expert in computational linguistics to analyse a text thoroughly, and the computer cannot replace the linguist, but it provides one more tool to supplement an array of them. In modern linguistics, there is fortunately a healthy diversity of terminology, theories and methods, and, possibly most importantly, a move away from prescriptiveness.

1.8. Other Similar Studies

I owe a debt to many other studies that have contributed to my own knowledge. For insights into different currents in linguistics, and on the non-representational nature of much of language, I have found great value in the works of Alcaraz Varó (1990), M.A.K. Halliday (1978, 1985), Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress (1979, 1988) and Talmy Givón (1993, 1995), among others. The notes at the end of each chapter give a fuller list of works

Chapter 1 Introduction

consulted in the case of each specific aspect of the discourse.

There are works on the language of news discourse that have been extremely valuable. Alan Bell (1991) uses his own experience as a practising journalist as a basis for a critique of the newsmaking process. Other studies specifically about media coverage of the Gulf conflict, for example, Mowlana (1992), Kellner (1992) and numerous articles listed in the bibliography, have also been very useful as a starting point for my analysis. Noam Chomsky's works on "world orders" (1992, 1994) delve deeply into the hidden world behind the newsmakers, and he offers valuable insights into the meanings and misuse of many words, but his works, though they include the Gulf conflict, deal with several issues apart from this one. Roger Fowler's work, especially *Language in the News* (1991) deals more with detailed lexicosyntactic phenomena within the British press than the abovementioned works, and has been of enormous help. Other works provide contrasting word lists which have been valuable, especially those books and articles that deal with the division of humanity into blocs through lexical choices, by Hartley (1982), Chilton (1985) and Campos (1997).

There is no shortage of studies of the quality press similar in some ways to the present one, though many of them are comparative and nearly all use corpuses smaller than the present one. Unanimously, they find that the quality press shows similar stylistic and ideological characteristics worldwide. Research carried out by Almeida (1991) on front page reports, carried out over a two week period, found that there were no appreciable differences between front pages and others in questions of style. As in the present study, she included in her corpus photo captions and headlines, but not tables of contents or announcements. In another work she found how on many important points there is relatively little difference between different newspapers. Her study included five quality newspapers, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Buffalo News*, and *The Centre Daily Times*.^{xxx} Her findings echo those of Van Dijk (1985)

Chapter 1 Introduction

who also found a surprising similarity among quality newspapers. Three years later, Van Dijk, in his comparative study of newspaper coverage given internationally to the assassination of President Gemayel in the Lebanon, concluded that, apart from minor stylistic and lexical choices made at local level, there are few differences, even between *The New York Times* and the Cuban *Granma*. His work is geographically widely flung, involving many countries, but chronologically limited to one day. Wang (1993) in his comparison of *The New York Times* and the Chinese newspaper *Renmin Ribao* used just two newspapers, over a much shorter timespan than the present study. He included both qualitative (general discourse) and quantitative (content) analysis, making a frequency analysis of the total number of news items about a topic, the number of news sources, of editorials and opinion columns. Another piece of research (Wolfsfeld, 1997) took as a sample just fifty days of news articles and only the first three pages of two Israeli newspapers, *Yediot Achronot* and *Ha'aretz*, while Linda Waugh (1995: 131) studied *Le Monde* over five years but with a close reading of just one day's issue. Lehrer (1989) used a sample of thirty-two articles written by many different reporters.

1.9. The Place of this Study

The present study is an attempt to take into account, and comment on, the sociolinguistic backdrop to the Gulf crisis, as well as the lexicosyntactic content of a large corpus containing the reported utterances of forces personnel, Iraqis, Israelis, politicians and their advisers, spokesmen, and also the reactions of readers of *The Times* through their letters, as well as editorial comment and the writings of reporters and journalists at home and abroad, individually and in teams. It aims to fill a gap in news discourse studies, a field that is both new and fast-moving. It is an attempt to make a coherent approach, based on a large slice of news discourse related to a crucial episode in modern history, whose ripples are still being felt at the time of writing.

This study is an ideological one, in the sense that it concerns the ideology present at all

Chapter 1

Introduction

levels of the news production, transmission and reception processes. However, I attempt not to be “ideological”, in the sense that I try to avoid the temptation to make the data fit my own pre-conceived ideas. I select what to look for, but then accept evidence based on the results the search produces. The ideas contained in this study are often based on contact with other people’s, but I believe it to be original in its scope, depth and detail.

Chapter 1 Introduction

NOTES

- i. By “journalists” is meant all those involved in the production of news texts.
- ii. “Hard news” is news which refers to events that have happened between the last edition of the newspaper and the present one.
- iii. Thompson, 1990: 199; Curran, 1996: 19f.
- iv. I am supported in this affirmation by Campos (1997, p187).
- v. “Foreign news” includes, firstly, that relating to one’s own country in relation with others, then that relating to relations between two or more countries other than one’s own, and events happening within a foreign country. (Van Dijk, 1988a: 52)
- vi. Biber et al, 1998: 249
- vii. Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1994: 182) show how newspaper discourse is remarkably similar across sections, being consistently more informational than involved. A letter written to a newspaper is more linguistically similar to a news item, according to dimensions of involvement and abstraction, than it is to a personal letter, and the differences between newspaper editorials and reportage on the same scales are minimal.
- viii. Quotations from *The Times* are given with the name of the journalist whose name appears at the top of the article, where available, and if quotations are from third parties this fact is acknowledged. They are placed within inverted commas in the main body of the text, but for the sake of convenience, and to save space, I have not placed them within inverted commas in the notes. Inverted commas in the endnotes are reserved for headlines and quotes from third parties.
- ix. Chomsky, 1994: 409f. Jean Baudrillard (1995) *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place* Indiana, Indiana University Press.
- x. According to Trask (1993), de Saussure was the first to apply the word “system” to language, and before him, linguists had had a more atomistic approach.
- xi. Alcaraz Varó, 1990, chapters 4-8.
- xii. Halliday, 1978; Hodge and Kress, 1988: 206.
- xiii. Hartley, 1982: 27

Chapter 1 Introduction

xiv. Van Dijk, 1997a: 211.

xv. For example Downing (1992) and Givón (1993) point out the emergent and thus confusing nature of functional categories.

xvi. Generative grammar ignored utterances and concentrated on sentences, as the former were considered as “crude reflections at best of an underlying linguistic reality”. (Trask, 1993: 295) The word “underlying” suggests an idealized system of competence.

xvii. Malinowski, 1923, subsequently elaborated by Firth (1950)

xviii. Halliday, 1994: xxxi ff warns of this danger, and likens the dominant situation of world English to that of Latin many years ago.

xix. Thompson, 1990: 304f

xx. For example, van Dijk (1985: 86) and Zelizer (1989: 369)

xxi. Fowler, 1979: 3; Cook, 1994: 966; Burton, 1982: 200.

xxii. Althusser, 1971; Hartley, 1982: 57; Connell and Mills, 1985; Golding and Murdock, 1977: 37-8.

xxiii. *Webster's New World Dictionary*, 1982.

xxiv. Givón, 1993, McHoul, 1994: 981; Van de Velde, 1981: 386 and Hall (1982), respectively, defend these positions.

xxv. Davis, 1985: 45; Bell, 1991: 5; Van Dijk, 1985: 5.

xxvi. For example Van Dijk, 1997b; Kress, 1990: 15; Chilton, 1990: 222.

xxvii. Halliday, 1985: xvii; Roeh, 1982: 1ff and Giles, 1992: 363 warn of this danger.

xxviii. Stubbs (1994: 204): “Computer assistance means that exhaustive and objective searches may be possible for examples of a feature.” Francis and Sinclair (1994), Tomlin (in Van Dijk, 1997b: 100ff) and Biber et al, 1998: 4, defend computer sampling mainly on the grounds of reliability and consistency.

xxix. As does Givón, 1995: 20.

Chapter 1 Introduction

xxx. Almeida 1992: 256.

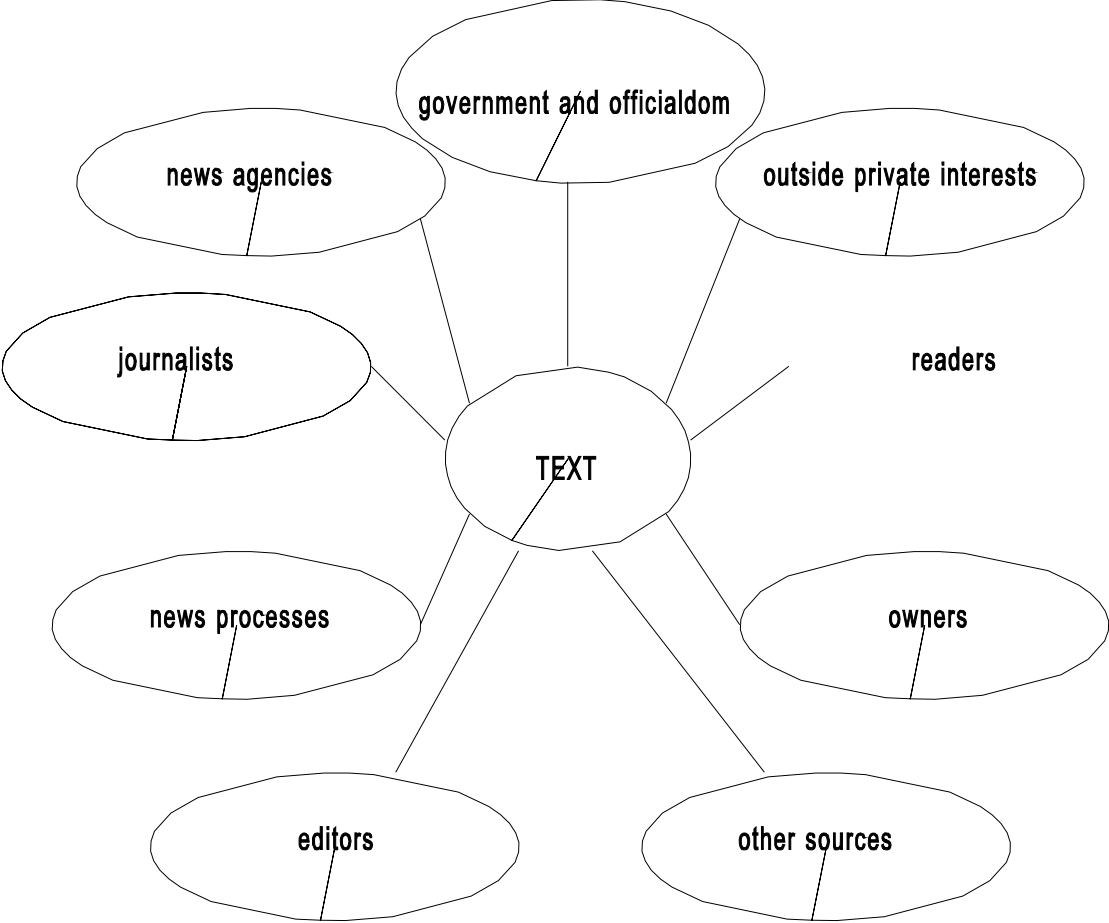
2.1. Introduction

It has been seen in the previous chapter (1.4.) that language is an important part of communication, but it has also been suggested that it is different from other forms in its complexity. It was argued that messages are often not designed primarily to represent reality, but are shot through with ideological elements (1.5.). No act of human communication can therefore be represented simply. The communicative act in media messages cannot be shown diagrammatically as a simple linear relation:

Sender (Journalist)-----Discourse (Text)-----Receiver (Reader)

Jakobson's model already referred to (Appendix, Figure 2) is itself more complicated, though it is simpler than that which is necessary in the present study. This chapter is an analysis of the many communicative elements involved in media texts, all of which, including the receiver, have some effect on the final product. The picture that I suggest is logically a more detailed one than either of those mentioned, as I am speaking specifically of media texts, and has been suggested to me by my own research, though there are similar attempts at diagrammatical representation elsewhere.ⁱ Each outlet and each text contain different influences in their production. The following diagram can only be understood with several provisos. Firstly, it does not pretend to be exhaustive, secondly, some media texts may include some elements more than others, thirdly, the situation of the media is in a constant state of flux, and lastly, the text is not an object but also an instrument that interacts, that affects, in turn, the factors working to influence it. I would propose that the main ideologically significant elements within the context that influences the news text are the following:

Diagram 1: Influences on News Texts



It is these elements that are the subject of this chapter. An utterance in isolation is hard to understand without its communicative context, which defines the frames of reference established in the discourse as a whole. This chapter is a definition of that context, which gives the discourse a skeleton of coherence, on which is built the flesh of the lexicosyntactic elements, or, to use another metaphor, it describes the series of sieves through which perceptions have to pass before the text finally impinges on the reader.

2.2. External Factors

2.2.1. Government and Officialdom

All over the world, governments try to influence the media, and this fact is taken for granted in most countries. Government sources are often privileged, simply because they are the only ones who know about the subject, especially in time of conflict (Wolfsfeld, 1997: 36) There is no regular mechanism, in most countries, for capturing the views of "members of the public", so established officialdom, which has the resources to pay for publicity, speechwriters and public relations, is overfavoured. Sources for newspaper stories include interviews, public addresses and press conferences, written summaries of spoken addresses and press releases, reports and surveys. These mostly come from official

routine sources, such as parliament, the police, the armed forces, government departments, companies, political parties, prominent people and trade unions, while non-government organizations, pressure groups, charities and members of the general public come in a very poor second.ⁱⁱ Journalists like prefabricated written sources in an appropriate news style. If a reporter has to make a great effort to make alternative news the likelihood is that he will not do so, and thus press releases, news agency copy and prior news are more widely used. By the time material produced by independent experts is available, crises like the one in the Gulf are over.

There is even more dependence on official voices in foreign than in domestic affairs.ⁱⁱⁱ Officials are usually anything but impartial or objective because of their position, but the journalist is looking for authoritative sources to justify himself in the public eye. The “beat” or “pack” system, where all the journalists go to the same press conferences and events, and even more the “pooling” system in the Gulf, links journalists emotionally to officials, with whom they are practically on first name terms, and those that have the best relationship with them usually ask the questions. Journalists follow a “trail of power”, so news is usually what an authoritative source tells them.^{iv} News media and politicians tend to share the same ideas about the ranking in importance of the various events going on in the world. In 1990 there was a media blitz and a lot was made known about Iraq, but it then dropped out of public attention. The press is not a mere mouthpiece of the government, but it coincides considerably with government views unless the crisis is prolonged or there are setbacks for “us”.^v

In my opinion, there is considerable press independence of Western governments. In Britain, no newspaper is government subsidized. Some critical studies have talked of a conscious manufacturing of consent by the powerful, but to argue today that access to the truth about current affairs in the West is in some way controlled from above is surely to exaggerate. The media do not show their audiences just one standard view of things.^{vi} There can be huge differences in ideology between news outlets, with a real war of

terminology. The system is more neutral than a state-controlled one, where censorship is rife, and, despite the soaring cost, there is still freedom in the West to publish a fresh newspaper, if one can get backing and a readership. If media rely solely on public financing then they lose their independence, and there are many examples where this is so, in China and the ex-USSR, for example. The British press has about one thousand eight hundred titles, including local daily and weekly newspapers, despite the fall in the number of outlets this century, so people in Britain have access to many outlets, and more choice can mean more freedom of choice.

Governments can only control the media when they control the political situation, not vice-versa, and a lack of public consensus on any issue provides the press with alternative opposition voices. In fact government leaders often complain about the role of the press, showing they do not feel in control of the situation, despite their privileged access, which can itself be an advantage, but at other times can be disastrous for them. There are many times when they would prefer not to have the media around at all. In Vietnam the US administration lost control of the war and then the press, while, in contrast, in 1990 the allies were so dominant of the situation that they decided when the war would begin and end, and could plan their publicity campaign accordingly. Journalists in Vietnam had access to greater areas and thus had greater independence than in the Gulf, but consensus increased during the latter while it decreased during the Vietnam war, simply because in the Gulf, “we” were always winning, so opposition was always a minority. (Wolfsfeld, 1997: 37-46)

Many argue that the media have less political ties than previously. During the period under consideration, the government was favoured by Rupert Murdoch’s news outlets, but there is no evidence that this was achieved directly by pressure being applied, and his journalists would often criticize what they saw to be wrong. They would generally not whitewash what politicians did wrong, and interviewed people from all sides, as we see in the period under consideration, even if criticism of official policy was muted.

2.2.2. Outside Private Interests: Advertising

Of more concern, perhaps, is the issue of outside private interests. Newspapers are profitable mainly because of advertising, which makes them susceptible to market forces, depending on the size and profile of their readership. Sometimes well over half of newspaper space is given to advertising, with obvious ideological implications, and newspapers get seventy-five per cent of their revenues from advertisements (Bagdikian, 1992: 111,187; Sorlin, 1994: 26) Newspapers publicly boast of their audience size,^{vii} but when they negotiate with potential advertisers, they do not present simple numbers but show the characteristics of their audience. Some people are more valuable than others because of their income.

The advertiser exerts an influence, latent or patent, on media opinion.^{viii} Dependence on advertising revenue may be a constraint on what a newspaper can say, though it must be said that if a newspaper sells, whatever it says, companies will advertise. One of these influences has been that there is less hard news and more “infotainment” and “fluff”, grey areas which are often hidden advertising. Since 1991 these changes have accelerated, as shown in more attractive newspaper layout, changes which are not necessarily made in response to what readers want. Many serious surveys indicate that readers want more hard news, but serious articles are not always the best support for advertisements. Thus, content may be influenced by commercial advertising, which has political overtones. Advertising is said to be a factor that swings news organizations to support right-wing parties in nearly all countries. (Patterson and Donsbach, 1996: 465) The media are often not neutral agents selling space, but instruments by which major corporations maintain their economic and political power. This raises the question of whether the media are capable of being neutral when they have become part of one of the forces that make up society.

Parallel to the growth of mass advertising after 1945, newspaper editorials themselves became less radical as they were afraid they might frighten away their larger customers.

Earlier on, newspapers were more accountable to their readers simply because papers depended for their revenue on sales, so they tried to meet the readers' interests more, but social forces changed, so the press automatically changed with them. The British mainstream press did not criticize the capitalist system in the eighties and early nineties any more than the Soviet press did Communism.

2.3. News Institutions

The production of news involves the business institutions, with the news agencies and news conglomerations, to one of which *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* belong, and on the other hand the internal organization of the press, editors, copy editors and professional journalists. The editor is the place where these two kinds of institution meet. Both parts of the news process will be looked at here.

2.3.1. News Agencies

During both World Wars the countries that had news agencies, also known as “press agencies”, “wire services”, or “news services”, gained enormous advantage from their dominance of international information. The “Big Four” are *Reuters* in the United Kingdom, *Associated Press (AP)* and *United Press International (UPI)* in the United States, and *Agence France Presse (AFP)* in France, and besides there are regional ones, such as the *Caribbean News Agency*,^{ix} and national ones like *Efe* in Spain. The four major news agencies, plus the national ones, especially the Iraqi and Iranian ones, are often used as sources by *The Times* journalists during the Gulf crisis, as well as having their own correspondents in the press pool. The news agencies are not necessarily independent bodies, *France-Presse* being financially backed by the French government.

Newspapers often depend on news agencies as their main source. These have a voice in deciding what is worth knowing internationally, and even nationally. The combined outputs of the “Big Four” in 1991 were estimated at thirty three million words, about two thousand

five hundred stories a day.^x Most spot news comes from them, though this is not so much the case of *The Times*, which can afford correspondents located in several news centres, predominantly in the Western countries of North America and Europe, but the production of news from other parts of the world is dominated by the news agencies, whose news is available twenty four hours a day, so they have a far better chance of capturing spot news before newspaper deadlines.

Agencies sell all over the world, and their products are rather standardized and tailor-made for their best clients, the Western media. Most background articles and features are based on agency spot news, so comment, too, is influenced indirectly. News agency copy is easier to print out as it comes straight in to computer terminals in acceptable news style, and newspapers do not have to pay someone to type it all out again. *Reuters*, Britain's major news agency, which at the time of writing has a London staff of three thousand five hundred, is logically the one most often used as a source of information in *The Times*.

A study of the worldwide press coverage of the assassination of Lebanese President-elect Bechir Gemayel, on September 14th, 1982, carried out for UNESCO, a study of over seven hundred articles in one hundred and thirty eight newspapers found many similarities in newspapers all over the world due to the overwhelming influence of the Western point of view in news, which the writer put down to the influence of global news production routines and values deriving from the cultural and economic monopoly of the Western international news agencies and media multinationals.^{xi}

Decisions about which stories to print have to be made fast, and news agencies themselves highlight which stories are important by length and frequency. Dependence on the agencies means newspapers have to adopt the hierarchy of news values set, and variations are reduced. There is a lack of balance in the geographical distribution of news-gathering, coupled with a heavy dependence of Third World countries^{xii} on information provided by the major agencies, especially *AP* and *UPI*, while, the First World press has

many more stories from its own news services, especially from its own correspondents, and can rely on a large editorial staff and guest writers. *The Times* is fortunate in having resources enough to have correspondents and reporters provide its own information, and in fact was able to sell news to other outlets.

2.3.2. The Owners: News Conglomerates

The four major news agencies used to be singled out as being key actors in the news institutions, but they had been overtaken by other outlets such as IBM, AT & T and Phillips, by 1990. There are other powerful media outlets controlled or at least subsidized by governments, and subsidization often implies control, such as that of *Time* and *Newsweek* by the US government, while General Electric and RCA, which have a big share in NBC, are major military contractors, and had everything to gain in 1991 from the image of a brilliant technological campaign. (Phillipson, 1992: 60; Kellner, 1995: 213) Time Warner has more assets than the combined GNP of Bolivia, Jordan, Nicaragua, Albania, Liberia and Mali. (Thompson, 1990: 196) These media conglomerates are less interested in news than in their economic interests, which include oil, significantly for this study: Atlantic Richfield Oil had a large stake in *The Observer* in 1990. News institutions thus form part of an oligopoly of large multinational corporations with few producers and millions of receivers, which is non-participatory, that is, management of the mass media is in the hands of few people, and with little feedback from the public they speak to. Though Western countries have thousands of daily newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations, in recent years, the big groups have increased their dominance. There are not thousands of independent voices, and local newspapers are bought out by large dailies, with foreign news and controversial political issues forgotten or relegated to the inside pages.

Turning specifically to Britain, between 1969 and 1986, nine media conglomerates bought over two hundred newspapers and magazines with a total circulation of forty six million, including *The Times*. This concentration in ownership meant the development of large-scale organizations, whose interest was in making money, but sometimes also the ability to

spread an ideology. Lord Beaverbrook, proprietor of the *Daily Express*, said so openly. "The main goal in the real world of the media is to dominate the world of information." (Sorlin, 1994:110) Market dominance by news corporations has thus reduced diversity. In 1990, Murdoch's News Corporation, the largest media group in Britain, included *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*, *The Sun*, *The News of the World*, Sky Broadcasting, Harper Collins, Fox and Twentieth Century, with participations in MCI. Any concentration of ownership is paralleled by ideological influence, and only a privileged few can afford to open or run a newspaper or radio or television channel. Eight new titles appeared in the British press between 1986 and 1990 but none was left wing. A gap opened during the eighties between editorial and public opinion, so that in 1992 the Conservative vote was forty two per cent, whereas seventy per cent of the press supported them.^{xiii} In the eighties the Monopolies Commissions was downgraded, so Rupert Murdoch took full advantage of the deregulation and denationalization which were features worldwide of that decade, to extend his news outlets. He was already a major British newspaper owner and had no trouble buying *The Times*. There are obvious consequences at an institutional level. If the status quo favours the conglomerates, the conglomerates will defend the status quo. Paradoxically, the public channels were often the most independent, such as the American PBS and the BBC. In 1988, the BBC screened a programme, "Death on the Rock", which proved the killings of three IRA terrorists were masterminded by the British government. The private media backed the government attempt to strangle public debate, *The Sunday Times* running several articles which cast doubt on the reliability of the claims of the BBC programme's main witness.

There is little hard evidence, however, that news ownership in the West always implies direct influence on the actual news, and there are many who argue that the state is a bad alternative for private international conglomerations. Public criticism of the state is easier in a society with private outlets of information than where they are all public, such as China. Some studies have shown that in the capitalist world there is more scope for criticism of the authorities in the more free enterprise countries than in the more centralized ones.^{xiv}

2.3.3. Newspapers and their Editors

Newspapers were made use of from the first to communicate official proclamations, but they have been also a battleground of ideas and interests. The press grew from being a cooperatively produced medium in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to one in which the few spoke to the many. At the same time, audiences changed to being a wide audience of better-educated consumers of news. Newspapers were the first truly “mass” media, both in production and in audience. By 1890, *The Daily Telegraph* had a circulation of three hundred thousand, and in 1911 *The Daily Mail* became the first paper to sell one million a day. The growth of the press was influenced by the new technical devices available for news printing, dissemination and gathering, such as the telephone and telegraph, roads and railways, with large sums of money being available and people willing to invest. On the positive side, people living in different lands have been able to communicate with, and be aware of, distant countries which would have been ignored without newspapers, but at the same time, they facilitated the diffusion of political doctrines, and economic success has not always meant more quality, with newspapers becoming lighter, more vivid and livelier in style, with greater attention to crimes, sexual violence and sport, the staple diet of late twentieth century journalism. The quality press, on the other hand, is renowned for its lack of sensationalism. It is a curious fact that those newspapers aimed at more elite audiences are in general more open to the expression of opinions that might be thought to threaten these elites than are popular tabloids.

The makeup of a quality newspaper is predictable, with the same daily sections of hard news. These are politics, including themes of government, parliament, prominent personalities and their disputes, the economy, covering companies, the City, trade, unemployment and inflation, foreign affairs, meaning relations between governments, especially those involved in issues concerning "us", domestic stories of conflicts, strikes, abortion, conservation and social welfare, and on the other hand soft news, with features, which are longer background and opinion articles, occasional stories about celebrities, and

sport. For most people, the local or national press is a window on the world, and constitutes the greater part of their daily reading, which gives it great social importance. In most cases people buy the paper that challenges their own assumptions least, but when a newspaper is in our hands selection is possible for the reader, the newspaper pages presenting us with several options to follow, an interactive factor.

Almost all the news media have “friends”, who are given preferential treatment in the news. National newspapers are a business, so the press is almost bound to be against certain sectors of society who are antagonistic to their business of making money, while the local press is more intimate, dealing with people’s everyday problems, such as the families of local soldiers at the front in wartime.

Newspaper owners and the board of directors fix the scale of production and decide on overall aims, and then leave the routine management to editorial teams. These usually have considerable autonomy but have to adapt to the policy of the owners while coordinating the activities of journalists. They attempt to improve the quality of their product but maximize the space available for adverts and prevent overspending. Newspaper editors fit events into pre-shaped sections and frameworks, with topics repeating themselves and a series of stereotypes about the world. They do not impose censorship or tell their journalists what they like and dislike about the coverage of sensitive issues simply because it is unnecessary.

Editorial comment is argumentative and persuasive, intended to contribute to the opinion of the reader. Editorials are similar in ideology worldwide, though there are differences of opinion about Israel, the United States, and the Middle East conflict, in Arab countries.^{xv} British editorial comment tends to be rabidly anti-terrorist, emotive, modally loaded, full of authoritarian phrases, arguments against phantom adversaries, the use of “we”, and appeals to public feelings of shock and scandal.

It must be said that during the period in question, *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* were subject to more political pressure than other newspapers, due to the character of the proprietor, Rupert Murdoch, who introduced a “reign of terror”. All ex-editors of the newspaper have testified to this fact, such as Harold Evans (editor from 1967-1981) who claimed that Murdoch was “a proprietor in breach of his guarantees to Parliament”.^{xvi} In the history of *The Times*, this was not new, as Lord Northcliffe had done the same earlier, but it was a rude shock after Lord Thomson, who from 1967 to 1981 was only recalled to have attempted to influence an editor on one occasion. Rupert Murdoch would blatantly pressurize journalist and editor alike into making the newspaper more right-wing, and found his ideal in Andrew Neil, appointed in 1983 as editor of *The Times*, who only finally bit the dust at *The Sunday Times* in 1994 after allowing criticism of corruption in Malaysia. Neil himself wrote a book critical of Murdoch’s methods in 1996, though much of what went on behind the scenes is still a mystery. Later editors, such as the one at the time of writing, Peter Stothard, have moved the newspaper back into more moderate positions since 1991.^{xvii} By 1990, Murdoch had already won the battle against his own unions, moving the newspapers of his group away from Fleet Street to the new site in Wapping, which was a crucial step in making his journalists more conformist to the editorial line.

2.3.4. News Processes: Selection and Gatekeeping

The international news published anywhere in the world has probably been through several newsrooms, nowadays through computer terminals, at a news agency's regional and central offices, the national agency in the receiving country, and at the news outlet itself. At each stage, copy is received, put through the editing process and transmitted to the next receiver. At each stage there are copy editors who change the language and whose aim is to turn out concise, newsworthy stories, by cutting, clarifying and standardizing language and thus maximizing news value. The text as it comes to the consumer is rather uniform, the many layers of editing not being evident in final news copy, as copy editors aim to produce a unified text which conceals their intervention.

News is a product of news processes of both selection and composition. Selection is the process in which constraints, such as political pressures, may play a part, so that important matters may fail to reach the national papers. Composition is the process through which the materials selected are rearranged for presentation in print, as a "story". Audiences are to some extent at the mercy of the newsmakers and their sources, which may even deny access to areas of conflict such as war zones in the Gulf.

At each stage in the news process there may only be two or three people in charge traditionally called "gatekeepers", so news stories are vulnerable to the few. Everyone involved in the news process is producing a text for consideration by the next person on the production line, and playing to many audiences: editors, owners, managers, fellow-journalists, readers and themselves. The balance of a story can thus be lost by deletions of details to enhance the news value of the story, especially in news about the Third World. Politics, economic affairs and military affairs tend to account for many news items, while equally important education, culture and social affairs account for a smaller percentage. At *The Times* under Murdoch, there is some evidence of interference in the process of newsmaking, with copy mysteriously "disappearing" the day before publication, and journalists imposing censorship on their own work due to intimidation.^{xviii} One important and perhaps disturbing development during the late nineteen eighties and early nineteen nineties was that more and more money was spent on news processes other than the actual writers themselves. One survey speaks of two thirds of the journalistic effort being spent on a news chain "peopled by news editors, chief sub-editors and page planners, at the expense of writers and reporters" and of increased editorial tampering with the text.^{xix}

2.3.5. Journalists

The journalist produces a smooth unified news story and (s)he is the main channel where diverse sources converge into a single flow of copy, which is often a composition of what they have read and been told. Few stories consist entirely of wording newly generated from his/her own observation or verbal interview. Journalists, including reporters, find

themselves within a mesh of forces which I have tried to reflect in the following diagram:



Diagram 2: Influences on Journalists

Journalists are the narrators, usually named in bylines, sometimes anonymous, who act as our only guides throughout the story. In everyday conversation, control passes between the participants, but in written narratives like the one under consideration, narrative control is retained throughout by only one participant, the writer. While conversations are more disruptive, with shifting perspectives and embedded secondary and tertiary narratives, in newspapers, perspectives are more fixed, though reported speech diversifies points of view. The term "professional journalism" has two faces. One is that the writer should know what (s)he is doing, that (s)he is not an amateur and has been trained, but also that he is paid for a product. The journalist stands between the organization, the information (s)he transmits and the listener to whom (s)he transmits it so his/her situation is problematic. There are those called "high authoritarians", who are uncritical, while others are "low authoritarians", that is, when a journalist responds negatively to those in authority. (Higgins, 1992: 121) Most studies say that journalistic independence, involvement and autonomy have declined, and that definitions of events given by the powerful are too easily accepted, which makes for both coherence and uniformity.

News is standardized, in part, because of news routines. Most journalists read the same agency copy and watch and listen to the same media, so that there are seldom "scoops". "Pack journalism", many journalists coinciding on the same beat, means they have all heard the same press releases. The philosophy is often that it is better for them all to make a mistake than to be the only one right, breeding uniformity. The press has lost a personal touch, the relationship of the journalist with the readers. Looking back on the Spanish press, I have compared the individualistic Suez Crisis reporters in *La Voz de Galicia* (1956)

with the filtered and watered down accounts available in *El País* during the Gulf conflict. The former showed far more independence and a more personal style, and improvised considerably more than in the nineties. Journalists in the mainstream media have tended to steer clear of controversy, sticking to safe politically neutral subjects like crime and natural disasters, while analysis of the causes of events has been delayed until it is too late. Journalists usually speak with detachment, but even this can lead to too much emphasis on statistics. Individual journalistic style has been noted relatively infrequently in the present study. Unlike forty years ago, the style of the quality press is quite uniform worldwide, a universal language of the educated, with formal, complex sentence structure. Formal writing, being more abstract, is less human-centred. Stylization, the use of rhetorical devices, is linked to the less serious, the less important news stories, while those who write hard news try not to let their own personal style and opinions be shown.

At *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* in the period in question, there was considerable pressure to be a conformist. Over a hundred journalists out of a staff of one hundred and seventy left *The Times* during the first few years of Murdoch's period of ownership, either resigning or being dismissed, and were replaced by more pliable ones. Journalists who did toe the line were sometimes paid astronomical figures for columns,^{xx} which by itself made them unlikely to be revolutionaries. This is part of a tendency in the British press to have regular columnists, which means that they tend to be all-purpose, non-specialist commentators on every issue, eulogizing the establishment and down-to-earth common sense.

Regular reporters who speak to the same people every day in government, and with the military elite during the Gulf crisis, would undoubtedly be on friendly terms with important figures in the army, but that does not mean if something went wrong that they would not report it if they could. There are also "mavericks", that is, mainly free-lancers, and there were journalists on *The Times* staff who publicly protested against the way *Sky Television* had been launched by their boss, Rupert Murdoch,^{xxi} and in 1991 protested against the

pooling and censorship. The professional commitment of journalists can often win out against efforts to control them, for example in the case of *The Observer* in 1984, where the editor Donald Treford, backed by all his staff, ran a story about atrocities in Zimbabwe, where the owner Tiny Rowland had interests. Rowland dismissed him, but in the end Treford kept his job. (Curran, 1996: 87) It has been affirmed that in Britain, news decisionmaking is among the fairest, the agenda being set more according to newsworthiness and less according to the political convenience of stories appearing in public, although paradoxically the British newspaper system provides few opportunities for left-of-centre journalists compared with other countries, and journalists of this tendency feel uncomfortable in this atmosphere.^{xxii} Over half of all British journalists are members of the National Union of Journalists, which is hardly a conservative organization, and many of them must write one thing and believe another.

On the other hand, journalists are rightly offended by claims that: “News is what newspapermen make it”, or “News is manufactured by journalists”, which are simplifications of the process. Journalists in the quality press emphasize objectivity and impartiality, avoiding the sensationalism of the tabloid press, and they try to corroborate reports, especially the controversial ones, and get different points of view. They also try to show the reader why they can be seen to be authoritative, getting the best sources as soon as possible, and aiming at an educated and informed readership.

2.4. The Reader: Active or Passive ?

There are many factors which reduce reader sovereignty. Readers of media discourse lack a lot of background material which would make a real understanding easier. They need knowledge about the author, his/her biography and cultural setting, and the process (s)he is taking part in, which are data not given in the newspaper message. Few people know the process actually involved in newsmaking. In the British press some opinions have regularly been either ignored or ridiculed, so that consumer sovereignty is impossible, as people do not have access to a complete range of opinions. The right of communication is denied to,

for example, some radicals, racists and Islamic extremists. It seems as if there is an agreement among the media to shut them out.

The “Spiral of Silence” theory says that these minorities increasingly fall silent when they perceives they are a minority. When few others share a reader’s vision of events, (s)he maintains his/her freedom to interpret the text, but often feels discouraged and isolated, and the temptation is to keep quiet, because of the fear of ridicule. If all the media are backing the use of force in the Gulf, and if opinion polls say they are backed by the people, then it seems “it must be right”. This theory, if correct, could mean the end of free speech.^{xxiii} There is little feedback from audiences, whose responses are not generally analysed. The media draw on past experience and use it as a guide for future performance, or use audience research. There is sometimes a dangerous unanimity of opinion, pictured in the media but not real.

Through inertia and habit our critical faculties become blunted, as most people read only one daily newspaper, and watch the news on only one television channel, and they are most likely to tune in to things which do not jar on their values and prior beliefs. The same schemata are constantly confirmed in the papers people read, leading to complacency and favouring the status quo. People consider what is usual as what is “normal”, and do not realize that the news items selected could be entirely different. British people, according to one researcher, tend to be more slavish in their acceptance of what is told them in the media. (Duszak, 1991) Scare-mongering and mud-slinging by the media often work due to the passive acceptance of "news". Often, regular news representations of flat characters make it easy for the reader to pigeon-hole and construct events through the usual main actors. The daily use of the mass media in the West is highly ritualized and repeated. Reading the newspaper can become a social “ritual”, with the impulse to repeat the same gestures and perpetuate the same situations again and again, rather as in a folk-tale. Larsen (1983: 23) shows the similarity between folktales and news in their regularity and social function. There is always news, because it is so timetabled by daily routines.

People come and go in the news agenda, not because of public interest or their intrinsic importance, but to the media's judgment of what is news. What is and what is not news is often decided independently of public interest. Iraq and Saddam Hussein were in the news when they were a threat to the West, but when they are not they may not reach the front pages. There is "agenda-setting" by editorial teams and press agencies, over which the reader has no control. It is often not the event that determines the news, but rather the news that determines what the event means.

Neither news nor language are transparent windows on the world, but are more like maps of the world, which give coherence to the innumerable sense impressions we experience. News is organized by "frames" and "agendas", patterns of selection, emphasis and exclusion, "by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse". (Gitlin, 1980: 7) Agenda-setting means that the facts and phenomena of the news constitute the individual viewer's "script" to read reality by. For example, the "salmonella-in eggs" affair (Fowler, 1991: 170-207) was a press story that filled pages, instilling a degree of hysteria in society, but it was a story because it was a story; news is sometimes news for no apparently logical reason.

For an event to impinge on the public's senses these days, it is not enough for it to happen, it must be processed by and reflected in the media. Media institutions and external institutions are so intertwined that the "mediation" of society has been proposed, with modern culture developing as a function of the media, rather than the other way round. Increasingly our symbolic environment is constituted for us by the media, with the same terms used worldwide, often springing from the media: "rights", "demands", "incentives", "interests", "justice" and "discrimination" are terms that echo round the world whatever the language spoken. The spread of the discourse of Thatcherism during the nineteen eighties was due in part to key words, such as "choice" or "enterprise", and expressions like "freedom of choice" or "culture of enterprise", being taken up and disseminated by "social

actors” including journalists, and the dominant discourse of the media to some extent dictates what it is possible and not possible to say. Michael Howard, a regular contributor to *The Times* in our texts, wrote an article entitled "Value for money in the Health Service". Journalists took up the term and by repetition made it into a socially accepted phrase. (Phillips, 1996: 217)

We become "news-literate", able to follow the news but also liable to interpret the world in terms of it. Whether the dominant information network is a “Private Ministry of Information and Culture”, (Bagdikian, 1992) where each citizen's fate is shaped by distant sinister forces, great machines of information that shape the consensus of society is perhaps going too far. The “mediation” argument is that government is at the beck and call of the media. Some very important events are actually staged so as to be presented on TV, some political meetings, demonstrations, hijackings, state visits, summit conferences; and it has even been suggested the Gulf conflict itself was staged so as to re-elect Bush by favourable publicity. (Thompson, 1990: 231)

Indeed, it often seems at the very least that events such as the Gulf crisis are expanded artificially by the media, with everybody obliged to hear about the war, but readers are not bound mentally to a standardizing information, culture and entertainment system that oppresses them, as some suggest.^{xxiv} The “masses” do not merely reaffirm social norms and avoid deviant attitudes. It is my personal opinion that the effect of the media on popular ideology has been somewhat exaggerated, and that the most important social impact is still made by personal contact. The idea of a kind of media global village is still a gross exaggeration except for a tiny minority of the population.

As has already been shown in a general setting in chapter one, the reader is an active element. Reader activity can be divided into three steps, selection, reading and reflection. Language comprehension is a construction process, whereby an individual constructs for him/herself a meaning out of the language data. It is impossible by definition to understand

passively. All verbal interaction is an active negotiation between speaker/text and hearer/reader, and there may be differences due to the freedom of the receiver, so the intention of the speaker may be serious and the interpretation make it a farce, for example. People are free to choose what articles and pages they read, what they want to see in a text, depending on their wants and needs. The news media are a connecting point between government and people, through which people exercise their democratic right of criticism. Receiver participation is required for each of the media, more in newspaper reading than in TV watching, where the family may not even be paying more than slight attention to it.^{xxv}

"Resistant readings" and "Critical readings" of media texts are possible.^{xxvi} As consumers of media messages we are powerful, deconstructing and reconstructing messages constantly, interpreting, comparing and contrasting. Halliday (1978: 164ff) has invented the term "antilanguages" to describe a set of meanings and values which negate those of the outside world. Different sectors of society produce quite different readings of what they receive from the media, and some refuse to "read" it at all if it does not connect with their concerns. All interpretations which take the will of the common people out of the picture are doomed to partiality. People are educated, travel, have knowledge of other cultures, interpret and interact, are critical of the media and the authorities, and negotiate meanings with the media, armed with a critical faculty.^{xxvii} Newspapers "narrowcast", aiming at a certain section of the public, while the television "broadcasts", that is, tries to cater for a vast majority, due to ratings, which means the newspaper expects more reader reaction. Different countries, regions, towns, districts and even streets, racial groups and age groups, react differently to news texts, and the communicator has to send messages in accordance with the expectations of the receiver.

Readers are not slaves to the printed word, and are able to distinguish where the most important points are, wherever they appear, based on their prior knowledge and interest in the topic area of the text.^{xxviii} Communicators achieve "shared reality" with their audience

and tailor their message to suit the audience, called “tuning” to the receiver. There may be “super-tuning”, “anti-tuning” or “non-tuning”. The communicator is in this way “trapped” by his audience. A journalist is involved in a “communication game” with the audience. Interpersonal communication is looked for rather than information transmission, with clear, concise messages taking into account the expectations of others, and even distorting messages when they are supposed unpopular. The media are sensitive to trends in the surrounding society, such as changes in levels of education, standards of living, ethnic changes, problems, ideas and mentality, simply because they have to be.^{xxix}

Audiences ignore information that does not interest them or fit in with their ideas. There has been an increasing importance of surrogate democracy, whereby the “common man” comes out on the screen and responds to the media, who have to accommodate to their audience, because our liking for others is directly related to the consonance between our views and those expressed in the message. Comprehension of news texts is dependent on the text itself with respect to form and content on the one hand, and on the cognitive and emotional predisposition of the listener on the other. Journalists are often from the very class they are speaking to, making it likelier that they will accommodate to their own people. Some media are interactive and may actually encourage receiver involvement. Involved readers, not necessarily those who read most, are most likely to understand most.^{xxx}

People communicate to satisfy personal goals, which vary from person to person, and have been classified by researchers. The people who paid their forty-five pence for *The Times* in 1991 actively sought satisfaction, pleasure, or whatever label is put on it, from newspapers, although I feel that this common lumping together of “Uses” and “Gratifications”^{xxxii} is arguable, as they are two very different things.^{xxxiii} Newspapers fulfil learning needs but are not useful for satisfying other social needs, and thus, the gratification factor is lower than the learning or utilitarian factor. Gratifications are varied: to be amused, to see authority figures exalted or deflated, to have shared experiences with others, to satisfy curiosity and

be informed, to find models to imitate, to reinforce belief in justice, to participate in history vicariously, to see order imposed on the world and to affirm moral values. (Berger, 1995: 102) This is a very wide definition of “gratification”, and is anyway a minor factor in the audiences for the quality press. The media may sacrifice accuracy for fantasy and emotional satisfaction, but it is not the same to say people read newspapers for “pleasure” as to say that journalists write to give “pleasure”.

But a news story is still a story, like a fairy tale or myth. A journalist “gets a good story”, which is what the newspaper wants. The headline, colour photography and famous names are there to attract attention. *The Times* before 1966 had no photographs, but now it even has colour. The newspaper always has to cut off at the point where the reader will not read on. A news story must have “leverage”, such as shock, horror, or our troops in danger. (Frith, in Curran, 1996: 160; Hartley, 1982: 46) There is a down side to this. “Infotainment” is empty and cloying in the long run to an intelligent audience.

The impact of media ideology is mitigated, at times, not so much by receiver awareness as by receiver imperviousness. There is often little impact caused by news items and opinion sections and people will still think as they did before. Research indicates a generally low degree of recall of information received through the media, just twenty-five per cent in radio news broadcasts (Findahl and Hoijer, 1981), though information gained through reading the newspaper is recalled much better than broadcast news, with males and the middle class remembering most. A typical reader of *The Times* would come into this category.^{xxxiii}

It has been seen that there are a host of potential ideological influences on the media text, some of which are undoubtedly present in *The Times* in 1990. Repeated cycles of editing and issuing newspapers produce consistent structures, which might even call into question to what extent these can be called “naturally occurring texts”. It is to what extent the international information order, with its positive and negative elements, impinged on news discourse in the Gulf crisis that concerns the following chapter.

NOTES

i. Fairclough, 1989: 25, 146, 164.

ii. Whitaker, 1981; Fowler, 1991: 21.

iii. Government officials were heard in the *NYT* coverage of the Nicaraguan crisis in more than half the stories, while in the row over abortion clinics, only in 30% of stories. (Bennett, 1996: 374)

iv. Nearly half the front page stories (domestic and foreign) in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* have been found to come from US officials. (Sigal, 1987)
Climate change news in New Zealand used local or national government officials as sources almost as often as scientists. (Bell, 1989)

v. Zaller and Chiu, 1996: 397. Their study was based on US foreign policy 1945-1991, including the Gulf crisis.

vi. Van Dijk, 1985, Herman and Chomsky, 1988, are among the former, while Phillips, 1996 and Wang, 1993 are among the latter.

vii. “1,181,033; *Sunday Times* average sale” (headline) That was the average sale of *The Sunday Times* in September, a rise of 50,000 (or 5%) on August and a figure that confirms the dominant position of *The Sunday Times* among Sunday qualities despite the most competitive conditions ever in the Sunday market. *The Sunday Times* sold almost 35,000 more than *The Observer* and *Sunday Telegraph* combined last month, and over 100,000 more than Britain's second biggest selling quality paper, *The Daily Telegraph*. (October 14th 1990, and another practically identical article on November 11th)

viii. Evidence of advertisers' direct influence is found in Curran and Seaton, 1997: 90

ix. For a fuller list, see Golding and Harris, 1997: 125

x. Bell, 1991: 48.

xi. Van Dijk, 1988a; Golding and Harris (1997: 127) cite the almost slavish dependence of the Nigerian News Agency and Pan-African News Agency on *Reuters*.

xii. The term “Third World” is used for convenience to describe the world's poorest countries, though it has many detractors since the fall of the Soviet empire.

xiii. Curran, 1996

xiv. Pnina Lahav (1985: 4) surveyed press law in seven countries and concludes that in countries like the USA free expression is better protected than in the UK, France and Germany with a “more elitist attitude towards the press” and this argument is echoed by Baker (1994). De Mateo’s study of the Spanish press (1989: 211-226) shows how it decentralized and adapted to democracy in the transition, providing more opportunities for expression. (Schudson, in Curran 1996: 144)

xv. Van Dijk, 1988a: 125ff

xvi. Quoted in Bromley, 1997: 346

xvii. Curran and Seaton (1997: 72-5) cites ex-literary editor Claire Tomalin and ex-editors Harold Evans, Simon Jenkins and Frank Giles.

xviii. Curran and Seaton, 1997: 87f

xix. Bromley, 1997: 336f

xx. William Rees-Mogg was paid £120,000 for two columns a week and Bernard Levin £100,000 in the early nineteen nineties (Petley, 1997: 254)

xxi. Curran and Seaton, 1997: 83

xxii. Patterson and Donsbach, 1996: 455 - 468. Britain, Sweden, Germany, Italy and the United States were studied. Their findings “indicate that journalists are partisan actors as well as news professionals. Journalists’ partisanship affects their news decisions, even when they operate within organizations committed to the principle of partisan neutrality.”

xxiii. Neumann, in Berger, 1995: 70

xxiv. Thompson, 1990: 104, Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972.

xxv. Publications that have dealt with inferences, implicatures and presuppositions which are made from the use of background knowledge include Miller (in Halle, Bresnan, and Miller, 1978), Peuser (1978), and Rubinstein (1974). Levy (1983) provides evidence of the little attention paid to television programmes.

xxvi. Hodge and Kress, 1979; Morley, 1983.

xxvii. In the same line, Umberto Eco, 1980: 148f; Radway, 1984, Hall, 1985; Ien Ang, 1990; Golding and Murdock, 1996: 15; Fiske, 1989: 49; Ettema, Process, Leff, Miller, Doppelt, and Cook (1991); Turow (1985), quoted in Bennett and Lawrence (1995).

xxviii. Goldman, Saul and Coté, 1995: 274.

xxix. Higgins and Rholes, 1978; Giles and Smith, 1979; Giles, Mulac, Bradac, and Johnson, 1987; Sedikides, 1990; Higgins, 1992; Manis, Cornell and Moore, 1996; Blumler and Gurevitch, 1996: 123.

xxx. Bryant and Comisky, 1978; Rosengren and Windahl 1972.

xxxi. Klapper, 1963; Stephenson, 1967.

xxxii. An opinion shared by Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch, 1974; Katz, Gurevitch, and Haas, 1973, whose samples of Israeli newspapers perceived them as helpful in providing information, building confidence in society, overcoming loneliness, and strengthening social stability, which can only be referred to as “gratifications” in a wide sense.

xxxiii. Gunter, 1987; Van Dijk, 1988a.

3.1. The Master Narrative: Drama and Myth

In this chapter I look firstly at the picture that was shown to the world of the Gulf conflict, in Britain and abroad, before considering *The Times* in particular. This part of the study is about the view of the world reflected in the news discourse of the mainstream media, of which *The Times* is a part, and presented through the story line.

The modern world has its myths, heroes and villains just as the Ancient World did, reinforcing people's sense of identity. The rhetorical force of any story line is independent of its veracity, but depends on its effectiveness in impinging on the reader. The "Master Narrative"ⁱ we are concerned with involves a series of premises, "givens" built into the argument. It can be summed up in the following way. The West is a moral and democratic example, with free markets, and faith in God of some sort,ⁱⁱ while the moral periphery of the Third World, and countries hostile to the West are the antithesis. The US is the ultimate decision-maker, and must have the means of making its responsibility felt by military power. Like the hero of a melodrama it may be compelled to resort to war and destroy the enemy, skilfully using advanced technology, resulting in the defeat of evil and the triumph of good.ⁱⁱⁱ

This "rhetorical vision"^{iv} or "fairy tale of the just war"^v has its origin in the Truman doctrine, in Manifest Destiny, but outlived the Cold War and, according to it, totalitarian forces still conspire to dominate and enslave the world. These cannot be "appeased" but must be fought against to bring lasting peace. The Soviet Union replaced Germany, and subsequently Iraq and militant Islam replaced the Soviet Union, but the language remained the same. "They" encourage terrorism, "their" purpose is to undermine Western morale, aided by people who unrealistically believe that by surrendering they will treat "us" better. The US armed forces are the guarantor of the value system of the family, freedom, justice and private enterprise. The war which best illustrated that Master Narrative was the Second World War, and in 1991 Saddam, like Gaddafi and Nasser before him, was equated with Hitler, Kuwait with France or Belgium, Iraq with Nazi Germany. Most media coverage of the

Gulf crisis was often a celebration of heroes and patriotism, with clean deaths, largely without violence, perhaps because Gulf violence was mostly being carried out by “us”. The Gulf conflict restored the Master Narrative and ended the Vietnam syndrome in the US. The conflict of a society with any external group makes people support the in-group more, an effect known as the “mainstreaming effect”, with marginalization of dissent, a “rally round the flag” effect, and the leader focusing support on his idealized person.^{vi} All these factors were present in media coverage of the Gulf conflict.

3.2. The World and the Gulf Crisis

A narrative such as that described above needs a narrator, through which it is mediated, and this function is carried out by the mainstream media. There is a worldwide information order, as has been seen in chapter 2, which impinged on the coverage of the Gulf crisis from Ireland to Malaysia, from Siberia to Brazil. The picture is similar everywhere. A Western-centred picture of the war was given and non-participating nations received their information second-hand, with discrimination against non-British and non-American journalists, such as Spanish correspondents (Borrat, 1992), none of whom was allowed to be part of the press pool of journalists who travelled to the front. When Spanish and European journalists protested about their exclusion, the response was that their countries were not making a military effort in the war comparable to that of the US and Britain.

Even the Turkish press, reporting about a country bordering its own, had to rely on *CNN* for up-to-date news, though the printed press was critical about Turkey's involvement in the war. No Indian journalist was encouraged to even apply for Saudi visas, *The Times of India* denounced an imposed "Pax Americana", and other Indian newspapers had anti-war editorials, but alternative up-to-date material was not available anywhere. Journalists complained about the romanticizing of the technologies of war, the lack of context to the war, the demonization of Muslims, and the double standards of sanctions imposed on Iraq but not on Israel, throughout the Third World.^{vii} Attitudes worldwide were different from those in Britain and America, but this fact went largely unreported in these two countries.

The coverage of the Gulf crisis in the United States has to be placed within a historical perspective of the eighties, in which the American media had opted for the simple and sometimes the trivial, and serious debates declined.^{viii} The American public was thus well primed for the conflict, whether deliberately or not. Films in the late nineteen eighties such as *Top Gun*, with its precision strikes and the creation of an Arab enemy, shifted the enemy from the USSR to the Arab world.^{ix} The theme of revenge for unprovoked aggression is prominent here, as is shown in the lexical part of this study (4.6.5.). The mainstream media in the USA showed that reality paralleled what happened in films, with a world full of heroes and villains.

In America during the Gulf conflict, there was popular support for media coverage, the more jingoistic the better.^x Together with hawkishness went ignorance of the subject, only 31 per cent and 3 per cent respectively of Americans being aware that Israel and Syria were also occupying territory in the Middle East. (Kellner, 1995: 220f; Said, 1993, 355) People were "... alarmingly ill-informed. Less than half could identify General Colin Powell, and the more people knew, the less likely they were to support the war". (Morgan, Lewis and Jhally, 1991: 217-222)

Paradoxically, the more television people watched the less they knew. The Gulf conflict was presented as a war between black and white, between President Bush and Saddam Hussein, whose name was sometimes deliberately mispronounced to make it sound like "Sodom". War was glorified and war hysteria and xenophobia encouraged.^{xi} There were TV debates, but in them retired generals and other elite figures focussed on how the military situation should be handled, not whether it should have taken place at all, and prominent opposition figures like Henry Gonzalez, Edward Said, Jesse Jackson, and Noam Chomsky were never invited. Live military film from Saudi Arabia was provided free to the networks by the US army. Of 878 sources on the three major US networks, *ABC*, *CBS* and *NBC*, only one represented a peace organization. The only non-American personalities who

were seen on television screens were politicians like John Major and François Mitterand, who supported the war. Only one per cent of TV coverage was focussed on opposition to the war. Bonding of public to the troops was effected through interviews with troops and their families, with hysteria provoked, and subsequently gas masks sold out, while advertisers sprinkled some of their newspaper ads with US flags.^{xii} However, it must be said that there were critical reports too, with *CNN* prominent, for example Frank Sesno, who criticized “Big Stick” diplomacy and the “Pax Americana”. It must also be said that Saddam requested a ninety minute spot for himself and *CNN* complied.

Turning to the American press, the principal mainstream newspapers (*The New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, *Washington Post*) favoured official government sources for their news stories. Virtually no bodies or injured people were shown in newspapers, apart from a few Israeli victims, and Iraqi casualties were hardly mentioned. All around the world, people demonstrated against the United States, but this was hardly mentioned by the press, and voices that advocated a diplomatic solution were hardly heard. Although a poll carried out by *The Washington Post* on January 11th, 1991, found that two thirds of Americans favoured a peaceful solution, the US and British press only mentioned this in passing on the inside pages. Coverage by the printed press was more balanced than the television, though journalists in the Pentagon press pool were happy just to be among the lucky few to be there, and asked no probing questions. Over one thousand articles in the US press linked Saddam with Hitler. *The Washington Post's* chief foreign correspondent (August 7th, 1990) claimed that the Arabs only understand force. The press and its readers believed that protesters were in some way helping to “get our troops killed”. (Hackett and Zhao, 1994: 517) Most American journalists identified with the army spirit, and those in the Gulf wore uniforms and were compliant to military views. They fought on the same side as the soldiers who were responsible for their security.^{xiii}

Despite this, in the American press some space was granted to “legitimate opposition”, such as church leaders, and the press sometimes acted as an open, balanced forum of

debate, unlike the television, as befits a society as heterogeneous as theirs. Some comment columns pleaded not to exclude protesters from the “we” group, many articles quoted opponents of the war, rather than simply describing their actions, and some items expressed concern over repression of protesters. Some national editorials complimented protesters for contributing to democracy, and the local press sometimes appealed to community consensus, treating protesters more fairly than national dailies. (Vincent, 1992: 194f; Hackett and Zhao, 1994: 522) There was a lot of doubting among Americans in spite of the media bias. One survey shows considerably reduced support for the war one year later, so one-sided coverage is evidence that the establishment felt they needed it. (Eveland, McLeod and Signorielli, 1994) The fact that Bush lost in the 1992 presidential elections, and that not a single mention was made of the Gulf conflict during the campaign shows that in-depth support was whipped up temporarily but did not last, due possibly to the continuance of Saddam in power, together with his continuing massacres of Shi’ites and Kurds.

British attitudes, often tinged with nostalgia, are uniquely linked to the country’s imperial history. Britain was the other pillar not only of Western military presence, but also of communication. But in Britain, too, there is a long tradition of fair, neutral reporting, even when this angers the authorities. There was a six month build-up of British forces in the Gulf, with little censorship, and alternative voices available, for example, *The New Statesman* and some national press outlets.^{xiv} Public reactions to the crisis reveal a great difference between those of tabloid readers and those of the quality press, in which there was very little or no jingoism. Many readers of *The Sun*, in the same newspaper group as *The Times*, favoured using nuclear weapons against Iraq, twenty one per cent, it being no accident that *The Sun* alone actually advocated the use of nuclear weapons (Carr-Hill and Shaw, in Mowlana et al 1992: 154f) but in general, public reaction was quite restrained.^{xv} Newspapers were more highly regarded than other media as a source of information about what was really going on. This is in accordance with studies which show that newspapers contain a greater proportion of news analysis than does television.^{xvi} The situation in Britain

also contains the “Us/Them” vision of the world, but less than in the US. When Brian MacArthur (January 13th) says that “If Britain does go to war, it will be with the united support of the twenty one national newspapers” he is probably telling the truth, but while the American media almost seem to have incited violence, the British media actively discouraged it. There was a ban on martial music, on sixty-four popular songs, on a television series based on the Vietnam war, and on a museum exhibition on "The Art of Death". There was denial of death, a general desire to minimize the violence. While the *New York Times* of 22nd February 1991 reported one hundred and nineteen crimes against Arabs in two months, the British are not reported to have attacked Arabs except in very few cases.^{xvii}

There were many failings in the news that reached people’s homes, though not all the blame can be laid at the door of the media. The press worldwide have a hierarchy of access at the best of times,^{xviii} some speakers and arguments being privileged over others. During the Gulf crisis some opposition was voiced but neutral coverage of the war was harder due to the system of press pooling and censorship. Military control over news sources was great, the peace movement was marginalized and slow to react, and the opponent was seen by most people as being truly a demon, without needing to be systematically demonized.

3.3. *The Times* and the Gulf Crisis

3.3.1 *The Times* and its Sources

The Times had its own correspondents all over the world in 1990/1 (See Appendix, Figure 4), though news agencies were still a source of news.^{xix} I have searched for references to them, both by name and with reference to them as a group. Only at the beginning of the conflict, before the newspaper correspondents and *CNN* arrived, were the news agencies looked to for news.^{xx} The major agencies continued to be used in a limited way throughout the conflict, but by far the most numerous mentions in *The Times* refer to national ones, especially the national Iraqi and Iranian ones.^{xxi} The Iraqi one was depended on for

Saddam Hussein's point of view, unless he was interviewed personally. There is little dependence on the "Big Four" news agencies, as they were as subject to pooling as were newspaper correspondents. There was more dependence on the national news agencies on the part of the correspondents stationed in those countries. *Tass* had virtually disappeared, apart from internal news from Russia. Neither *Associated Press* nor *United Press International* reports are anywhere to be seen by name in *The Times* during this period. There are also two articles written by the *Associated Press* correspondent on February 26th and March 6th. Their world view coincides overwhelmingly with mainstream news discourse, like that in the rest of the newspaper. In the Gulf conflict there were innovations which the world is still feeling the effects of at the time of writing. The way *CNN* broke into the world information system was impressive, with its fast and direct 24-hour service, pushing network television and the printed press into the background. The *Sunday Times* journalist Brian MacArthur admits as much (January 13th).^{xxii} *The Times* sometimes refers to information given on *CNN* in the period in question. On January 17th, Robin Stacey has to write what the two reporters in the Al-Rashud hotel had said to *CNN* News the night before, rather than information gathered by the newspaper's own correspondents.

3.3.2. Editorial Comment

Of the quality British press, *The Independent*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian* and *The Times*, the most independently-minded in 1990 were *The Independent*, whose reporter Robert Fisk encountered strong resistance in the Gulf to his way of telling the news, and *The Guardian*. But newspaper editorials on both sides of the Atlantic praised the allied actions practically unanimously. Most other newspapers' editorials are more emotionally involved than *The Times*.

Editorial comment in *The Times* is generally "hawkish". What exactly constitutes "hawkishness" and "dovishness" varies from one situation to another, but basically,

hawkishness involves supporting a hardening of policies towards an enemy, usually showing attitudes “supportive of military assertiveness”.^{xxiii} The subjects covered in the hard line leading articles are the following: praise for the handling of the situation by Mr Major and President Bush; in favour of food sanctions (early comment); in favour of the military option as against continuing sanctions: praise for Israeli “restraint”; criticism of lack of a European “common front”; comparison with the Munich 1938 situation; no let-up in the military campaign - a quick end to the war; unconditional surrender called for; anti-pacifist, ridiculing of the opponents’ position; in favour of the ejection of possible Iraqi spies, and in favour of victory celebrations.

There are very few “dovish” comments in favour of a negotiated peace, but on January 17th there is a call for a containment of the allied response, on February 7th the leading article criticizes carpet-bombing, on February 14th and 16th there is muted criticism of the attack on the bomb shelter in Baghdad, and on February 26th there is a call for restraint in the allied advance. There are other leading articles which are neither for nor against the war. While the framework of the allied response is always accepted, there is comment on the following points: the Intelligence services; in favour of a recall of parliament in August); in favour of aid for Egypt and Arab allies; economic consequences (two); praise for Mr Kinnock’s handling of the conflict; Mr Hurd’s trip to Israel; criticizing Saudi religious intolerance (two); the need for Mr Bush to consult Congress; in favour of press freedom (three); European relations with Kuwait; against racism and ill-treatment of POW’s; against deportation of Iraqis; discussion of the role of the Royal Family in the conflict; internal opposition to Saddam; democracy in Kuwait. Leading articles are broken down according to month and tendency in the Appendix, Figure 3. It is significant that when fair debate would have been most useful and impinged most on official policymaking, there were practically no editorials other than those which toed the government line. Significant stylistic features of editorial comment, including modal terminology, such as imperatives and modal and semi-modal verbs, are all present, and are commented on in the respective chapters of this study.

In our texts the editorials, comments that come straight from the institution of *The Times*, are the most hawkish, indicating that it is likely that the newspaper and government are at least well tuned to each other. There is both selection and transformation of the news, a process guided by ideas and beliefs from the top. Andrew Neil, *Sunday Times* editor in 1991, in fact flew over allied lines in an RAF plane during the conflict and wrote an article about his experiences for the newspaper.^{xxiv} Editorials are not the only place where the official voice of the newspaper may be heard. There are also “Insight”, “Diary”, “Profile” or “War Diary” articles, written by established teams of journalists whose opinions are semi-editorial, for example the anonymous “Diary” article on January 12th “How we shall go to war”, which patently mentions “we” as inclusive of readers and writers alike on the same side.

3.3.3. Journalists and Opinion

A complete list of the one hundred and fifty or so journalists who wrote the hard news and features is included in alphabetical order in the Appendix, Figure 4. Many of them write from foreign locations, and many of these write from London as well. There are many articles by unnamed journalists, and also many contributors to opinion sections, who are listed in the Appendix, Figure 5. It is laudable from the point of view of neutrality that those who wrote for the opinion sections did not write hard news, and vice versa.

However, journalists in the press pools felt they were involved in the war on the allied side, whether or not they were neutral in their reports. They “chuckled” when they saw the pictures of the allied air attack. There are many other examples in the period studied of journalists’ involvement, as when Philip Jacobson passes judgment on the decisions taken by President Mitterand.^{xxv} The journalist calls these decisions the origin of “confusing signals”. On another occasion, the same journalist calls the critical French Defence Minister, Jacques Chevenement, a “maverick” (See 4.6.6.), a negative term for one who does not toe the line of the majority. (January 11th) Articles take for granted that the writer

and audience are both on the same side.^{xxvi} The anonymous author of the War Diary on January 20th who reported “Ground skirmishes with Iraqis on Saudi-Iraq border” is putting him/herself on the side of those who skirmished against the Iraqis. Likewise, the following words clearly place the writer on “our” side: “One weapon which will play an important role in any tank war with the Iraqis” (August 30th, Anonymous article) or again “It will be necessary to fight the Iraqis on land.” (February 3rd, by Robert Harris) Journalists at *The Times* take up stances which clearly support “our” side. In an article entitled “Iraq relies on bomb and bullet squads” (January 13th, by James Adams), there is no evidence in the article of any real threat, but it is taken for granted throughout, and it appears that hordes of Arab terrorists are training somewhere in order to carry it out.^{xxvii} Emotive terminology fit for a James Bond film is used: “bloodthirsty”, “terror alert”, “alarm”, “target”, “security”, “protection”, “warnings”. Michael Evans (January 17th) reports that “The war with Iraq has begun.... The operation to remove the Iraqis from Kuwait is expected to be carried out in two phases....” He calls the war “the war with Iraq” which implies his own identification with the allied side, as well as using the euphemism “the operation to remove the Iraqis from Kuwait”. The same journalist writes an article in which he defends the option of using nuclear weapons as a last resort, including sentences such as “(Nuclear) deterrence must also play a part in the present allied confrontation with Iraq.... Washington and London may regret the day they removed the hint of nuclear retaliation.” (January 11th) In an article significantly entitled “Riding the roller-coaster of British esteem worldwide”, written in the thick of the conflict (January 2nd 1991) *The Times*’ Diplomatic Editor, Andrew McEwen sums up his years of reporting British foreign policy on leaving the post, praising the rising esteem in which Britain is supposed to be held worldwide since the years of Mrs Thatcher, claiming that: “... the Thatcher effect on Britain’s standing abroad cannot be overstated.... If John Major and Douglas Hurd handle the Gulf emergency well, its stature could continue to grow.... Mr Hurd is the most articulate, competent, civilised and personally likeable foreign secretary I have known.”

The Times was involved in the day-to-day life in the trenches. It devotes a whole article to

army slang, showing that journalists were involved with the troops' daily life. Journalists who lived in with the troops felt identified with the cause, such as Philip Jacobson (January 22nd), who "... cheered up the troops, who need no encouragement for a spot of mickey-taking." He understood that "anything that takes their mind off what lies in store must be welcome." The same writer sent back a despatch the next day, praising the Americans: "the right sort of ally to fight alongside", and the "lavishness" of the American medical service. *The Sunday Times* was available to the troops in the trenches.^{xxviii} Coverage created and maintained public support, trying to change public perception of war itself, to convince it that new technology has removed a lot of war's horrors. Semi-editorial articles, often anonymous, like the "War Diaries", are not merely factual accounts, but include justification for Western military action, such as the restoration of the "legitimate" government of Kuwait. The words "legitimate regime" and "friendly nation" are used instead of "democratic", as Kuwait was not a democracy.^{xxix} Security Council resolution 678 is repeatedly used as a justification, being mentioned no fewer than thirty seven times during January 1991, in all kinds of articles. Perhaps the least neutral journalist is Barbara Amiel, who calls the American flag "the flag", and ridicules opposition to the war.

On the other hand, opposition voices were not silenced completely. Some articles opposed the whole war effort, such as that by the linguist Mary Kaldor (January 26th).^{xxx} A few articles criticize a growing jingoism and restlessness, as if society and the media were longing for a fight.^{xxxi} There is criticism of the use of euphemistic language in war, especially by Philip Howard (February 15th): "Shivers ran through the British listeners when the Pentagon spokesman said he was quite 'comfortable' about the decision to bomb.... We now call it collateral damage. This is thought to sound better." There were debates on Royal Family's role protagonized by Andrew Neil, who was still editor of *The Sunday Times* in 1991, and an article after the bombing of the Baghdad bomb shelter (February 17th by Robert Harris), in which the crude realities of the massacre are laid out for all to see. Robert Harris, whose views can be called in general conservative, goes on to defend the necessity for open debate about all aspects of military action. There is other evidence of fairness of

reporting, with journalists sometimes questioning the West's sincerity.^{xxxii} It would seem that the rest of the newspaper is in some way inhibited by editorial comment, as it would seem incoherent for journalists to go wholly against editorial opinion, and there is some evidence that at least some control existed, so in an article on February 13th, 1991, entitled "Will Iraqi morale hold up ?", John Bullen claims it will not, under such pressure, but that the situation will be pathetic, although they will keep fighting "for each other". The article ends "The author is a curator at the Imperial War Museum. These are his personal views." This may be seen as a kind of editorial disclaimer that shows disagreement with the views expressed. Although it is not my purpose to investigate the origin of the contributors to *The Times*, there are both women, twenty in the hard news and features, and eight in the opinion section, and several non-Anglo names, one Spanish and a few Arab and Israeli, though they are a minority.

It has not been thought practical to pigeonhole the opinion section into "Hawks" and "Doves" as has been the case with letters and leading articles, as these articles are generally too long and complex to be easily classified. However, there are several critics who comment on their work, generally in a negative way, it must be said. Chomsky (1992: 15f) uses the opinions of two of the contributors, Oxford History Professors Norman Stone and Michael Howard, to illustrate the opinions of hardliners. The former is quoted as saying that the Soviet Union, whose character was "one of the greatest single causes of the Cold War", should reduce its level of armaments to one far below that of the West, due to its lower economic activity, and that the West need not be bound by thinking merely of its own defence proper, but should by implication be thinking in expansionist terms. The latter holds a view of American history that is clearly aligned with the Master Narrative, that "For two hundred years the United States has preserved almost unsullied the original ideals of the Enlightenment: the belief in the God-given rights of the individual, the inherent rights of free assembly and free speech, the blessings of free enterprise, the perfectibility of man, and above all, the universality of these values." Chomsky (1994: 10f) also criticizes another regular contributor to *The Times*, Efraim Karsh, as consistently defending the military option

as against diplomacy. In the opinion section there are also several articles with semi-imperatives as headlines, which are biased towards the war party. Headlines are manipulative in themselves, as they give an orientation towards the article itself that, left alone, the reader might not have shared.^{xxxiii} Professor Norman Stone is also criticized, together with Brian Walden, another regular columnists, for consistently and obsessively attacking the liberal intelligentsia, supposedly out of touch with ordinary people, while *Sunday Times* editor Andrew Neil is described as “name-dropping the great and dropping in on Downing Street”.^{xxxiv} Another journalist on *The Sunday Times*, Rosemary Righter, is taken to task by Golding and Harris (1997: 104) for attacking UNESCO in the early eighties, and supporting the British position in withdrawing funds which would have helped independent Third World news agencies. It would be fair to say that contributors are generally conservative and pro-war. The question of the merging of journalists’ and sources’ words is considered in greater detail in chapter 7 (7.7).

3.3.4. Letters to *The Times*: Hawks and Doves

In the press there is a lack of dialogue reader/writer, whereas there is arguably more in other media, where live broadcasts and phone-in programmes often put politicians “on the spot” in a way a letter to the editor cannot. There certainly is debate, but the only direct information available about the response of the reader to what is written in *The Times* about the Gulf conflict is the readers’ letters page, although this has been previously subjected to editorial interference. If one’s letter is not answered or published, there is no comeback, and opinions will only survive if there are media to reproduce them as well as a public sensitivity to respond. Some subjects are significantly absent. The carnage on the road out of Kuwait City did not strike a chord with the readers, and no letters criticize the air attack on retreating Iraqi troops, as if people did not feel even remotely involved. Even so, there is a wider spread of opinion in the letters than in other sections of the newspaper.

The letters to *The Times* are broken down according to month and tendency in the Appendix, Figure 6.

Each reader has a slightly different way of interpreting a news text. “Referential” readings

take for granted that the news is a reflection of reality, while “critical” or “analytical” readings reveal an awareness of the value-laden nature of the message. There are examples of both in the letters section. Those who wrote broadly supporting the war effort touched on the following themes, often more than once: the dangers of Saddam Hussein for the Middle East and the world; the need for a unified Western or UN response, in military terms if necessary, and criticizing the lack of a unified European military response; support for the armed forces; censorship as necessary and advisable; praising Israel’s “restraint” in not responding to the Iraqi missiles; support for Kuwait and outrage about the Iraqi invasion; arguments in favour of a greater involvement by the British royal family in the conflict; letters calling for a day of national celebration of the victory, and thanking the armed forces for the victory; and demands for war compensations. Readers in this group tended to be male, and are often elite figures, such as retired military men.

Dovish letters concentrated on the following points: arguments in favour of wide-ranging peace talks involving the whole Middle East, with the Israeli annexation of territory included as “linkage”; equating Israel’s occupation of the West Bank with that of Kuwait; anti-militarist / anti-military involvement letters; arguing that the whole problem was the West’s responsibility for “carving up” the Gulf region or supplying Saddam with arms; arguments in favour of prolonging sanctions instead of the military option; the dangers of collateral damage to the Holy Places, to archeological sites, to the environment, as a result of allied military action; against holding a national day of celebration; the necessity to count on the United Nations, that the West should not “go it alone” militarily. There tended to be more women in this group. Men are said to be more intellectually critical of news texts, while women are more emotionally critical and tend to personalize more, feel more the deaths and sympathize more with the victims.^{xxxv}

There is also a mixed bag of letters that are neither for nor against the war effort but comment on other matters. This kind of letter spoke of: details of historical parallels, filling in background knowledge of the area; Arab disunity; the Muslim community in Britain and its non-involvement; the rights of Iraqis in Britain; arguments for and against the recall of

parliament to debate the problem; the necessity for arms control; the West's over-reliance on oil; the role of the media, from various different points of view; human shields; the Red Cross; the plight of hostages, refugees and Prisoners of War on both sides; soldiers' conditions and morale; religious intolerance and treatment of women in Saudi Arabia; hospital beds for the wounded; the Kurdish problem and civilian casualties.

There seems to be a reflection here of the democratic nature of *The Times*, with an opportunity given to all kinds of voices. Even critical readings reflected in letters, however, often reproduce the same categories as the leading articles and opinion sections. Incidentally, the social status of many readers can be seen by the fact that many live in "Courts" in London. Courts are usually in quiet upper middle class areas.

3.3.5. The Story Line: A Flawed Narrative

Scholars divide their studies in different ways, including, for example, referents, temporality, aspectuality, modality, location and action / script. (Givón, 1995: 343) The script, or story line followed by the news outlet, then, also forms part of its discourse. This affects lexicosyntactic phenomena, and is in fact inseparable from them. Its importance is great at a non-academic level, as readers have less memory for linguistic categories, which are only a method of transferring data, than for more salient features of truth and falsehood. Western journalists like to think they are factual and neutral, and that only the other side uses propaganda.^{xxxvi} *The Times* did try to tell facts, but the hard news reflected in the story line has several flaws, on which I shall concentrate. The general drift of the story line was biased in favour of "us" against "them". In any narrative, events are often, though not always, selected according to their relevance to the macroproposition of the discourse, that is, according to whether these events fit into the preset framework, not according to their representation of the truth. Non-relevant elements tend to be filtered out before publication. Many criticisms have been made of press coverage of the Gulf conflict on a purely factual level. Falsification, even when there is later rectification, is harmful to the enemy, whether internal or external,^{xxxvii} and there were cases of inaccuracies in the Western media never rectified during the Gulf conflict.

As far as the environment is concerned, pictures of oil-soaked cormorants, which appeared around the world in *The Times* and many other newspapers, were apparently a trick, having been taken before the war even started. Most of the oil slicks were either caused by the allies or were commercial accidents, but in an article entitled "Both sides face daily challenge over lies" on January 29th, Michael Binyon claims that "Iraq's deliberate pollution of the Gulf has been a propaganda boon for the West. Pictures of dying cormorants have done more to arouse public anger in Europe...." According to the French, four out of five oil slicks were caused by the allies, but during the war they were used to whip up public opinion against Saddam. The story was maintained until the war was over.

"Smart bomb", "precision bombing" and "surgical strikes" displaced the human tragedy of their victims. What was modern, efficient and up-to-date was ethically acceptable, because it only removed what had to be removed and left the innocent unharmed. Reports that said otherwise were censored by the major media outlets. Film and photographs showing what really happened in Iraq were not published. The "smart bombs" were pictured as making up the total number dropped, and due to this precision bombing, says Clifford Longley, "War is at last becoming more 'user-friendly'" (January 19th). Although Ian Glover-Jones reported that "returning journalists have spoken of seeing little or no destruction of purely civilian targets and little widespread damage in general in Baghdad.... targets were being hit with incredible precision" (January 20th), in fact 93 per cent of the bombs did not come into this category, and civilian casualties were very heavy. This is only very occasionally criticized in *The Times*, which usually states something to the effect that "there were no estimates of enemy casualties" (January 27th, by Martin Fletcher).

On the other hand, Iraqi atrocities were exaggerated and hinted at darkly. Babies were said to have been snatched from incubators in Kuwait City. Andrew Whitley, of Middle East Watch, denied it, although it was an incident which President Bush had referred to on six different occasions. The story was a deliberate lie (Loustarinen, 1992: 130; Kellner, 1992: 207), the only witness being said to be "unidentified" whereas in fact she was the Kuwaiti

ambassador's daughter. *The Times* includes the story, but also includes the reports of French escapees who deny such inventions. Many stories of rape were false. Rape is used as a metaphor for the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on many occasions, and real rape was probably committed by Iraqi troops, but is insinuated at when there is no proof.

The Iraqi troops were said to be massing on the Saudi border. Satellite pictures passed to ABC showed few Iraqi troops on the Saudi border but ABC did not release them, saying their quality was too bad. (Kellner, 1992: 204f) *The Times* accepted the information as valid without any hard evidence and never retracted.^{xxxviii} Information about allied troop and warship movements was, by contrast, signally lacking, without *The Times* commenting. Another lie never retracted was that a milk factory bombed outside Baghdad was a military installation. The American counter-claim is accepted without question, though at least *The Times* rectifies its mistake.^{xxxix} Likewise, Western propaganda said that the bomb shelter destroyed on February 13th was a military installation, and although *The Times* is critical of the allied bombing, and from the first believes the Iraqis, the allied view is given prominence, and journalistic involvement on the allied side is clear in some reports on the attack.^{xl} Overall, statistics of casualties were vague or just not there. General Schwarzkopf reported "50,000 or 100,000 or 150,000 or whatever of them" were killed. According to the French it was 200,000. Numbers of casualties were hidden from the public, while those involving weapons and air power are mentioned on many occasions.

Historical shortsightedness is a common fault in reporting news, and is bound up inextricably with the lexicosyntactic features that compose it. If, for example, *The Times* speaks of "provocation" or "aggression" (See 4.6.6.), they are portrayed within a context of the immediate events. There were two connected elements present in the historical shortsightedness shown by the press, sensationalism, and a media view of history as a forgettable and disposable commodity. Firstly, there is a scale of values in hard news, with catastrophic events scoring high, such as assassinations, the sinking of a ship, and so on. Events which are short in duration get more space, so that jobless figures this month get

more attention than the evolution of unemployment over five years. The dramatism and immediacy of the fighting annulled complexity, context and history, and produced a depthless effect, with American reporters shouting "Holy Cow" on seeing the attack, and likening it to the Fourth of July (January 18th, by Peter Mulligan, and January 20th, "Profile" article). The war was pictured in a glamorous light, with fold-out British jets and tanks in *The Sunday Times* children's supplement *The Funday Times* covered almost like a sporting occasion, with "our" side winning.

History is a disposable commodity due to the structure of newspaper stories, where the important event comes first in each article, meaning that consequences are mentioned before causes, though there is a great difference between quality newspapers and tabloids, the former having more context, history and reactions. Even so, most newspaper readers only get to know the main event itself, and practically no information about history or background. Foreign news is too often reduced to isolated events that are fitted into ready-made frameworks, especially the Middle East (Van Dijk, 1988a: 93). For reasons of newsworthiness, news items often have no past or future, and developments and underlying factors are ignored, as opposed to surface events. For example, there is often media condemnation of "violence" or "aggression", but an underlying situation of injustice over a period of time, leading to attempts to change it, for example in the way oil is bought and sold, at what price, and where the profits go, is an issue seldom, if ever, aired in the press. The news presents transient affairs in the state of the world as if they made up a stable, permanent, controlled pattern. There was little debate about wider questions of power, corruption, institutional reforms or democracy.

Newspapers ignored background issues. The apparent homogeneity of the allied coalition was stressed, but it was artificially created for this purpose, with the "we" used to unite, while differences were hidden. The "great man" tradition of history, whereby a succession of kings and queens, wars and revolutions just happened without any apparent cause, is a feature of news about the Middle East, and reporting in the Gulf crisis. This is more

prominent in the tabloid press, with leaders presented in semi-heroic terms, but it is also true in *The Times*, where the leaders of Britain and the United States are treated with something approaching awe. Sir Winston Churchill, the ultimate British news icon, is mentioned over a hundred times in the texts chosen. Where the subject is singular, it adds dramatism, (Hodge and Kress, 1990: 88) as would a boxing match, "Bush against Saddam", and simplicity, bringing things down to representative persons, but takes us further from reality.

In *The Times* there is some historical background given, but in a very limited way that scarcely ever goes back more than a few years, unless it talks of Saddam's ruthless rise to power, which is repeatedly mentioned. There are new War Diaries very frequently with blow-by-blow accounts of the course of the war, to be found on January 18th, January 20th, January 22nd, January 24th, January 26th, January 27th, this last being the only one that goes back before the date of the invasion of Kuwait, to May 28th in fact, then January 29th, January 30th, and January 31st. The War Diaries are just that, diaries lacking in depth and historical perspective. In Gulf reporting how people lived in the countries involved was ignored. Readers were constantly surprised by the news, asking themselves, "Why did he do that?", or "He must be crazy". The news was constantly presented with a series of unquestioned "givens", making individual thought very difficult.

In *The Times* even the immediate causes of the war were ignored. It seems fairly clear that the Americans were determined to go to war from the start and Saddam Hussein walked into a trap prepared by the belatedly publicized July 25th interview with the American ambassador April Glaspie. State Department officials apparently led Saddam to think he could get away with grabbing Kuwait, according to the French ex-minister Claude Cheysson (*International Herald Tribune*, March 11th, 1991). Only in one of the War Diaries does this fact emerge, and the reader is merely asked to understand the Gulf conflict by harking back to other conflicts where "radical" Arab leaders have caused the West headaches. (Van Dijk, 1993a: 92-134) The longer history of the area was almost totally ignored during the conflict. No mention was made of the colonial carving up of the Gulf area

under British rule, with borders imposed by the Western powers, nor how the creation of the small Gulf states had been legitimized by the fear of Arab unity, which might affect oil supplies. The United States inherited British policy and undermined movements and regimes that might threaten Western hegemony in the region. None of this was ever mentioned, nor the way in which small underpopulated countries such as Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and the UAE managed to be recognized internationally as states, while a population of twenty million Kurds never has. The Gulf states have been pawns of the US and Europe against the larger Arab states Iran and Iraq, but this was never broached either, though there are a few articles where the American narrative of war and intervention is criticized.^{xli}

Of the Arab coalition allies, six were family dictatorships established by the Anglo-US settlement to manage Gulf oil, the seventh was Egypt, and the eighth was President Assad of Syria.

Among the very same states who joined the coalition to "liberate Kuwait" from aggression, several occupied the territory of other people, such as Israel, in the Golan Heights, West Bank and Gaza strip, Syria in Northern Lebanon, Turkey in part of Cyprus, and Morocco in Western Sahara. The irony of this was systematically ignored by most media outlets, including *The Times*, where it never gets a mention. Human rights in both Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were conveniently filed away by the media while the war went on. Only Saddam was transgressing the rules of decent human conduct. It is only very occasionally that some reader reminds us of this doublethink.^{xlii}

There are favourable views of the Western press among media researchers, such as Wang (1993: 559), who praise quality press coverage as being complete, in that it includes information on the contexts, backgrounds and causes. *The Times* rarely gives historical background, but it is not wholly absent. Some journalists reflect that "Arab poverty is a force for chaos, bigotry and war" (August 12th, by Brian Walden), and on January 27th 1991, in the thick of the conflict, the War Diary "Before the Desert Storm" lists several important events leading up to the war.^{xliii} As can be seen, *The Times* does record the Iraqi oil claims

over the oilfields, US implication in the area and, above all, the controversial meeting of US ambassador April Glaspie with Saddam Hussein, where he was led to believe there would be no American intervention in the event of an invasion. On August 4th, 1990, Nicholas Beeston, in an article entitled “The horror of Halabja that should have warned the world”, criticizes Western hypocrisy, and occasionally, in readers’ letters, the West’s double standards are laid bare.^{xliv}

Apart from the above omissions, we may cite the following. The conflict aligned the rich North and the rich oil emirates or kingdoms against a poor Third World country. In that sense, the Gulf conflict was a war waged by the North against the South, and was so perceived throughout the Third World, not only in Muslim countries but also elsewhere. There is no mention of this in *The Times*. The fact that the British economy and the City needed the financial support of the Kuwaiti oil sheikhs was never mentioned. Also, until the Gulf crisis Saddam was presented positively, despite his massacres, because he was a bulwark against Iranian Islamic fundamentalism spreading throughout the Arab world, but this went unnoticed during the conflict, while they proclaimed that their interests were in liberating Kuwait and keeping people informed. *The Times* itself fed off the Gulf crisis, it was good business, and they had to print more copies to keep up with demand.^{xlv}

There was a distinct lack of allied accountability, with no body counts taking place, and no mention was made of the extreme conditions the Iraqi forces must have suffered while in the desert, from bombing, thirst, fear, hunger and suffocation by bulldozer, until it was practically all over, but the commentaries are carefully hedged about with modality, and subject to censorship.^{xlvi} The photographs in *The Times*, have no images of battle at all, no blood or entrails, no innocent victims. There are seventeen pictures of weapons used on both sides with their technical characteristics between January 1st and March 15th 1991, but the only actual damage shown is that of an IRA bomb in Victoria station, an “Oiled Cormorant”, and the “Aftermath of Scud attack on Israel”, apart from just one, of the “Crumbling capital: Iraqis walking past shattered buildings in a residential suburb of

Baghdad.” (January 29th, Photograph caption), until the conflict was over. *The Times* has no dateline on its articles, only the journalist’s name and location, and not always even that. War Diaries, editorials, semi-editorial “Insight” and “Profile” articles are anonymous, as are photograph captions and articles that seem to have been copied virtually word for word near the deadline from news agency copy.

It was a massacre, not a real war, while the media exaggerated the size of the foe. *The Times* stated the war was waged against “the world's fourth largest army”, with a highly trained “elite Republican guard”, mentioned over twenty times in January 1991, so coalition forces had to fight the first high-tech electronic war with “smart bombs”. Nobody asked how Iraq had been defeated by Iran two years before. The so-called “elite” troops of Saddam were probably spared because they had to slaughter the Kurds and Shiites after the war had finished, when the West wanted Saddam to remain in power. The UN was merely instrumentalized to give the go-ahead to the war, whereas in most other cases, it was ignored. In *The Times* the UN resolutions are given great prominence, though on other occasions the organization is criticized or ignored by the British press. A rich minority like the Citizens for Free Kuwait, which had only thirteen members, sponsored many advertisements during the conflict, while the Third World is hardly ever mentioned in *The Times*. What is mentioned is that the effect of Saddam’s invasion will be a downturn in the world’s economy that will affect especially the poorer parts of the world, but this is adduced as part of the argument that the downfall of Saddam is necessary for the Third World too.

This was all only clear after the conflict. Western military personnel afterwards were often involved in “cleaning-up” operations against Kurdish forces in Turkey, as was shown in the accidental shooting down of a US military helicopter over Kurdistan in 1993. During the war, however, the Kurds were convenient allies and thus supported by the Western media, which often remembered “his genocidal suppression of the Kurds” (January 20th, by Judith Miller). Amnesty International was flooded by callers interested in the human rights situation in Iraq during the war, especially that concerning minorities such as the Kurds, but neither

before, when Saddam had been bombing the Kurdish villages with chemical weapons, nor after, when he continued to do so, was this considered important enough to deserve newspaper space.

The complex causes of armed conflict were ignored, and there was a tendency to show flat characters, rather than real people. Violence is never the fault of the authorities, but occurs in a vacuum, and according to most of the media, is inevitable. Many articles over-simplified the anti-war case into “No blood for oil”, that is, a one-dimensional case. (Hackett and Zhao, 1994: 514). Opposition arguments were set up as straw targets for easy rebutting. Never were Western motivations questioned, with oil practically never mentioned in *The Times* during the war, whereas it is seen with hindsight as having been crucial in the conflict. The reasons for the war given in nearly all the Western press were that there had to be a response to Iraqi aggression against a small defenceless state like Kuwait. The war was pictured as a necessary operation which would in fact save lives in the long run, and defend civilization from a new dark age. If there is a mention of oil, it is to deny that it is the motive for the use of force.^{xlvii} We read many mentions of the threat of Saddam getting a “stranglehold” or “hegemony” over oilfields, or “a third of the world’s oil supplies”, but the West is apparently not driven by such interests.

Diplomatic and media texts tend to lump whole states together, giving them personal characteristics. The “State as a person metaphor” means a state is conceived as a person engaging in social relations within a world community. Its landmass is its home, and it has neighbours, friends and enemies. States can be peaceful or aggressive, responsible or irresponsible, industrious or lazy. (Lakoff, 1992: 463 - 81) This metaphor helps to sustain unanimous judgments on the state as a whole, differences between social classes and groups, nationalities and religions being ignored. The whole of Iraq is personified in one man so that the people can be made collectively responsible and condemned. The personalization creates the logic. If Saddam does not leave Kuwait unconditionally “we” are justified in killing hundreds of thousands of Iraqis. The ruler stands for the state. Saddam Hussein is the actor in sentences endowed with negative values: to offend, to threaten, to

invade, to attack, to build up, to bomb, while the US and the coalition are generally subjects / agents of positive actions: to defend Kuwait, to present a peace proposal, or to order a ceasefire. (Martín Rojo, 1995: 62) In the US, it was Saddam who was the object of the popular campaign. T-shirts portrayed Saddam fleeing from a missile and the slogan “You can run but you can’t hide”. This activity of classification constructs a world divided sharply into “us” and “them”, and serves to reinforce the bonds within the group that “we” form, for those who accept and endorse these classifications of the “other”. Saddam Hussein is seen as nothing more complex than a demented, defiant, evil tyrant and half-crazed monster, and there is no clear place for him in the “highly cohesive, all-or-nothing community...”, that is identified with “the international community” or “the world”. (Hodge and Kress, 1988: 164) That the war was against Saddam Hussein in person was accepted by most people throughout the West, and this is stressed by official sources.^{xlviii} In *The Times* from January 1st to 12th 1991 there are 620 references to “Iraq” and “Iraqi”, and 372 references to “Saddam”. This shows there was considerable personification, but that the country was referred to with more frequency than its leader. In fact, a Saddam condom was marketed in the US, with the following directions: “Use this condom to help prevent unwanted mistakes like Saddam Hussein” (Kellner, 1995: 214). Sexual perversion was often related to Saddam in the US, according to Kellner, it being common to play on his name with “Sodd ‘em” and the like, which is paralleled on just one occasion among the British forces.^{xlix}

“Moral closure” against the enemy happened in the Gulf crisis,¹ when “our” people, troops or hostages, were seen to be at risk. Then all pretence at neutrality was stopped, the issue of negotiation or non-negotiation was closed, allowing the enemy to be condemned without reservation and isolated from everyday explanations about normal human conduct.

3.3.6. Conclusions

Some elements of the Master Narrative were accepted by *The Times*, while in other respects it was more independent. There was a great difference between the United States and Britain, between television viewers and newspaper readers, and between tabloid and

quality newspaper readers. The audience to which the journalists of *The Times* spoke was an educated one, relatively unemotional, and, within limits, not keen on blatant bias or extreme terms, preferring them to hedge their words with a lot of qualifications. There was a great deal of bias, but perhaps no more than could be expected from the mainstream press during wartime.

In the following chapters I shall examine the news discourse of *The Times* in more detail, to see how its lexicosyntactic choices influence ideological perceptions.

NOTES

-
- i. Keen, 1991: 19 - 21; Galtung, 1987: 1; Beeman, 1991: 41-2. The same phenomenon is labelled “the conservative meta-perspective” in McKensie and van Teeffelen (1993: 310) and elsewhere “the rhetoric of Western news discourse”.
- ii. Bellah (1970: 175) "God...is a word that almost all Americans can accept but that means so many different things to so many different people that it is almost an empty sign....The God of civil religion is actively interested and involved in history, with a special concern for America."
- iii. J. Cawelti (1976: 45) “Melodrama has at its center the moral fantasy of showing forth the essential “rightness” of the world order. It enables members of a group to share the same fantasies and what is more, to experience the existing rightness and benevolence of the status quo.” See also Roeh and Feldman, 1984: 349.
- iv. Bormann, Cragan, and Shields, 1996.
- v. Lakoff, 1992
- vi. Mueller, 1970: 21; Bowen, 1989: 793ff
- vii. Sainath, in Mowlana et al, 1992: 67
- viii. Johnson, 1991: 448; Zarefsky, 1992: 414; G.T. Goodnight, 1990
- ix. Other films in this line are *Delta Force* (1986) *Death before Dishonor* (1987), *The Retaliator* (1986), *Navy Seals* (1990) and *Iron Eagle I and II*, in 1985 and 1988, with Israeli military machinery and pilots, all portraying faceless, nameless Arabs as sadists and subhuman, torturing US Pows, and disdaining human life.
- x. A *Los Angeles Times* survey on March 25th, 1991, showed that 73 per cent of Americans felt that television reporters dug harder into the war than newspaper journalists, whereas the opposite was probably true. (Mowlana et al, 1991: 29) 78 per cent of Americans believed that the military were basically telling the truth, not hiding anything embarrassing, 72 per cent called press coverage “objective”, 61 per cent called it “for the most part accurate”. 80 per cent said the press did an excellent job. (Borman, Cragan and Shields, 1996; Kellner, 1995: 215). 80 per cent of the public supported the restrictions on the press, and 60 per cent wanted even more military control over the press and information (*International Herald Tribune*, February 1st, 1991)
- xi. Some Arabs received death threats and peace demonstrators were physically attacked. Arab Americans were visited in their homes by the FBI to sound out their attitudes on US foreign policy. Pan Am decided not to allow Arabs onto their planes. “Barbara Ann” was re-released to

the words of “Bomb Bomb Iraq”, and T-shirts were sold portraying a US marine pointing his rifle at an Arab on the ground and asking “How much is oil now?” Another T-shirt said “Join the army, see the world, meet new peopleand kill them”. During a televised football game the US eagle was projected on a wall swooping down on its prey. (Kellner, 1995: 221-227) The fear of this is reported on by *The Times*. (January 26th, by Charles Bremner)

xii. Zhongdang Pan et al, 1994; Kellner, 1995: 201-209.

xiii. Tom Wicker, "An Unknown Casualty" *New York Times* March 20th, 1991.

xiv. Readers could, if they had wished, have read a newspaper or magazine like *The Nation*, *In These Times*, *Z magazine*, and *National Review* in the US, or *Private Eye* and *The New Statesman* in Britain, which are minority outlets merely due to audience tastes.

xv. *The Sunday Times* (March 2nd 1991, Leading article) claimed "an extraordinary degree of unanimity , unprecedented in modern times towards any policy." But the picture is slightly more complex. Shaw and Carr-Hill (in Mowlana et al, 1992: 146) show that opinion polls in Britain proved worry was the chief feeling among the population. Most found the news from the Gulf "informative", “patriotic” and “sensible”, that it did not overglorify war. Most people accepted the military justification for the deaths in the bomb shelter, but readers of the quality press were more likely to see it as a mistake. In their survey, only 12% said they felt good because of allied successes. Women and readers of the quality press were the most worried in general. 60% said they were concerned or very concerned by loss of life among Iraqi soldiers, and more than 85% about Iraqi civilians, and 95% about British servicemen.

xvi. Elliott and Quattlebaum (1979), Lutz and Wodak (1987) and Perse and Courtright (1993: 486f) show that print media satisfy informational needs better.

xvii. Three men have been charged with criminal damage over an alleged vandalism attack on the Iraqi embassy in Queensgate, Kensington, during Wednesday night. Two windows were smashed and the front door damaged. (August 24th, Anonymous article)

Police say they are taking steps to protect the Saddam Hussein Mosque in Birmingham after fears that extremists tried to burn it down. (September 18th, Unnamed journalist)

xviii. Hodge and Kress, 1988: 193. Also, case studies of the US bombing of Libya in 1986, and the Vancouver “Walk for Peace” (Hackett and Zhao, 1994: 525; Hackett, 1991: 199 - 268)

xix. 18.36, *Reuters*: Israel defence minister says Israel will retaliate for Iraqi missile attack. As Martyn Lewis....pointed out, there was a crucial and dangerous difference in that story, sent out only on the Reuter financial service, between the initial “retaliate” (a journalistic inference) and Arens's carefully chosen use of “react”. (January 20th, by Brian MacArthur)

xx. International news agencies in the Middle East yesterday received telephone calls from oil

dealers in London and New York.... (August 2nd, by Michael Theodoulou in Nicosia)

“He (the emir) cannot accept to sit together with an aggressor,” he added.(Reuter) (August 4th, Anonymous article)

Crowds of anxious Gulf Arabs in flowing white robes could be seen gathered round news agency printers in the lobbies of luxury hotels, (August 6th, by Richard Owen)

“Islamabad to send troops” From agencies in Islamabad. (August 14th, Headline)

Iraq's information director told *Reuters* news agency by telephone that Western flights would not be allowed into Baghdad (September 3rd, by Philip Webster and Michael Knipe)

The Kuwaiti government-in-exile is drafting legislation which could cost.... (Reuter reports). (September 6th, by Michael Knipe)

Agence France-Presse claimed that Tariq Aziz, Iraq's foreign minister, had given the warning to the Red Cross.... (September 26th, by Nicholas Beeston in Baghdad)

xxi. Poland coupled its condemnation with concern for Poles employed in the two countries, the official PAP news agency said (August 3rd, by Andrew McEwen)

The official Saudi Press Agency said King Fahd was following the developments.... (August 4th, by Richard Owen and Juan Carlos Gumucio)

A statement released by the Iraqi news agency said: “Began to withdraw from Kuwaiti territory at 8am Baghdad time today.. (August 6th, by Martin Fletcher and Andrew McEwen)

xxii. Officials in Saddam Hussein's Baghdad say they will know the Gulf war has begun when the Americans start jamming Cable News Network. As the world's first 24-hour satellite news service, beamed to almost every nation on earth, *CNN* has already been a potent diplomatic weapon in the Gulf crisis. It has been monitored simultaneously in Baghdad and Washington.

xxiii. Zaller and Chiu, 1996: 387

xxiv. Andrew Neil, on the miner's strikes in the eighties: "From the start, *The Sunday Times* took a firm editorial line: for the sake of liberal democracy, economic recovery and the rolling back of union power, and for the sake of the sensible voices in the Labour Party and the TUC, Scargill and his forces had to be defeated, and would be." (Fowler, 1991: 1)

xxv. Profile: Charles Horner - Running through Pentagon video of the opening air attacks on Baghdad yesterday, Lieutenant-General Charles Horner drew chuckles from journalists gathered to see the first pictures of one of the most devastating military assaults in history. (January 19th, by Susan Ellicott)

The doubts arise not simply from opinion polls that show up to 60 per cent of the French turning against war. The real problem is the confusing signals that M Mitterrand and his inner circle have been emitting. (January 4th, by Phillip Jacobson)

xxvi. The allied use of precision bombing is so far dictating the war.... because the coalition is giving a clear message to President Saddam Hussein and the rest of the Arab world that the war

is against the Iraqi regime, not against the Iraqi people. (January 19th, by Michael Evans)

xxvii. It is a sign of troubled times: nobody can rent or buy an armour-plated car in Britain.... So serious is the threat of terrorism as the Gulf moves towards war, that businessmen are preparing for the worst. The alarm has been prompted as much by bloodthirsty calls from Baghdad as by government warnings. A worldwide terror alert was issued last week by Whitehall to military bases, embassies and businesses that are likely targets if war breaks out.... On Friday, the United States State Department issued a warning that Iraqi-backed terrorists were planning to launch attacks throughout the world; British intelligence believes targets in this country are high on the list. Ministers have been told that the main targets are airlines, oil depots, North Sea oil platforms, trains and railway stations, embassies and military bases.(January 13th, by James Adams)

xxviii. *The Sunday Times* has launched a special operation to keep the British forces informed of developments in the Gulf. Troops dug deep into frontline foxholes will be able to read today's front-page headlines tomorrow, following a link-up with *The Sunday Times*, the weekly newspaper for forces in the Middle East.... Each Saturday night *The Sunday Times* is faxing its main Gulf and home news stories, photographs and cartoons to the forces' newspaper in Riyadh.... Last week the paper produced a four-page supplement, headlined Air Assault Starts War To Free Kuwait, which was on its way to the front line within 18 hours of the first bombs dropping on Baghdad. (January 20th, by Maurice Chittenden)

xxix. Under international law the coalition parties have an “inherent right” to come to the defence of a friendly nation like Kuwait. (January 24th, War Diary)

xxx. “....every Iraqi casualty, every surgical strike that to us seems so pure and remote, strengthens accumulated hostility and mistrust of western ‘imperialists’.” (January 26th, by Mary Kaldor)

xxxi.you can smell the longing for conflict throughout the media. A primeval blood-lust is implicit in almost every headline and news bulletin about the Gulf. This is not simply a cynical attempt to increase circulation or improve ratings, but a subconscious expression of a suppressed but forceful desire. “Let's get on with it” would be an appropriate interpretation of the general mood. (September 24th, by Adrain Dannatt)

xxxii. But what kind of person is it, whose first reaction is to get on the telephone and complain about “bias”? How much bias can a dead baby have? Does a corpse in Baghdad have to be balanced by a corpse in Kuwait before it can be shown.... ? Or were the broadcasters supposed to pretend the massacre in the shelter hadn't happened? Lose the film? Save it for the archives?.... One of the sickest cliches of war is “they did not die in vain”. Of course those people in Baghdad died in vain. But at least they did not die unseen. Already, allied commanders have been obliged

to review their targets to reduce the risk of further civilian deaths. And for this mercy we must thank that much maligned medium, television.....controversy over the administration's sudden new emphasis on the imminence of Iraq's nuclear threat which, independent experts believe, officials have exaggerated to boost domestic support for swift military action. (November 29th, by Martin Fletcher)

xxxiii. "Saddam: No half measures" (January 19th by Conor Cruise O'Brien)

"Let's Have no backsliding" (February 12th, by Woodrow Wyatt)

"Onward, Christian soldiers" (January 14th, by George Hill)

xxxiv. Petley, 1997: 268ff

xxxv. Hodge and Kress, 1979: 179

xxxvi. Nailing the big lie has become a daily task for the allies. Propaganda falls on fertile ground in the Arab world, when access to unbiased information is slight. Suspicion of the Western media in Arab and most Third World countries is being skilfully exploited by Iraq (January 29th, by Michael Binyon)

xxxvii. Sorlin, 1991: 70

xxxviii. Reports that large numbers of Iraqi troops are massed near the Kuwait-Saudi border yesterday added impetus to the panic-stricken flurry of Arab diplomacy. (August 4th, by Richard Owen and Juan Carlos Gumucio)

The Iraqi forces massed on the border with Saudi Arabia yesterday..... Nearly three times as many troops are now gathered on the border as in the initial thrust. (August 5th, by James Adams)

xxxix. Iraq said earlier that.... a baby-milk factory was hit in the capital on Monday. (January 23rd, Anonymous article)

Iraqi plant which Baghdad claimed was making powdered baby milk was in fact making biological weapons. (January 24th, War Diary)

Fresh evidence of Iraqi cunning emerges daily....His biological and chemical weapons facilities operate from buildings with facades like a baby-milk factory. (January 25th, by Martin Fletcher and Nick Nuttall)

A wrecked powdered milk factory in the Abu Ghreib district of Baghdad was apparently destroyed because it was painted in camouflage, located near anti-aircraft batteries and began production only two months ago....The American military still maintains that the site was a chemical weapons facility although a close inspection of the factory reveals that it was without doubt producing nothing more lethal than powdered milk. (February 4th, by Nicholas Beeston)

xl. There can be little doubt that the shelter was purposely targeted. (February 14th, by Marie

Colvin)

“Shelter could have hidden military centre” (February 14th, Headline, by Hazhir Teimourian)
The left-wing Labour MPs who tabled a motion on Wednesday condemning “the barbaric slaughter of innocent men, women and children” might not have been so eager to criticise had Britain also been under air bombardment and newspapers filled with pictures of British civilian deaths. (February 15th, by Michael Evans)

xli.America's notorious tendency to forestall elections in countries where it fears the triumph of unfriendly forces. When the worst happens, as in Allende's Chile, and an unacceptable government is democratically elected, you must resort to covert destabilisation to bring it down, (January 25th, by Janet Daley, in article entitled “Heresies of the democratic religion)

xlii. Let us recall: Iraq's “weapons of mass destruction” have been summoned up by Israel's which the United States has unlawfully tolerated (October 3rd, Letter from Mrs Elizabeth Young)

xliii. May 28, 1990 Saddam Hussein, at the Arab League Summit in Baghdad, accuses some countries of keeping the price of oil too low through over-production, and making “economic war” on Iraq.

July 18 Tariq Aziz, Iraq's foreign minister, claims Kuwait had stolen \$2.4bn worth of Iraqi oil and had built military posts on Iraqi land.

July 23 Iraq accuses Kuwaiti foreign minister of being a US agent.

July 25 April Glaspie, US ambassador to Iraq, tells Saddam: “We have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts like your border disagreement with Kuwait”.

xliv. Today, the Western powers and the Soviet Union decide to take united action against Iraq. Since he invaded Iran in 1980, the Iraqi leader has been helped to build the most powerful military machine in the region: French warplanes, Soviet tanks, and the combined resources of European, American and Asian military equipment....whil he was attacking Iran or gassing the Kurds. (January 13th, Letter from Mr Geoffrey Carnall)

xlv. “Hot off the press” Minutes after the first allied bombs exploded in Baghdad, national newspapers extended print deadlines to beat their rivals with the latest news. *The Times*, which printed eight editions the night war broke out, started running its last edition at 6am, printing about 60,000 extra copies. (January 23rd, by Melinda Wittstock)

xlvi. Early reconnaissance photographs reveal that the Iraqi troops may have suffered terribly in recent bombing.(February 3rd, by Jon Swain)

The four conscripts were unshaven, exhausted and famished. (February 7th, Anonymous article)
(The sergeant) and 26 of his men started walking north across the trackless desert. A day later the exhausted band surrendered. They had lived on two pieces of bread a day almost since the

outbreak of war on January 17th. (Report subject to allied military restrictions) (March 1st, Anonymous article)

xlvi. The anti-war movementargues that no blood should be spilt to retake a scrap of desert, even if there is oil under it. But.... fundamentally, this confrontation is about the construction of a post-cold war order....about denying a brutal dictator the power to control more than a third of the world's oil supplies, not just because of the economic pain that would cause the rest of the world.... but because of this dictator's clear intention to.... (December 12th, Leading article)
Mr Hurd....added: "We should not forget the thousands and thousands of Kuwaitis who are virtually hostages, prisoners in their own country." It was not a matter of the price of oil or access to oil. (December 12th, by Peter Mulligan and John Winder)

xlvi. "While the world waited, Saddam Hussein responded to any peace offering made by the international community with a challenge...while the world was praying for peace, he was preparing war." (January 16th, Transcript of speech by George Bush)

"I understand the new situation we are in," he said. "Let us hope the allies destroy this man in Baghdad for good." (January 23rd, by Richard Owen, quoting an Israeli citizen)

Sir, We are at war, not with Iraqi forces in Kuwait, but with Iraq itself. Kuwait is just a symptom of a malignant disease centred in Baghdad and its leader. (January 19th, Letter from Sir Richard Dobson)

Richard Cheney, the US defence secretary, gave warning that.... The US was not seeking "to conquer Iraq.... "But we are prepared to expel him (Saddam) from Kuwait." (January 21st, by Martin Fletcher)

"....there can be no doubt in anyone's mind that our troops will forcibly remove him from Kuwait." (January 12th, by Kerry Gill, quoting Mr Major)

xlix. Major Moody's latest ditty. Most of the lyrics are unprintable, containing rude jokes.... about President Saddam Hussein, usually referred to as "Soddim". (January 12th, by Lin Jenkins)

l. "Moral closure" is a term coined for what took place in the media against the Italian Red Brigades when they had shot Aldo Moro. (Davis and Walton, 1983a: 63)

4.1. Introduction

This chapter has been divided into two halves. It constitutes a unit, as it concerns lexical items, but it treats two facets of those items, respectively, those of identifying and describing “us” and “them”. This chapter deals with lexical items, sometimes within groups, sometimes in isolation, and their use in referring to and representing the real world. Words have been defined as the “minimum free form of language.... the smallest form that can occur in isolation”.ⁱ Lexical items are set off from others on the page, and are both grammar-free and pregrammatical. They can be, and have been, classified in many different ways, as “parts of speech” or “lexical categories” in most traditional grammars, such as that of Quirk (1985: 67), or “word classes” in functional grammar. They are also “dictionary words”, or part of the lexicon, though here I have also considered, apart from single words, word groups that are considered “unitary lexical items” or “expanded words”,ⁱⁱ mainly noun groups and adjective groups, which may include the head word, the pre-modifier and determiners. I have even included simple clauses using the verb “to be”, plus a post-modifier, as the verb “to be” is semantically poor in most contexts, when it refers to inherent qualities, and it is virtually the same semantically to talk about “the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein” as “Saddam Hussein is a dictator”, though I have mainly avoided verb groups, clauses and sentences in this chapter. The difference between lexical and syntactic questions is not dealt with here in detail, and this chapter and those that follow it are to be differentiated in two main ways. In this chapter, words are considered more in isolation and in those that follow it, they are seen within their syntactic context. Thus, nominalization involves lexical items, but due to the relationship of nominals with the verb phrase, it is considered within syntax. Secondly, in this chapter I deal with “time stable” linguistic phenomena, inherent features, while in later ones I deal with “time unstable” features.

I shall consider first the place of language in relation with identity and culture, and the way they interact. Then I shall show how pronoun use in the texts helps to divide humanity into “us” and “them”, and then I shall trace through the occurrences of some key words and word

groups as they appear in the texts. I relate them to their contribution to the division of humanity into two worlds, first identifying, and then classifying “us” and “them”, according to rationality and irrationality, sensitivity and insensitivity, and aggression and defence against aggression.

4.2. Language, Identity and Culture

Identity is a sense of common origin, beliefs and values, a common cause, which unites people in “in-groups”. Sharing a commonly felt identity allows people to develop mutual understanding, and it is on the basis of identity and belonging that both primitive and technologically advanced societies cooperate. To know one’s origin is to have a sense of continuity from the past towards the future in which we find the meaning of our existence, find a kind of immortality, and know why we behave and act in the way we do.ⁱⁱⁱ On the other hand, a separate identity tends to maintain boundaries with others. We feel threatened when our group’s survival is threatened and disputed with out-groups. Such identification is usually felt with one’s family, nation or ethnic group.

Ethnicity means belonging to an “ethnos” or “culture” implying distinction, and therefore some kind of contrast, but no more than other kinds of distinction. Ethnicity may become a rallying point, manipulated as a boundary mechanism, sometimes by politicians, sometimes by the media, being linked to language, and to the sense of a collective cultural community, a kind of immortality referred to above, but it does not need to be exclusive of others. To have and feel an ethnic identity does not mean that humanity is necessarily divided in our minds into two or more different worlds. Studies such as that of Milroy (1980) in Belfast showed how the solidarity between members of communities is reflected in their language, with the social network an important mechanism of language maintenance.

Ethnicity is part of the heritage passed on by one’s parents, and language is in a way the recorder of this belonging. However, ethnicity can be sometimes taken to extremes in nationalism or racism, which are words with a pejorative meaning that “ethnicity” lacks,

because their focus is not on differences as such but on distinctions of “better” and “worse”, “dominator” and “dominated”. The racist or nationalist runs the risk of believing that his/her nation is superior in some way, and both stress the difference rather than the similarities between peoples. Confrontation with outsiders accentuates group consciousness, and the feeling that one’s ethnic group is threatened leads to a defensive reaction. How far such attitudes are naturally in-born, and how much they are fomented by social environment is uncertain. People may not be free to choose their identity, Rather, it may be an artificial frame of reference, whereby some groups possess more power than others, and can impose their notion of identity upon the less powerful.

In-groups may include close family, friends and peer-group, which are first order zones in sociological terms, but may also be considered to involve wider family, acquaintances, which are second order zones, and our region, ethnic group and nation. These are made comparable to each other in the media. Other macro-sociolinguistic factors such as geographical space, class stratification, sex and age also sort us to some extent into linguistic categories and compartments. One speaks in a more informal way with members of one’s group, using argots, jargons, greetings, informal forms of address, ritual phrases, jokes and insults, which are all boundary-maintaining devices that outsiders do not understand, and which may be used for their deliberate exclusion, as was found, for example, among the black community in New York by William Labov, and by Gumperz (1968: 226). Language is thus part and parcel of our identity from early on in life, remaining a crucial element in communication with others for the rest of our lives. It therefore does not need the media to mark off our boundary with other groups. It has even been claimed that every utterance a speaker makes is an act of identity. Though this may be something of an exaggeration, it is nevertheless true that all of us have, and need, an in-group with which we share linguistic and other values, which appear constantly in our speech.

Both sides in the Gulf conflict had identities which came to the surface during the crisis. Arab countries have built on the existing cultural affinities they all share, in order to create a

political and economic unity, and the Arab-Israeli and Arab world-Western world conflicts have created a stronger sense of collective Arab identity, as a common enemy creates a common response and common purpose. "An Arab is a person whose mother tongue is Arabic, who has lived or who looks forward to living on Arab soil, and who believes in being a member of the Arab nation".^{iv} This fierce sense of loyalty to an identity does not belong only to one side, however. Language paralleled collective cohesion on the allied side as well, and consistently identified who belonged to the in-group and the out-group. The allied troops, far from home and family, developed their own private lexicon, common only to their own temporary speech community. In an article entitled “A to Z of Warspeak” there is a list of over a hundred terms shared by the British armed forces, including many that would be incomprehensible to outsiders. These are not all mere abbreviations, as it would often be just as easy to say the normal word as the jargon. Similarly, within the Pentagon, James Adams found a sense of common purpose, accompanied by an in-group vocabulary the journalist has to explain to his readers.^v Some of these terms seem to have been invented to create a boundary between the in-group and outsiders. In the Western media in general, public beliefs and attitudes regarding group identity, which were already present, were reinforced and seldom questioned. Media coverage reinforced a pre-existing sense of identity and social cohesion, a pre-formed consensus, based more on psychological than simply ethnic or geographical factors.

There were obvious symbols of solidarity, tying the community together, a certain semiotic fetishism of yellow ribbons, even present on some news bulletin anchormen’s lapels in the USA, as in the Iran hostage crisis. The Western-centred approach is illustrated in other obvious ways, such as the way the "Middle East" and “Middle Eastern”, which appear over two hundred times in August alone in the texts, are used. These are not universally accepted terms, but are an artificial construction of Eurocentric nineteenth century geographers who, “willing to go to any lengths to avoid the unpleasant admission that Africans built the pyramids and the Sphinx, found a way of stealing Egypt from the continent

in which any map clearly shows it belongs". (Beard and Cerf, 1992) The same area is known to Asians as "East Asia".

The press constructs events in terms of opposition, which is newsworthy, so the press often uses oppositional vocabulary, with terms such as “disagreement”, “confrontation”, “clashes”, “split”, “rivalry” and “row”. There is a widespread belief in the British media that things are gone about with more a spirit of cooperation in Britain than elsewhere, and violence is often blamed on “outsiders” who have come in to break up the peaceful local community.^{vi} There were groups within and compatible with the majority pro-war position, “legitimate” opposition groups, with a “genuine” grievance, which in *The Times* means mainly utilitarian arguments against the intervention, and the Church of England, none of which was ridiculed, while there were those called “peacemongers”, who were a “marginal oddity”. Radical groups that were beyond the pale, incompatible, and not “legitimate” got hardly any mention in the press.^{vii}

There is a certain amount of ethnic bias in the mainstream media, reflected in some lexical choices. The Western media give a negative image of the Arabs, and contribute to the process of identification with certain groups which each individual undergoes in the course of his/her life. Literature and films feed anti-Arab racist prejudices, dramatizing the chaos which they supposedly represent as a threat. A contrast is traditionally made between, on the one hand, the “primitive” Arab, a mixture of the desert, nomads, solitude, heat, fanaticism, visionaries, unreliability, poverty and great riches, and on the other the settled peaceful rational productive family community of the West and Israel. Dehumanizing terminology is sometimes used, with terms such as “offspring” instead of “children”, “percentage”, “rate”, “intake”, “rise”, “proportion”, “total”, all dehumanizing “them”,^{viii} just as “target” or “collateral damage”, do with their war casualties. The question of whether a person is called by name, or merely called a “casualty”, is crucial in forming opinions and attitudes among the audience. US and British troops or Israeli civilians are given names

more often than Iraqis and Palestinians, who are often merely a number of “dead”. Some writers in *The Times*, however, warn against the dangers of racism and criticize ethnocentric attitudes.^{ix}

4.3. *The Times* and “Us”: An Extended Family

The corpus chosen is to the study of pronoun use and other referential devices like a stretch of river to a study of water. Many referents have already been established long before the water flowed to this point. The publicly shared and accepted frame of “givens” is already mostly in place. In my selection of articles, “us” and “them” have already been defined to some extent, by choosing mainly those that deal with the relations between the United Kingdom and the United States, on the one hand, and the Iraqis on the other. I shall now look with more attention at lexical devices that encourage the reader to feel that the great protagonists of the conflict were in fact familiar figures close to home. “An ethnic group is a family par excellence” (Downes, 1983: 183), and the identity of “us” often depends subjectively on who is speaking.

The identity of “us” varies somewhat according to the phase of the conflict referred to. At the beginning, many Arab countries were considered as part of “them”, but as they joined the coalition group they began to be considered as part of “us”. I am not the first to notice the shifting and unstable nature of “us”. Martín Rojo (1995) shows how the Spanish newspaper *El País* in the Gulf crisis used the national “we”, a collective which has one name but varies as to content. The paper’s reproduction of the “we” of political discourses and the progressive use of other terms like “the West” and “the world”, shows that it widened its reference, as the conflict went on, to a transnational group which is presented as sharing ideological values. In this way, *El País* strengthens the idea of a consensus. The change, however, occurred so subtly that it happened with an appearance of coherence.

4.4. Pronoun Use

Pronouns form part of the title of this study, but their status as a lexical item is uncertain. They are marked off from other words on the page, but are sometimes called, together with determiners, prepositions and auxiliaries, “non-lexical items” (Downing, 1990: 245), as they have no intrinsic meaning. They are essentially a cohesive device within discourse. That is, their contribution, rather than to the semantics, is to the logical relations between other elements. They are not the only anaphoric, or backward-pointing, device, as there are also words like “this”, relative pronouns and definite nouns, but they are the most common, and may therefore be considered representative.^x Since pronouns are used to take the place of nouns they are in a sense “nominal”, but often the anaphoric referent of a pronoun is anything but clear, especially in the case of “we”, “they” and generic “you”, and for this reason it is open to manipulation. In news discourse in the press, pronoun use is less frequent than in speech, but is often unclear, with frequent inclusive use, including the speaker and addressee / interlocutor, presupposing an identification that has never been formally agreed on by readers. Placed as it often is in front position in utterances, the pronoun is practically never stressed in speech, and so can slip in unawares among the “givens”, in an almost subliminal way. News discourse is in fact the register where the pronoun is furthest from its referent, when it is mentioned at all. (Biber, et al 1998: 121) This is because the amount of assumed and shared knowledge in news discourse is enormous. The field of news discourse is assumed to be so fixed and stable that certain elements, pronouns among them, have referents it is thought unnecessary to name, as they make up a pre-existing framework.

4.4.1. “We”

Any pronoun but “I” can be seen to represent a distancing process, though “we” is nearest to it. It is “the pronoun of the first person plural nominative, denoting the speaker and one or more other persons whom he associates with himself as the subject of the sentence.” (OED), but the dictionary itself points out the ideological nature it can acquire, when it goes on “used indefinitely in general statements in which the speaker or writer includes those

whom he addresses, his contemporaries, his fellow-countrymen, or the like.” In fact, in political discourse, “we” can almost be considered the “unmarked” pronoun.^{xi} Politicians such as Mrs Thatcher and Mr Major, the two British prime ministers during different phases of the conflict, sometimes use “I” to express their sincerity and personal beliefs, but also use “we” in a semi-monarchic way when they really mean “I”., and sometimes use “we” to establish rapport with their audience. Mrs Thatcher’s “we” is used to refer to the government, Conservatives, Britain, she and President Reagan, Nato, and the European Community. The Government and Britain are one and the same. This graded distancing mechanism in the discourse of Thatcherism has been expressed in table form, as follows, with the forms moving away from the first person from left to right.^{xii}

I	we	you	one	you	she	he	they	it	those
---	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----	------	----	-------

The above is not much different from the use of pronouns in formal English wherever it is found, and certainly when used by other politicians and spokesmen. Mr Major’s use of the pronouns “I”, “you”, “we” and “they” creates a social space and positions the audience within it, especially his frequent use of “I” as source of knowledge, and “we” as a simultaneously inclusive / exclusive device.^{xiii} Although “we” distances, it does so only slightly, and is often preferred by politicians, as it does not incur in authoritarianism. Western political and media discourse of the nineteen eighties was full of “we” and “our”, so that media audiences of 1990 had already been primed: “We must both defend freedom and preserve the peace. We must stand true to our principles and our friends.” This is from a typical speech by President Reagan prior to the Gulf crisis,^{xiv} and reveals the mainstream Western line. “We”, the West, stand by the civilized world, which “they” are threatening. “Our” democracy is weakened by the moral “agonizing” of the American president and his advisers, and the need to consult the democratic organs of the nation, while “they” are free from such ties, to dictate their policy decisions. Pre-existing referents for generic “we” were evoked constantly and uncritically by journalists on *The Times* throughout the period.

In the course of these texts, the identity of “we” varies somewhat, but generally “we” or “us” mean the people of the industrially advanced countries of the West, especially the United States and Britain, while “they” and “them” means the Arab world, especially Iraq. Indeed, the very use of “we” implies a “they” counterpart, as is clear in the dictionary definition: “used in conjunction with ‘they’ to allude to the tension between two mutually exclusive groups or categories of people, or their opposing interests.” (*OED*) Few writers or speakers escape the all-embracing rhetorical “we” of mainstream news discourse in *The Times*. The question of whether they themselves are sure to whom they are really referring does not concern us. “We” is used to unite, and the existence of differences is hidden. During the Gulf conflict, what exactly this “we” of consensus consists of is never made explicit because of cultural, religious and ideological differences which existed in the coalition group. Some of the definition of “we” is moral, with “our” values defended systematically in the press, such as freedom of choice, co-operation and hard work, but some is undoubtedly ethnic. General public acceptance of the identity of this presupposed in-group is crucial in setting the stage for any debate over the morality of the war effort.

“We” is “regularly used in editorial and unsigned articles in newspapers.... where the writer is understood to be supported in his opinions and statements by the editorial staff collectively.” (*OED*) Editorials throughout the British press were consistently pro-war, and identified the newspaper with the war effort. In *The Times*, leading articles identify entirely with the “we” of the decision-makers in Washington and London, while keeping themselves at a polite distance from the reader.^{xv} However, it must be said that with Simon Jenkins as editor of *The Times*, the tone of editorials softened compared with the Andrew Neil era, the latter now being the editor of *The Sunday Times*, with the rhetorical force of the institutional “we” changing somewhat. Semi-editorial articles also often assume the identification of writer and reader alike with the aims of the political hierarchy, as in “How we shall go to war”. (January 12th, Headline, Diary article) The article is openly pro-government and

identifies the decisionmakers both in Washington and London with the all-embracing “we” that is assumed to include editorial staff, readers and the whole of the population alike, an alliance without cracks in it. Journalists may deny that it is a battle of “us” against “them”, and usually refrain from such evident labelling, but the bias evident in many parts of the reporting make it all too clear. The following are the major classifications in the use of “we” in *The Times*, which I have traced throughout the whole period.

a. Non-Military Organizations: This use is exclusive of the addressee. People naturally use “we” to talk about the group they are sharing things with, agree with and have things in common with, and this use has been found to be the most frequent of all in the texts studied. Among those referring to their group as “we” are one of a group of hostages, a church leader, Green Party spokesmen, the President of the United Nations Association, the Secretary General of the United Nations, the Director of Christian Aid and a journalist escaping with others across the desert to Amman, all referring to their immediate companions or to those they represent.^{xvi} In these examples, a spokesperson takes it on his/her shoulders to give an opinion, including others of the group represented in his/her words.

b. The Armed Forces: Exclusive “we” is used to refer to institutions and groupings close to the speaker, which are, sociologically speaking, second order zones, but such is the identification of the armed forces with the cause that they become practically first order. On the Iraqi side, a similar identification with the cause was felt.^{xvii} The US and British armed forces, in the main, felt fully identified with the cause. The commonest exclusive use of “we” in the news discourse selected is that of soldiers and airmen referring to themselves and their companions at arms.^{xviii} The identification of the servicemen to the cause, their conviction of being in the right, their team spirit, is seen as absolute wherever it is mentioned. Their philosophy is that they are there to do a job, that they will do it to the best of their ability, and at times they make patent this division into “us” and “them”. The

involvement, or even exhilaration and enjoyment, of the fighting forces themselves is evident. This stress on the armed forces' personal involvement may have been made in the media because they were trying to stir up sympathy for “our” troops out there in the desert. At times the enthusiasm is evident, and the pilots are disappointed if they miss out on the “fun”.

Journalists and others present felt part of that “we”, and identified with the people whose everyday life and danger they shared.^{xix} Other people involved also felt this identification with their companions and with the cause. The words of the army priest on January 14th are revealing: “We do not go happily into conflict, and neither do the servicemen. There is great agonizing about the rightness of what we are doing.” (January 14th, quoting the Venerable Brian Halfpenny) The priest identifies himself entirely with the cause. He merges the meanings of “we”, the first of which refers only to the chaplains, but the second to what “we” in the army are doing.

c. The National “We”: “We” is used to describe the community of news readers and spectators, especially in the letters section.²¹ This use overlaps that of “we” as the nation, such is the blanket coverage that news from the Gulf received on both sides of the Atlantic. So “we” refers to nations, sometimes Western ones, sometimes others, including Iraq, whose emigrants and leader also feel identified with the nation.²² There are hundreds of references to the national “we”, by representatives of other Western countries, the US, Israel and others.²³ “We” as a nation, in *The Times*, usually refers to Britain. This identification is not only shared by politicians but by other élite persons, and has, significantly, been totally assumed by members of the public, especially those who support the war effort. There is consistent “domestication” in the British news, with the expressions “come home”, “home news”, where even the homeless are included, and “Home Secretary”, rather than “Interior Minister”.

There would appear to be certain areas of Britain where more opposition to the war effort existed than others. So, readers' letters from Liverpool and especially Scotland often express opposition to it, though they still share in the national “we”. Even those opposing the war, at least those who have their letters printed in *The Times*, share the mainstream vision of “we”. Politicians who oppose military action do not challenge the “we” of media discourse.²⁴ Sometimes the identification of “Britain”, “the reader”, “the government” and “the West” are so closely entwined and overlapping in readers' minds that they are impossible to disentangle, as when Stuart Weir (August 26th) says “We are constantly told that we cannot negotiate over the fate of the Western hostages”. Here, “we” in the first instance refers clearly to the media audience, while the second refers to the government negotiating on our behalf, for “the West's” hostages, which are at the same time “ours”. The nation in wartime is a united front, the “we” of Britain having no cracks and no divisions. Fowler (1991: 209ff) and Fairclough (1989: 128ff) believe the composite “we” of national consensus to be politically and economically motivated, springing from the interests of a government to have a population who do not question the status quo. The relevant group for the national press is usually the English population, not normally including the Scottish or Welsh or Northern Irish, and it is noticeable that the most critical opinions in *The Times* are to be found in letters from Scotland. “We” is sometimes used by a decision-making élite within a country to refer to itself, though usually, these elites say they are speaking on behalf of the rest of the country.²⁵ The important point is that the official position, that of government, the established press and private interest groups, tries to set itself up as the spokesman for the whole of society.

d. The West: This is a very vague group, and was used by the media during the Cold War to describe the “democratic” countries or the “Free World”, but the irony of the inclusion of some countries in the coalition which had previously been beyond the pale was lost on most commentators. Differences were minimized for the sake of unity, France, Spain and Syria alike forming part of “us” at different stages of the conflict. Likewise, in Spain, *El País* did

not support the war at the beginning, but when the Spanish government started to, so did *El País*, and started using “we” discourses, using collective subjects such as “the international community”, “Europe” or “the civilized world”, which was the categorization made by American diplomacy of the conflict. (Martín Rojo, 1995)

The West is consistently referred to as “we”, by letter writers, leading articles and journalists alike. Some articles are riddled with references to the “we” group without ever really defining it. The “we” of Mr Bush and Mr Major on January 6th is identical. America and Britain are as one.²⁶ Interestingly, Sir Michael Howard (January 2nd) and Paddy Ashdown (January 10th) use “we” to refer to US forces. Though they are both British Professor Howard taught at Yale University. Barbara Amiel feels so identified with the United States, even though she too is British, that she feels the American flag is her flag, and refers to it as “the flag”. NATO, and to some extent the European Union, are also part of “we” in this conflict, according to officialdom and politicians.²⁷ But their membership of the in-group is not so clear, nor so frequently mentioned. Other members of the coalition are seldom mentioned in the “we” group. Syria, for example, is never mentioned by name together with Britain. Mr Major seems to exclude the Arab allies from the Western “we”, and even Europe is often given the cold shoulder and excluded from the in-group due to its “lukewarm support for the war”.²⁸ The core members are the US and Britain, but other Western European countries are accepted as slightly deviant eccentrics.

e. “The World”: The reference of the inclusive “we” can be progressively enlarged from those involved in the immediate speech situation to include the whole of the human race. (Quirk, 1985: 354) There is ideological content every time “we” is juxtaposed with “the world”, an identification of “we” to refer to “the world” as if it were united against the demonized dictator of Iraq. The whole world is spoken for by people who really have no mandate to do so. This is a politically loaded use, not to be confused with humanity as a whole.²⁹ Journalistic use of this word is vague, assuming the allies’ identification with an

enormous undefined mass of people, few of whom ever gave their consent. The whole world was certainly not united against Iraq. Even in First World countries where support for the war effort was firm, there were considerable numbers of persons who did not agree with it. Peoples of the Third World, though not their leaders, consistently sided with Iraq when their opinions were sounded out. In the reality of the situation, the identity of this “we” was rarely clear, and, just as in Orwell’s *1984*, where Eurasia was one day allied with Oceania and the following day was fighting against it, the alliance in fact changed and expanded according to the realpolitik of the major Western powers, who were able to convince other nations to join the coalition, until by January 1991 it was very nearly true that “the world” faced Iraq, if one counts governments as peoples.

f. Historical “We”: Britain, America and the West are considered to have a kind of historical duration up to the time of the conflict. The Britain of the Falklands conflict, the Second World War and even of the Boxer rebellion in China, a “murderous disorder” according to Professor Norman Stone, are all “we” and were justified in their activities just as “we” are now. Robert Harris uses “we” to refer to the British people at the time of the Falkland Islands conflict of 1982 and the readers of 1991 in practically the same breath, as do others in referring to the Second World War group consciousness.³⁰

The Falkland Islands conflict is especially popular as it was a direct threat to a British-held territory, which cannot be said of the invasion of Kuwait, and was sparked off by an attack ordered by a dictator. “This is not a Falklands,” said a senior source. “This is the Falklands times ten”. (September 16th, by John Cassidy) but the identity of Britain versus the other is the same, as far as the media were concerned. The Falklands conflict is mentioned two hundred and eight times during this period, both to liken and contrast it with the Gulf crisis, almost once a day on average, a number I consider quite high. Many British service personnel were present in both actions, both conflicts were successfully resolved, from a British point of view, and both ended in a short ground campaign. It is very frequent to find

expressions such as “as we found in the Falklands”, “We would not have won the Falklands war had we not....” and suchlike expressions. Similarly, “America” is not only used, especially by politicians, to describe the United States during the conflict, but in the past, for example in Vietnam. Senator Alan Cranston and Mr Henry Kissinger hope that “we” won’t have to fight alone, and that “we” have learnt lessons from that conflict.³¹ The West is referred to as “we” with historical meaning, even when the countries now incorporated in that term were fighting each other, as in the Second World War, when Britain fought against Italy, or profoundly disagreed, as did Britain with the United States in the 1956 Suez crisis. Thus, the core mainstream “we” survived, and only the “other” changed.

There is sometimes a “we” challenging the “Master Narrative”, which is given some newspaper space, as when Tony Benn distinguishes the American “we” from the British “we”. Scottish writers are far more unwilling to assume the identification of themselves with the overwhelming “we” of the press. Mary Kaldor’s article is a challenge to the idea of “us” and “them”.³² There is also a wider, “non-controversial” generic use of “we” which means the whole of humanity, not that part of it which opposes Saddam Hussein.³³ This use is especially prominent when Christian churches oppose the war.

4.4.2. “Us”

Unsurprisingly, we will find exactly the same uses of “us” as we do for “we”, for example by the Director of Christian Aid to refer to his organization, and by hostages to refer to their group. “Us” is also used to refer to the receivers of media messages.³⁴ Its use as the British nation is widespread, and it also refers to the West frequently,³⁵ also being used by ruling elites on the Iraqi side to refer to their nation, as in “God will protect us from evil and save Iraq” (January 2nd, by John Holland, quoting Saddam Hussein), and also to refer occasionally to the whole of humanity: “Lead us not unto war” (January 10th, Headline, by Conor Cruise O’Brien). Thus, the use of “us” differs hardly at all from that of “we”. It is used at times in imperative “let us”, as we shall see in chapter 6.

4.4.3. “Our”

“Our” is a possessive adjective, but because of its relationship with the pronoun “we” is included here. It is often simply omitted, due to our identification with the cause being taken for granted, so we often read phrases that mention simply “the air war against Iraq” (January 20th, by Jon Swain) without it being thought necessary to mention whose. As in the case of “we”, most uses of “our” refer to the immediate circle of those affected, families, members of the same armed forces, ministers referring to “our” country, editorials referring to “our” men, Iraqis and Palestinians referring to “our” land or Israelis referring to “our” armed forces. The references are made by readers, politicians, generals and journalists alike. Politicians refer to “our” country even when it is a historical reference, as far back as 1935.

There are resistant readings of “our” on January 13th, where the assumption that Britain in 1991 can be identified with the “we” of what the journalist, Robert Harris, calls “our” victory in the Falkland Islands in 1982, is challenged by others. Letters, especially from Scotland, are highly critical of government policy, though they still share the idea that the forces are “our” men. Mary Kaldor’s article (January 26th), is a challenge to the mainstream wartime view of the world of “us” and “them”, criticizing “The image of this war a little white arrow (our side) skilfully manoeuvred into a fuzzy grey hole (their side)”, and the Director of Christian Aid avoids the use of the term “our government” (January 15th), preferring the term “Her Majesty’s government”.

4.4.4. “You”

English has no one pronoun for the generic person, which is expressed by “we”, “you”, or “one”. “You” is more colloquial than the others but is often used by journalists when the original source said “we”. (Lehrer, 1989: 112; Kitagawa and Lehrer, 1990: 751) Generic,

non-referential “you” is typically an informal equivalent of “one”, but the use of the latter to refer to “us” is extremely rare, even in the formal language employed in this quality newspaper, and I have only found one example.³⁶ Politicians, especially Mrs Thatcher, use “you” for formulations of truisms and morals which are supposed to be universals. Mrs Thatcher, for example, is quoted as saying “when you bring down inflation” and “you’ve got to be strong” (Maitland and Wilson, 1987: 497; Fairclough, 1989: 128). This generic use is also reproduced by Fowler (1991: 214) from an article in *The Sun* quoting an American pilot after taking part in a raid on Libya: “Gaddafi is a schizo. How else do you deal with a guy like him ?” The use of generic “you”, which is generally used for dynamic verbs, removes a certain amount of culpability from the speaker for his/her acts, almost like a passive utterance, meaning “How is a guy like him to be dealt with ?” or at least further down the scale of transitivity than the purely transitive “How else do we (the Americans) deal with a guy like him ?”

One point discovered in this study of *The Times* is that a frequent use of “you” is one of Mrs Thatcher’s favourite appeals to being considered one of the common people.³⁷ In this example we see how the words “you” and later “we” refer to the same group of people. Generic “you” invites the listener to put him/herself in the situation of the speaker and imagine the feelings the speaker felt. It is sometimes used to make the reader imagine (s)he is present at some event. This word, in the news discourse under consideration, carries with it the idea of collusion between narrator, speaker and reader, that they are all on the same side. “You” elsewhere is used to address *The Times* in letters, and to address Saddam Hussein and the readers.³⁸ It is often used interchangeably with “we” and “us”, sometimes in the same utterance, as in “You get a better response if you treat them humanely. We found that in Vietnam.” (January 20th, by Patrick Bishop, quoting a US marine).³⁹

4.4.5. “They” and “Them”

In general, we will look in vain for any indication through the use of these pronouns that there is any entity as such that can be labelled “them”, and this is sometimes explicitly denied: “We must diffuse (sic) the false dichotomy that it is us against them and understand that it is a ruthless barbarian, Saddam, that we are against...” (August 17th, by Barbara Amiel) It is usually through implication that the idea is expressed, not through labelling. “Them”, “the pronoun of the third person plural, objective, direct and indirect (accusative and dative)” (*OED*) is the marked member of “us and them”. To write them in this order, then, is already perhaps to categorize them to some extent as “norm / non-norm”, as when we say “men and women” or “parents and children”. Generic, non-anaphoric “they” and “them” in English often refer collectively, with negative connotations, to invisible authorities, impersonal and oppressive, who do things over our heads, as in “They’re putting up taxes again”, and are rarely used to divide humanity expressly. It is far more likely the enemy will be personalized and referred to as “him”, which was the soldiers’ term for Saddam,⁴⁰ or “it” referring to Iraq, firstly because the whole drift of news discourse was to propose a “we” of consensus against a demonized, isolated, personalized enemy, and secondly because “they” and “them” may give rise to sympathy for the individuals within the bloc, as in the example quoted above (4.4.4., January 20th, by Patrick Bishop) The words “attack them” appear in a latent way in the name of a missile: “The ATACMS can deliver 1,000 bomblets” (January 10th, by Michael Evans), and occasionally in the words of forces personnel: “But it’s us or them and this is what we get paid to do.” (January 31st, by Nicholas Watt, quoting Captain Speese)

The whole philosophy of the news discourse of *The Times* is to speak in the singular for the enemy, and thus view “them” as mere instruments of the dictator. Western political rhetoric said that “we” had nothing against the people on the other side, only against their leaders. When the word is used referring to the “poverty-stricken Arabs”, it is with some, albeit rather paternalistic, sympathy: “We have little enough reason to blame poverty-stricken Arabs because, if we lived as they live, we should believe what they believe.” (August 12th, by

Brian Walden)

4.4.6. Pronoun Use: Conclusion

“We” and “they”, typically, in normal everyday speech and in literature have a clear anaphoric reference and are unproblematic. In the texts selected, “we” is often context-specific, with continuing unproblematic referents. However, these are sometimes blurred, with a general or all-embracing meaning that can be criticized for its vagueness and manipulative quality. It is assumed that the reader has accepted the basic presupposition, the frame of reference supplied by the media, which goes unchallenged throughout the period studied. Once introduced, it acts as a referent potentially available for readers’ uncritical “reactivation” every time it is met.⁴¹ By going along with the conventions of reference supplied by the media, we are tacitly agreeing to the identity of the referent.

To put it into everyday language, the pronouns considered “leak” as a classification. The use of “we” and “our” helps to sustain unanimous judgments because it conceals differences between historical periods, social classes and groups, nationalities, interests or religions. In news and editorials on the Gulf crisis, the coalition and the international community are pictured as a united block in which concerns, attributes, values, norms and ideology are shared. *The Times* rarely bangs the jingoistic drum, even at the height of battle, and, unlike in the tabloids and in the US press, the newspaper does not whip up support for “our” brave troops out there in the desert. Even the opinion section includes very few articles so inclined. It is striking that references to “our” are in the most part national references. That is, people reserve that very personal word for the forces belonging to their country’s forces, while they will willingly talk of “we” more widely to include a more heterogeneous group.

“You” is often used by elite persons not only to identify the elite figure with commonplace citizens, but to appeal to a kind of rugged common sense that is supposed to hold in the

majority of right-minded citizens in the Western world. It is a generalization for the average “normal” human being. It is used in a more colloquial way than “we” but comes to mean the same thing, with the added illocutionary force that it is supposed to include the receiver as well as the source of the message. It is generally linked to some common-sense course of action that will prevent the enemy acting against “you”.

In dividing humanity into “us” and “them”, then, the West, “the world” in its 1990 sense of the international community, Western leaders in general and President Bush in particular, the West’s armed forces in general, and Britain, Israel and the United States individually, are the most usual representatives of one side, while on the other are Saddam Hussein, Iraq, and “radical Islam” and other labels which denote the Arab opposition to the West. It is in the use of “them” that changes occur from other conflicts. “Them” is a more shifting entity for the media, depending on the identity of the “other” in the present crisis, while “us” is portrayed as more time-stable. Thus, for all the vagueness associated with pronoun use, and for the doubts that may exist about the representation of any real group in the real world, there is a consistency and coherence of reference as applied to certain entities throughout the period that make it possible to venture with a certain amount of security into the following sections. Just as in fictional literature, we make ourselves at home within a writer’s categories in order to understand them better.

4.5. Identification Devices

4.5.1. Introduction

The press, when labelling real-world entities, is selective in its nomenclature, as is the case with all speakers. Lexical items are crucial in the identification and representation of real-world entities. So it is a special characteristic of the press, unlike other types of narrative, fiction or conversation, for instance, to make personal what is collective, and collective what is personal. The labels “Washington”, “Moscow”, “Baghdad”, “London” and “Paris”, as used by journalists, have little to do with accurately representing the real-world cities we normally talk about, composed largely of people and buildings, but the words are used to refer to the centres of power and decisionmaking located in these cities. In the same way, whole countries are lumped together as if they were individuals, while single personalities are portrayed as representing whole countries and even international communities.

Mininni (1991: 474) shows that a diplomatic text tends to lump together whole states, both in media and diplomatic texts, as has already been seen in 3.3.5. “The participating states, conscious.... recognizing..... considering.... note.... will endeavour..... are committed to..... endeavour.... recommend.... believe.... reaffirm.... observe.... propose....” are typical statements, whereas individuals in these countries might not feel at all identified with such statements, were they consulted. The people who sign an international agreement are neither the real nor the physical authors of the text, and it is impossible to hold them to a promise they signed as they have no power to carry it out or otherwise. States are totally impersonal and their peoples are alienated from the diplomatic and other processes. States can use violence at their will, while “peoples” cannot. Mininni claims with some justice that in the real world a state has no kind of supra-human capacity, it cannot “be conscious of”, “be desirous of” or “consider”, but its representatives sign as if it were possible.

The rest of this chapter will be devoted mainly to a consideration of more or less stative elements, reflecting inherent qualities of existence, rather than temporary states, and so will

consider two of the four major classes of lexical words, nouns and adjectives. There is a great divide between “us” and “them” simply in the way one side and the other are named. Labelling is pragmatically very important, as it compartmentalizes, evokes and impinges at the same time. Identifying devices show one facet of a character, the facet the narrator wants to show, rather than the complete person, and in this way such devices can be manipulative in all kinds of literature. So the individual language user is restricted by the terms used and assumed by everyday discourses. A kind of “correct” decoding or “preferred reading” (Glasgow Media Group, 1980) is often called for, while challenging readings are possible but harder. While political “hawks” during the Gulf conflict could decode the news at face value (referentially) in order to reinforce their position, “doves” had to master a sophisticated (constructional) understanding of the relationship between news and social reality, in order to decode the news, as has been shown to be the case with the “doves” in Israel, for example. (Bennett, 1983; Liebes and Ribak, 1991: 205f)

News discourse often refers first to the person’s public function, not the person *per se*. It makes a great deal of difference whether a person is called “the Iraqi president”, “the Iraqi leader”, or “the Iraqi dictator”. The former has an aura of authority while the latter two have an aura of authoritarianism. It makes a great difference to be called “allies” or “henchmen”, “patriots” or “nationalists”. This section is devoted to a consideration of some of these identification devices, by which the media activate and latch onto readers’ memories.

Identification in English is expressible by a variety of terms and combinations of terms. It can be made appositively with two noun phrases, whereby the second element amplifies our knowledge of the person mentioned in the first. The label may be attached at the very beginning or as a second element. Thus, in “President Saddam Hussein of Iraq and the Kuwaiti leader, Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah.... King Fahd of Saudi Arabia and President Mubarak of Egypt....” (August 2nd, by Michael Theodoulou), the label is given before the proper name, while in “Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser, and Larry

Eagleburger, deputy secretary of state” (August 26th, by John Cassidy), the label comes second, while in still other cases the identification is made both before and after: “General Norman Schwarzkopf, the US commander of Operation Desert Shield.” (August 29th, by Michael Evans) The mention of a person’s public function in front position is significant in itself, as it indicates a hierarchy, starting with the most important.

Identification by apposition with determiner deletion is frequent in newspaper headlines such as “Foreign Secretary Robin Cook” or “Cuban strong man Fidel Castro”. These titles represent a person’s claim to newsworthiness, especially elite sport and entertainment personalities, and in the West are usually based on what people have achieved. (Bell, 1991: 196) Deletion occurs most in tabloids, and least in British quality papers, where it is stigmatized. Shorthand titling serves the goals of brevity and newsworthiness, compressing information by pre-modifying and thus eliminating determiners, and at the same time highlighting what is left. In *The Times* it is quite rare. *The Sun* and other tabloid newspapers use emotionally loaded labels during conflicts in the Middle East. For example, Gaddafi is labelled “Libyan leader Colonel Gaddafi”, “Libya’s dictator Colonel Gaddafi”, “the crazed dictator”, “madman”, “Mad Dog Gaddafi”, and Nezar Hindawi, who was implicated in the bomb on the airliner that crashed onto the village of Lockerbie, Scotland: “Hindawi”, “the terrorist”, “the rat”, “a ruthless rat”, “an Arab rat”, “smooth-talking Jordanian”, “cold-blooded fanatic”, “Libyan mad dog”, “Syrian swine”, “monster” and “fiend”. (Fowler, 1991: 115)

Wang (1993) illustrates the importance of identification devices when he gives the example of the official Chinese newspaper *Renmin Ribao*’s support for Russian coup leader Yanayev. A leading headline in that newspaper that says “The Soviet Vice-President Yanayev announces Gorbachev is stopped from performing his duties as the Soviet president” is very different from one which says: “Gorbachev was ousted in an apparent coup by Soviet armed forces and hardliners” (*New York Times*). For the latter, the coup leaders are just faceless men, but by labelling them as “armed forces and hardliners” and

not giving their names as the Chinese paper does, the mention becomes more negative, just as when it is reported in the West that “The terrorists were killed”, without mentioning their names. Western media are not the only ones to use labelling, which is a way of defining without justifying the categorization. Chilton (1990: 206) shows how Soviet media language included routine identification terminology too. “Bourgeoisie”, “ruling circles” and “imperialist United States”, are part of it, just as “the Free World” was once part of the West’s message. The Soviets also used the words “deterrent”, “unilateral” and “containment” in their rhetoric, while other groups have used sinister terminology, such as “ethnic cleansing”.

To initiate an article with a label is to prepare and often manipulate the reader ideologically. If a headline reads “Elections in India” and continues “The world’s largest democracy is set for a major change”, this prejudices negatively the world’s most populated country, China, as undemocratic, and such labelling is often accepted uncritically by readers. Fairclough (1989: 53) gives the example of a news item that begins “The Soviet threat to western Europe...” which presupposes its existence. Labelling thus represents categorizations of the world according to certain perspectives. These categorizations are not pre-given in our experience of the world but instead are interpretations that define and interpret it for us. Consequently, “facts” are perceived as such only from a particular perspective, and thus, a statement becomes an ideological construction. Labelling devices create stereotypes which are fundamental in the media. The public’s perceptions of news events and their construction of the world are affected to a great extent by how they are symbolized by the news media.⁴² Many words that categorize, label, compartmentalize and attribute qualities, such as “senior police officer”, “terrorists”, or “militant”, involve value judgments intrinsically. Categorization can sometimes be a basis for discrimination, as popular culture easily accepts the pigeonholing into imaginary, socially constructed groups. The representation of the stereotype does not necessarily reflect reality.⁴³ People are called “terrorists”, “guerrillas” or “freedom fighters”, depending on the source. Aldo Moro’s killers the Red

Brigades were labelled by *The Times* “gunmen”, “gang”, “urban guerrillas”, “left-wing extremists”, “Marxist revolutionaries”, “violent anarchists”, “fanatics”, “moral morons”, “willing sadists”, “inhuman political savages” and “a handful of violent criminals”. This kind of labelling is called "closure", the exclusion of these groups from the ranks of normal human beings. In the Gulf crisis; when “our” people, troops or hostages, were at risk then all pretence at neutrality was stopped. The issue of negotiation or non-negotiation was finally closed and the demonization of Saddam meant that he and his “henchmen” were placed outside “normal” society by labels and stereotypes.

The job of villainizing, caricaturing and ridiculing Saddam Hussein was easier than hero-worshipping "our" leaders, which, if it was done at all, was downplayed considerably. It is found that in fact the word “leader”, apart from its use in the phrases “Western leaders” and “squadron leader”, is reserved almost exclusively for Arab rulers. This does not, however, prevent the press from demanding more “leadership” from heads of government. Ridicule and demonization are unlikely to be effective in convincing an opponent of the wrongness of his or her views, but are likely to cement relationships between a writer and reader who already share the same point of view. The mainstream press in the Gulf conflict seemed not to inform so much as to collaborate in the encouragement of a team spirit.

4.5.2. Personalization

Personalization is an essential factor in foreign news. Its functions are to promote straightforward feelings of identification, or disapproval and to simplify complex historical processes.⁴⁴ It also has a very important pragmatic function. It is linguistically convenient to avoid making the civilian population of the enemy country the victim of military action. Culpability can be attributed to their leader, who is often the grammatical subject, and “causes them to lose a war”, “leads his people to destruction”, or “has his people killed”, as we read in *The Times* during this conflict. Thus, a significant role is given to the non-agent. The media in 1991 tried to show that the obstacle to peace was all one man, while “our”

side was also sometimes represented by one man, usually by George Bush. The image of Saddam is that of a stranger, a madman, the “other”, the beast, the personification of evil, the attributes of evil figures in fairy tales, as has already been seen in 3.3.5. The examples that follow are not an exhaustive list but attempt to be representative of the treatment given to the leaders of the two sides in conflict. It must be remembered that all phenomena are capable of more than one interpretation. Thus, distancing devices could be seen to be more respectful than using first names, but it could also be seen as placing the “other” further away from the in-group.

a. Mr Bush: I have compared and contrasted the frequency of the terms “Bush”, “President Bush”, “Mr Bush”, “President George Bush” and “the American President” in the months of August 1990 and January 1991. They are not the only terms, as there are also “George Bush” and other marginal terms such as “Statesman Bush”, which have not been counted. The table is to be found in the Appendix, Figure 7.

I am only concerned here to find the frequency of the label “Bush”, both by itself and in combination with the others mentioned, not when used in other collocations such as “the Bush administration”. I find the use of “Bush” alone to be very common in headlines, probably to save space. James Adams consistently uses “Bush” in the body of his articles, but other journalists rarely employ the term.⁴⁵ It is frequently juxtaposed with expressions like “tough line”, “will not be pushed around”, “no pushover”, “a combat veteran”, “self-discipline”, “appetite for war”, closely associated with what we could call Mr Bush’s wartime “macho” image, that of a no-nonsense hardliner who is nevertheless at heart a democrat, and will not tolerate dictators because they do not play fair. It is completely absent during the first days of the allied air attack (from January 16th, 1991, on) except in headlines, possibly out of a desire to use respectful labels for the leaders of the allied forces. Unlike in the case of Saddam Hussein, there is little difference in the distribution of labels given to the American President (President Bush, Mr Bush, President George Bush, the American

President), throughout the conflict. This tends to support the idea that the framework of discourse had already been well established in readers' minds before the conflict, and did not alter much during it.

It is striking that of the devices studied, the most popular by far are those that distance the writer from the man, so that “President George Bush” is scarcely used, while “Bush”, “Mr Bush” and “President Bush” together make up over ninety per cent of the labels, regardless of the period of the conflict being reported on. The last two are more respectful than the first, and are probably more culture-specific, being far more common in the English language media than equivalent labels in Spanish, for example.⁴⁶ It is also striking that “Bush” alone is only half as common, in percentage terms, as “Saddam” alone.

b. The President: Our understanding of any noun phrase depends entirely on our frames of reference, as any definite noun phrase cues a search in our memories for an existing “file”, just as indefinite ones open a new file. Givón (1993: 234) shows how having just two utterances juxtaposed is enough to make a reference definite. So, in “My boy missed school today. He was late for the bus,” the frame is sufficiently clear after the first sentence to know which bus is being referred to in the second. The media have by late 1990 already set up the frame of reference sufficiently clearly for us to understand “the president” easily. “The president” is anaphoric, but where the first referent appears in the media is non-retrievable. Addressing the two presidents in the conflict, *The Times* follows the new world order. The occasions in August 1990 when “President Saddam” or “President Saddam Hussein” is mentioned far outnumber those when “President Bush” is mentioned, so that the real protagonist is the Iraqi president. However, in the same period, Mr Bush is referred to as “the president” thirty five times, far more than when Saddam Hussein is referred to as “the president”, only nine times. By January, with the world apparently united behind the Western leaders, the term “the president” is reserved for the US president on ninety six occasions, while Saddam is only given this label five times, Mitterand three and Mubarak

and Delors once each. The conclusion to be drawn is that the world is portrayed as being presided over by one man. Thus, what is called the “unique” use, with its implication at times of intimacy and familiarity, or perhaps here of formality, depending on our interpretation of the data, is reserved increasingly and almost wholly for Mr Bush. Even when the context is clearly Iraq, the term “the president” is avoided. The modern concept of a “president”, in its political sense, has its origins in American English, which is one possible reason for this. Interestingly, the expression “the American president” is almost totally absent, only occurring three times, while the expression “the Iraqi president” is more common, occurring twelve times, which may be interpreted almost as if the newspaper were saying Mr Bush is “our” president too. The new world order is no longer polarized into two blocs but has only one point of reference, that is, Washington. Britain is relegated into a role as the American president’s lieutenant: “The Americans’ British lieutenant with its enduring illusions of partnership” (Chomsky, 1992: 195). One journalist remarks hopefully: “.... John Major has been told that he is at the top of the president’s list.” (January 12th, Anonymous Diary)

c. The Policeman / The Sheriff: These terms presuppose a global accessibility, just as there is in the unique use of the definite article in “the sun”, for example. However, they are culture-specific terms from local references to town life in the West, with which the world is supposed to identify. The moral duty of the US to be a kind of global policeman or sheriff, without anyone officially having named it, is mentioned several times. It is never mentioned that the US might have some interest in fulfilling that role, which is generally presented as a kind of global altruism, as when it said that: “Europe could not expect the US to carry on as the ‘world’s policeman’ unless it got a positive and swift response from its allies” (August 31st, by Nicholas Wood), nor who exactly has given them this position. So “Apparently the world needs a policeman.... For now, the US is stuck with leadership in the Gulf conflict.” (August 24th, by Jeane Kirkpatrick) Thus, the role to be played gives responsibility, with apparently no returns, but plenty of danger involved, just as the real-life policeman or sheriff

has to face. The assumption of the US's role as such was widespread in Britain during and after the Cold War: “Mrs Thatcher had cited the pivotal role of the United States in the Gulf emergency to emphasise its importance as ‘the world policeman’”.... (August 30th, by Nicholas Wood)

In an opinion article entitled “When might is moral” (January 12th, by Clifford Longley) the United States is likened to a sheriff drawing his gun to prevent a mob from carrying out a lynching. It is not made clear who appointed the United States to the post of sheriff, or “the world’s policeman”. However, from here on the logic is undeniable. Once the sheriff of the metaphor has been appointed by the coalition, he has both the authority and the responsibility to pull the trigger against the mob, in this case the Iraqis, who are “lynching” Kuwait.⁴⁷

d. Saddam / Saddam Hussein: Saddam Takriti, born in Takrit, central Iraq, became known as Saddam Hussein, after the personal name of his father. He rose to power after a series of assassinations and coups. The press engaged in two connected tasks, those of demonizing Saddam, and personalizing the enemy in his person. Martín Rojo (1995: 50) shows how the demonization of Saddam was necessary in order to turn a Western ally against Iran into an enemy, and in this way justify the attacks. The change in the perception and representation of Saddam necessitated a change in discourse and the exclusion of Iraq. She uses *El País* because it uses the moderate, emotionally controlled language, close to the standard register which roughly corresponds to the Anglo-American model of a respectable, objective newspaper, representing the ideology of consensus. This demonization was necessary to overcome opposition to the war, and certainly at times it appears as though Saddam were being presented to us for the first time, having virtually nothing to do with the character that had been prominent on the international stage up to that point.

However, the British public was already used to the demonization of Nasser, Krushchev, Galtieri and Gaddafi, all of whom form a group of unreliable, dangerously mercurial and charismatic dictators in the minds of most middle class English readers. I believe the coherence of mainstream news discourse had already been established so that the Gulf crisis did not conflict with any of the pigeon-holes that had been in place since the Second World War. As Van Dijk (1988a: 83) says, the effect of the media message is cumulative, and gives it a kind of continuity and consistency. I have studied the frequency of use of the labels “Saddam”, “Saddam Hussein”, “President Saddam” and “President Saddam Hussein” in the months of August 1990 and January 1991, as being indicative of tendencies in the labelling of the same person early and late in the conflict. I would postulate that probably the use of the term “president” lends greater respectability to the person involved, implying that he was elected to the post, while its absence would indicate greater demonization. I would also postulate that the longer the conflict lasts, the more extreme will be the labels applied to Saddam, with increasing moral closure against him.

I have followed through the occasions on which “Saddam” is used as a label alone, and have discovered that it is associated with emotive terminology, and is used especially when negative qualities are associated with him, that is, when there is maximum “demonization”. Words found juxtaposed with this word used on its own in August 1990 include “liar”, “has raped Kuwait”, “ruined his country”, “no reprieve for”, “ogre”, “repulsive”, “revulsion”, “cynical”, “talking dangerous nonsense”, “dangerous man”, “menace”, “exploitation”, “notorious opportunist”, “tyranny”, “chemical weapons”, “pro-”, “anti-”, “aggression”, “warmonger”, “take out” and “oust”. That is, when the newspaper wants to simplify and personalize the issue it uses “Saddam” alone. (See the Appendix, Figure 8)

The label “Saddam Hussein” is also associated with negative aspects of the Iraqi leader, with words like “abusing”, “monster”, “aggressive power led by”, “power-hungry”, “ferocious”, “remove”, “destroy”, “ignore”, “elimination”, “defeat” and “regime”, but less so,

being also used together with less negative terms like “the acceptable face of” and “apt pupil”.

e. President Saddam / President Saddam Hussein: On the other hand, expressions which use the respectable, though distant, title “president” are at the other end of the scale, associated with more positive aspects. Thus, we can read expressions juxtaposed such as “negotiate with President Saddam”, “surprise move”, “planned meeting with”, “President Saddam’s position”, and so on in August, and “an ace in his hand”, “a clear message to”, “a fresh call to” and especially hypothetical modal expressions such as “seemed to be looking”, “certainly feared”, “probably respected”, “would comply”, “may be planning”, “might offer”. “could face trial”, “had hoped” and conditional sentences in January. This does not mean that no negative terms are to be found with this label. Indeed, they possibly make up the majority, such as “posturing”, “ruthlessly”, “launched an attack”, and so on, but they are less extreme. (See the Appendix, Figure 8)

The use of labels partly depends on which journalist is writing. There are some who use the term “Saddam Hussein” consistently, while others tend to use others. It is observed that the terms “Saddam Hussein” and “President Saddam Hussein” have maintained their proportions at almost the same level. There is a dramatic increase in the use of “Saddam” and a correspondingly dramatic decrease in the use of the term “President Saddam”. The conclusions to be drawn are several. My initial hypothesis was largely correct, that there is increasing moral closure as the conflict progresses, indicated by the smaller percentage of the more respectable term “president” to be found in January, in the thick of battle. It is especially striking that the term “President Saddam” has practically disappeared by January 1991. This, I would contend, is partly because of the increasingly common “unique” use of the term to describe President Bush as the figure presiding over the whole international community. The term “Saddam”, used alone, has increased its percentage considerably. This coincides with the increasing demonization of the Iraqi leader as the conflict

progressed. The same person is also referred to sporadically as “Mr Saddam”, “General Saddam” and “Uncle Saddam”, the last being a play on words to contrast it with “Uncle Sam”. It is striking that many more modal expressions of conjecture are found associated with terms including the label “president”.

Thus, if, as I suggested, it is true that the figure of Saddam Hussein before and after the invasion of Kuwait have little to do with each other, this is largely due to the fact that his relationship with “us” had changed, and not that the man himself had changed.

f. The Butcher: There is considerable evidence that the journalists were not neutral observers. Politicians observe that Saddam Hussein is a “butcher”,⁴⁸ but one is not so prepared for this from a journalist: “...it took care to ensure that the Butcher of Baghdad was well supplied with weapons” (September 19th, by Robert Harris), which is significantly used without the distancing device of inverted commas, and even less prepared when the article is semi-editorial: “Most Western analysts are mystified by the psychology of the Butcher of Baghdad.” (September 30th, “Profile” article) As we are dealing with the quality press, however, these are very rare, being the only instances found during the conflict.

g. Hitler and Nasser: The media rely heavily on socially shared knowledge and beliefs “schemata” organized in “frames” and “scripts”, for example about “war”, “dictators” and “terrorism”.⁴⁹ These historical models for the Iraqi leader act as a grounding for his demonization. They act as a framework for the Iraqi leader, leading to a reactivation, in cognitive terms, of these players on the international stage in the minds of the addressees. Gamal Abdel Nasser is a convenient reference point, as the Egyptian leader acted against British and French interests in the nineteen fifties. Saddam is repeatedly compared with his boyhood hero: “Saddam, like Nasser, is a dictator with aspirations to dominate the Arab world” (August 12th, by Robert Harris) and Nasser is mentioned seventy-seven times, usually as a historical yardstick.

The British press in the nineteen fifties called Nasser “the Hitler of the Nile”, and Saddam is often compared with Hitler himself, and his invasion of Kuwait with the Anschluss, the annexation of Austria: “President Bush.... referred to ‘Hitler revisited’, adding: ‘But remember, when Hitler’s war ended, there were the Nuremberg trials.’” (October 17th, by James Bone) Mentions of both Hitler and Nasser are very frequent. Hitler is mentioned 128 times in the whole period, but on the other hand it must be said that, in *The Times*, writers usually claim that the two are just not comparable: “One simply cannot compare Saddam’s position today with that of Hitler’s in 1938. He has neither the industrial power nor military capability of the former dictator.” (October 7th, by Edward Heath)⁵⁰

h. Big Brother and The Godfather: Several procedures of division and rejection are employed in the media, one of which is the construction of “the other”. In *The Sunday Times*, an article entitled “Saddam Hussein, The Don from Takrit” (January 20th, by Judith Miller and Laurie Mylroie) is really only a summarized version of a book, which is reviewed. In it Saddam is likened to Don Corleone of Godfather fame,⁵¹ and to “Big Brother” of George Orwell’s *1984*: “To visit Iraq is to enter the land of Big Brother.” Here, Saddam is said to have butchered, tortured and plotted his way to the top, but he is not brave, rather a coward: “At a summit of Arab leaders in February 1990, the lights went out briefly. According to Arab sources, Saddam, fearing an assassination attempt, dived under the table for cover. Of the four heads of state present, he was the only one to hit the floor.” Much depends on unnamed sources and rumours. Saddam Hussein is calculating but also irrationality incarnate, bordering on the insane.

i. The Iraqi Dictator: Saddam is called a dictator, “a ruler or governor whose word is law; an absolute ruler of a state” (OED) by prominent public figures, and journalists sometimes assume this label.⁵² There is often a hidden context of presuppositions which the reader

accepts if they are repeated often enough. The reader keeps track of referents like “dictator” and “regime” over time by their reinforcement in episodes which lead to cognitive re-activation, unless there is a new “macroproposition”, but this did not appear between the end of the Cold War and the Gulf conflict.⁵³ Repetition of old labels makes access to reality much more difficult, unless one is constantly questioning the presuppositions of what one hears every day. The assumption made when a label is made part of a noun phrase as a title, as in “...the Iraqi dictator said that his invasion had been inevitable” (August 8th, by Richard Owen) is rhetorically very powerful.⁵⁴ The phrase “the Iraqi dictator” is frequent, being used fifty three times in all during the period under study. What is hardly heard at all is the expression “the Syrian dictator”. He is now “President Assad”, because he is now in the alliance, except in one reference: “...the difficulties are greater.... than on the side of a Syrian dictator who has crushed....” (January 8th, by Conor Cruise O’Brien)

j. The Tyrant: In the case of “tyrant”, which always refers to Saddam Hussein in this period, and never to President Assad of Syria, for example, there is a peak in January, in the few days preceding the air attack, as though justifying the violence. It is, however, noted that the West and other Arab leaders have been guilty of using double standards: “...robed delegates from Saudi Arabia....appeasers and flatterers of the tyrant for more than a decade, almost sounded serious in their desire to do something about a monster who was a threat...” (August 5th, “Insight” article) There is a crescendo of the use of the term when the crisis is at its height. (Appendix, Figure 10)

k. The Monster: This label is extremely rare, “monstruous” being more frequent, and is sometimes used ambiguously, as if criticizing the expression: “Saddam Hussein is a monster created by the industrialized world.” (January 17th, by Anthony Parsons) It is used unambiguously only in editorial comment and in some hawkish opinion articles, four times in August and twice in October 1990, and never unambiguously in 1991, when the fighting was going on. This sudden labelling does not go unchallenged: “Thatcher’s ministers....felt

able to live with the Iraqi regime in the interests of British trade and diplomacy. The “monster” of the day was Ayatollah Khomeini.” (August 26th, by Stuart Weir) or again “Saddam Hussein is a monster, but he was a monster when he marched into Iran and there was not a voice raised in protest then by the Western powers.” (August 28th, Letter)

I. The Dog: Saddam is not called a dog directly but the campaign against him is called “the campaign to bring Saddam to heel” (August 24th, Leading article).

4.5.3. Labelling “Us”

a. Diminutives: In Bernstein’s work (1974) on elaborated and restricted codes, the latter has markers such as complex syntax, subordination of clauses, elaborate noun phrases and verb phrases, and differentiated vocabularies, which are features of the quality press, while restricted codes have simpler syntax and restricted variety of linguistic forms. The former are related by Bernstein with social cohesion, and family structures where the rules are laid down and unchanging. It is generally the tabloid press which creates an atmosphere of familiarity, informality, humour, intimacy and cohesion, while the quality press contains more distancing devices.

However, the quality media also use devices which increase the feeling of intimacy within the in-group. Western soldiers and hostages are generally named in the news, while the “others” are not. This phenomenon has been noted by Fowler (1991: 115), who also notes that it makes a great deal of difference whether one talks of “Mrs Thatcher” or “Maggie”. The use of first names, diminutives and nicknames connotes informality and intimacy. While the use of the diminutive form can be derogatory, it is usually present to give intimacy and familiarity, to blur the distinction often created between the person and the public figure. I use here the term “diminutive” to mean the whole word, rather than the affix itself.

The use of the “T” form expresses solidarity, often of people in need of coming together to

protect their interests and identity, and is generally reserved for people either on the same social level or for inferiors. That “the gate to linguistic intimacy is kept by the person of higher status” is generally accepted in sociolinguistics. So, the use by journalists of the label “Captain”, “Sergeant”, “General”, “Admiral” or “Squadron Leader” together with the diminutives of their first names, without their consent, would seem to be taking a liberty, to say the least.⁵⁵ In Spanish it would be unthinkable for a journalist to call a man “El General Pepe Rodríguez”, for example. In the newsroom, there are different standards, depending on the writer, as whether to use “Mr” or first names to refer to the same people, “Dick Cheney” or “Mr Cheney”, for example. Hatim and Mason (1990: 66) show that for the translator it may be a cultural problem, as to use “Mr” for a foreigner may be seen as culturally obtrusive. They compare the English use of “Ronnie”, for President Reagan, with the “usted” / “tu” switch in Spanish as a way of being more familiar. Both may be rejectable, as a suitable distance should perhaps be kept for neutrality. The extensive use of the diminutives of American politicians’ names, such as “George”, “Dick” or “Bob”, makes them sound like part of the family, while “Yassir” would never be used in the British media for “Mr Arafat”, as he is clearly part of “them”.

In the texts studied, the use of diminutives implies the inclusion of those cited as members of the in-group. In the texts I have found that Robert, William, Daniel, Thomas, Margaret, Penelope, Gerald, Stephen, Geoffrey, Michael, Philip, Peter, James, Andrew, John, Christopher, Reginald, Benjamin, Anthony, Sidney, Frederick, Patrick, Nicholas, Bernard, Kenneth, Edward, Terence, Douglas, David, Wesley, Timothy and Raymond, are referred to respectively as Bob, Bill, Dan, Tom, Maggie, Penny, Jerry, Steve, Geoff, Mike, Phil, Pete, Jim, Andy, Jack, Chris, Reg, Ben, Tony, Sid, Fred, Pat, Nick, Bernie, Ken, Eddie, Terry, Doug, Dave, Wez, Tim and Ray. As is seen here, I include those with and without the typical diminutive affix “-y”. This device is irrespective of gender. Most of those considered are the names of male servicemen, simply because fewer diminutives of females have been found, but it is seen to be quite feasible that a woman pilot or general be called

“Jacky” or “Terry”.

The use of diminutives is frequent among journalists on *The Times*, and is often used to refer to themselves in by-lines, normal non-public people, hostages, and ordinary citizens. It is used with great frequency for members of “our” armed forces, as when it is said that “Steve Thomas, 30, from Wales, suffered an electrical malfunction.” (January 20th, by Andrew Alderson) It seems normal practice to refer to rank and file members of the armed forces by these diminutives, as they will probably be known as such in their everyday working lives. What does not seem so normal is when their superiors receive the same treatment. Elite military personnel, Generals, Air Vice Marshalls, Wing Commanders, and so on, are often given diminutive forms of their names, which paradoxically combines the titles of senior military personnel with a device that makes them appear part of the family, as we can see in “General Tom Kelly at a Pentagon briefing” (January 20th, Leading article), and “Wing Commander Bill Pixton’s day begins with an alarm call” (January 24th, by Lin Jenkins). Other elite personages such as congressmen, officials, Pentagon spokespersons, MP’s, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and even US presidents, have diminutives applied to their names in *The Times*. The use of diminutives makes the unapproachable approachable for the reader. Journalists’ contacts presumably make them familiar with a host of people in high places, but even those whom they may never have met are given familiar names, making them part of an invisible community, which contains the persons reported on, the journalist and the reader. It is significant that diminutives are used for Americans as well as British service personnel, but hardly ever for other nationalities.⁵⁶

Thus, the use of diminutives is ethnically centred on “Anglos”, or at least those with Anglo-type names. Their use for non-Anglo names is rare, the only exception being “Gorby” for Mr Gorbachev, and not even him in this period in *The Times*. When Melinda Wittstock (January 28th) mentions “Tony Hall, director of news and current affairs, and Samir Shah, Panorama editor”, the latter is not, and would not normally be, called “Sammy” Shah, for example. It

makes a positive contribution to the image of a public person if he is referred to as “Jim Baker” rather than “Mr James Baker”. Diminutives are frequently used for people of all political persuasions within the world of domestic and international politics. The minister of defence, Tom King, is never referred to as “Thomas King”, but nearly always as “Tom King, the defence secretary”. “Tony Benn” never has any other name, such as Mr Anthony Benn, in the dozens of times his name appears.

So some uses of diminutives seem incongruous with people’s position, and it would doubtless not be permitted for their subordinates to use them. The conclusion that may be drawn is that the widespread use of diminutives is ethnically centred on Anglo names, and shows a hidden bias in reporting techniques, demonstrating how far reporters identified with the Western elites and armed forces involved.

b. Ally: For British people, the word “ally” has a distinctly positive ring, harking back to the days of the First and Second World Wars, in which the term is grounded for the purpose of the reader of the nineteen nineties. The words “ally”, and its derivative “allied” are reserved almost wholly for the Americans, British and, to a lesser extent, other Nato partners. Expressions such as “allied commanders”, “allied planners”, “allied victory”, “allied missions”, “allied attacks”, “allied losses”, “allied capitals”, “allied forces”, “allied air strike”, “allied coalition” have connotations of cooperation rather than compulsion, countries having a common culture, friendship and almost family, the “international community” as it is often called after the end of the Cold War.⁵⁷ The word “ally” is preferred to describe friendships which are long-term, stable bonds of sympathy rather than of interests. There is a clear distinction between those designated as “allies”, those who have been allies for years, and those countries such as the Soviet Union and some Arab states which have joined a coalition of convenience for the period of the Gulf crisis, having simply allied themselves to the cause temporarily. When it is used for a temporary “marriage of convenience” this is sometimes made explicit.⁵⁸ It could be argued that in fact most “allies” were bought into

allying themselves with the international coalition or neutrality, but this idea never surfaced in *The Times*. Countries friendly to Iraq, such as Jordan or Yemen, or traditionally the Soviet Union are rarely given the name of “allies”,⁵⁹ the word being almost wholly reserved to the Americans and their European and Arab “allies”, and even then, the core group is the United States and Britain, “Unless Europe particularly Germany throws its full weight behind the allies now....” (February 3rd, Leading article) seems to exclude Germany and Europe from the in-group. “Ally” is a positive word and is applied accordingly more to “us” than to “them” where there is apparently more distrust and diplomatic “marriages of convenience”.

c. The International Community: It is possible to equate the reader community, to some extent, with the national “we”, although the members of even the smallest country will never know most of their fellow members or even hear of them. In the minds of most of us lies the image of a national community. Regardless of the situation that may prevail, the nation is always conceived as a “deep horizontal comradeship”.⁶⁰ This is an imagined political community. However, the concept is more complex than that. There is also an “imagined global community”, part of the way in which we try to make sense of the world. Anderson (1983: 10) claims we make sense of the world through the media message, in the belief that everything is under the control of a “benevolent community of nations”.

Communities are held together by communication, and the quality of communication is better among participants who have certain things in common. “Communication” in fact has as its Latin root the word for “community”. (Berger, 1995: 10) The identity of this mutually supporting community of the powerful is incompletely defined, but relates to economic and political interests and to a lesser extent ethnic groupings, though ethnic bias rarely surfaces in *The Times*, a result of the New World Order which arose as a result of the end of the Cold War. The existence of a community, including readers, national news institutions and political establishment, has been mentioned by Kress (1983: 44), who talks of “... the effective maintenance of the community of newspaper readers....their membership of and

allegiance to a community is reconfirmed.” This invisible community is reinforced by news discourse in *The Times*.

The expression “the international community” is well enough accepted to be used freely, and to a large extent uncritically, by journalists and politicians alike. It is much more frequent after the end of the Cold War, as the idea is conveyed that all nations are equal members of a community, and that there is some element of mutual assistance and concern. The message in *The Times* is that the community of nations has norms, and that Iraq is excluded because it has behaved wrongly.⁶¹ The “international community” that made up the coalition in fact included family dynasties and dictatorships, many of which were occupying territory in a similar way to Iraq, in an alliance patched together in an *ad hoc* manner to face Iraq. Whether this alliance can be termed a community of any description is a matter of serious doubt. The mainstream press, including *The Times*, links this international community with the United Nations at times, with the West on other occasions, but with the common denominator that Saddam Hussein’s Iraq is out of it, at least until it withdraws from Kuwait. The idea seems to evolve as the conflict develops, and eventually the international community is supposed to include everyone but Iraq.⁶² The international community is apparently not only Britain and the United States, but they together are pictured as forming the kernel of this group, whence their need to “convince” and “avoid the disapproval” of other countries. During the months of the conflict both feel increasingly authorized to speak on its behalf.⁶³ The definition is sometimes rather a battleground, with a degree of vagueness that depends on the viewpoint of the writer. Basically the international community includes whichever members the dominant ones, the United States and Britain, wish to include, although Labour and the Conservatives seem to disagree as to whether the Arab allies are included or not. Britain and the United States are shown to be concerned, not for themselves, but for the unity of all nations.

d. The World: There is a large ideological element in the use of this word. Western

politicians and media use it to describe their particular vision of it, and to claim that there was unanimous agreement, except in “radical” or “extremist” Arab states. This vision is new, and springs from the fact that the Cold War was just over, thus allowing a whole gamut of unchallenged or unchallengeable “givens” to sweep over the public consciousness.⁶⁴ As Chomsky points out (1994), such agreement never in fact existed. For convenience, Western leaders use the terms “the world” or “the world community” to describe a community of nations, but not the United Nations Organization, until that organization followed the line that reflected the interests of Western governments. It is a conflict of “one man against the world” or at least the normal world order, the “mainstream” of nations. Iraq is subjected to or “inherits” the labels previously reserved for the Soviet Union.

Secondly, within the world there are other smaller worlds in conflict. Basically the divide is between the “Arab / Muslim / Islamic / oil-producing world” and the rest, led by “The West” or “the Western world”, which is not a geographical term but an ideological one, including as it does Japan, Australia and other Asiatic nations. The most frequent occurrence by far of the word “world” in our texts is in the expression “the Arab world”, showing the great divide which is seen as existing between Arab countries and the West, and in fact all of the so-called “outside world” (August 20th, Leading article). *The Times* sometimes portrays a hermetically sealed Arab world full of fanatics, extremists, and treacherous religious mufti, in fact just as has been done since the Second World War from Hollywood films like “Entebbe” to Leon Uris novels.⁶⁵

The “world” is also the financial world, and the world seen as an economic unit, and even the “rich world”, seen by one journalist as crushing the faces of the poor in the dust, before “moral closure” forced alternative opinions out of the media.⁶⁶ The “world” sometimes describes the receivers of media messages.⁶⁷ It is also used to shame the reader into condemning “our” lack of responsibility. The argument runs that since the world is us or at least ours, we should have done something about the Palestinians, about Saddam, and

about the Iran - Iraq war. There are counter-opinions that challenge the mainstream one, also included in *The Times*, arguing that most of the world is governed by dictators, and that it never took any interest in other similar invasions.⁶⁸

In conclusion, although Western leaders use “the world” as a linguistic device to unite, it in fact can be seen as deeply divisive, with a large part of it excluded. The world did not watch and wait, did not condemn, was not outraged, did not gather together in the desert to avenge the aggression against Kuwait. This decision was taken by a relatively few people and supported by some, though not all, of Western opinion.

e. The Administration: “The president” becomes a term with a “unique” application to the United States president, and the same happens with the term “the administration”, sometimes used for what is loosely called the “government”, which is used exclusively to refer to the American administration. It is a positive term, with connotations of the responsible exercise of power, unlike “regime”, which is reserved for the other side. “As administration spokesmen had divulged in briefings, the Iraqis were continuing....” (August 9th, by Martin Fletcher)

4.5.4. Labelling “Them”

a. Saddam’s Country: The result of personalization is to divert attention from the military actions carried out by the West against the people of Baghdad, Basra and the rest of Iraq. Saddam is demonized far more than his collaborators and his people. Even so, his soldiers were sometimes made out to be uncivilized beasts. *The Daily Star* (March 2nd, 1991) claimed that: “Brutal Iraqi soldiers became real-life vampires during the occupation of Kuwait. They drained the blood of innocent civilians until their victims were dead.” When the allied artillery attacked Iraq, it was said by the journalists that “They’re pounding the hell out of Saddam’s country” (January 20th, by Ian Glover-James). By labelling Iraq as “Saddam’s country”, that is, the property of the dictator, the victims of the attacks are

distanced, along with their president.

b. Henchman / Cohort: The Western argument ran, during the Cold War, that Western countries had “allies” while the Russians had “satellites”. This is reproduced in a different form in the Gulf crisis. Saddam is rarely seen to have “allies” but rather a small group of “henchmen” or “cohorts”. These words have a negative ring to them, and in consequence apply almost solely to the other side. Instances of these words have been taken from the whole period of the Gulf crisis. Mr Tom King is referred to as Mrs Thatcher’s “henchman” when she is about to be toppled from her position as prime minister. Otherwise, the term is used exclusively to describe Saddam Hussein’s closest allies. A “henchman” or “cohort” is a person whose objectives are negatively regarded by the writer and suggests people bent on foul play, that is, the enemy. The terms are relatively rare in the quality press, such as *The Times*, and are only used with slightly more frequency when apparently Saddam’s days were numbered, towards the end of the conflict.⁶⁹ The term would be equally appropriate in other regimes, some of which formed part of the coalition, but our judgment of these regimes is suspended during the Gulf conflict.

c. Regime: As Campos (1997: 193) points out, different governments deserve different names. The word “regime” is used exclusively to refer to Arab countries, such as Iraq and the “puppet” Kuwait government, or Iran. Statistically, there are one hundred and sixty four references to the Iraqi, puppet Kuwaiti, or Ba’athist “regime” during the period in question, combined with various despective adjectives on many occasions, while the old Kuwaiti government is called a “regime” on only five occasions, all early on in the conflict.

It is striking that Arab countries, but never ones that form part of the allied coalition during the conflict, also have “regimes”, which are linked to terms such as “terrorist”, “extremist”, “despicable”, “Islamic”, “nasty”, “murderous”, “fragile”, “weak”, “bad”, “repressive”, and “unpopular”. There are twenty eight references to this effect. Then there are twenty

references to other “regimes”, Soviet, East German and Nazi. The conclusion is that “regime” is a word with obvious negative connotations, used to refer exclusively to the other side, at different times of the West’s confrontation with them. The expression “the Iraqi government” is never found, nor is “the Iraqi administration”.

d. War Machine: Saddam Hussein is Iraq as Iraq is his machine, whether a propaganda machine or a war machine. The term “war machine” is used overwhelmingly, over ninety per cent of the times, to describe the forces deployed by Iraq, and so depersonalize them, making them a mechanical force, unthinking and unfeeling, merely a non-human target for our armies, although the term is also occasionally used to describe the far more numerous allied forces. It is an impersonal force, with no actual people named and therefore little sympathy can be felt for “it”.⁷⁰ This war is envisaged by the press as “Man versus Machine”, or rational man against irrational machine. They are numbers of “massed forces”, though *The Times* does use these expressions occasionally for the allied forces too: “Even as the Iraqis prepare a strike, the American war machine will move into action.” (August 12th by James Adams) Considering the vast superiority shown in battle by the allied forces, the terms “war machine” in these texts would perhaps have been more appropriately reserved for “our” side.

e. Tribe: Terms used frequently in the media and popular language, like “useful”, “modern”, “progress” and “modernization”, mean “better” but the hidden meaning is often “more like us”. “We” are nations with languages, while “they” are primitive, emergent or developing tribes with dialects. This ethnocentric nature of the media has been noted by Phillipson (1992: 45), who asks “What is it that makes four million Norwegians a people and just as many Baganda a tribe ? A few hundred thousand Icelanders a people and fourteen million Hausa-Fulanis a tribe ? There is only one explanation: racism.”

The use of “tribe” is uncommon in 1990 to refer to Arabs, but it still appears occasionally, in fact three times, though only in a historical sense: “After the departure of the British the first

generation of tribal leaders behaved responsibly....” (September 12th, by Mohamed Heikel).⁷¹ There is a challenging use of the word on one occasion: “Victory parades are a primitive ritual, designed to respond to the visceral urges of one tribe that has defeated another.” (March 4th, Leading article)

f. Masses: It is a feature of Western media to present “us” as having free, personal, democratic choice, while Arabs are swept along by tides of “fist-punching masses”. “We” have “service personnel”, a semi-euphemistic, more individualistic term that would never be applied to Iraqi soldiers. The untamed, impersonal hordes of Arabs are pictured as being easily led by the nose by radical leaders, such as Nasser and Gaddafi. The Iraqi armed forces are described as “massing”, or being “amassed” on the Saudi border, with over twenty references in August, though in fact this was a lie, or as being “massive” and impersonal. Saddam carried out “mass” arrests, that is, indiscriminate ones.⁷²

Other expressions referring to the Arabs are, firstly, to refer to Iraqi forces and their actions: “massed armoured forces”, “weapons of mass destruction”, a favourite Western media term which is never used to refer to allied weapons, “massed Arab armies”, “the mass of his soldiery”, “a mass of Iraqi arms”, “massed Iraqi forces”, “massed tank legions of Saddam Hussein”, “massed firepower”, or “the mass of his army”. Secondly, “mass” and its derivatives refer to the Arab people: “mass (Arab) uprisings”, “mass demonstrations”, “Arab and Islamic masses”, “Iraq’s downtrodden masses”, “Arab masses”, “mass support”, “the adulation of the masses”, “a vitriolic pro-Saddam mass movement”. Thirdly, it is used to describe actions carried out by Iraqis: “mass genocide”, “mass looting”, “mass executions”, “a mass onslaught”, “mass Iraqi surrender”, “mass defections”, “mass withdrawal”, and so on, ending up in “mass graves”.

It is far rarer to hear the allies referred to as a mass, though it does happen, for example: “... the American forces massing in the Gulf.” (August 10th, by Philip Webster)⁷³ We do

occasionally hear of “mass attacks”, “massive military onslaught”, “massive daily bombings” and “mass strikes” to describe the allied military action.

g. Depersonalizing Metaphors: Metaphors are devices which insinuate a basic parallelism between two clearly different events, and are thus open to manipulation. The language of sport, hunting and video-games was used widely during the Gulf conflict, but never so much in Britain as in the United States.⁷⁴ It contributed to the idea that war was fun, which is never suggested by journalists in these texts. “Allies’ blow-by-blow account of attack” (January 18th, Headline to War Diary) is a metaphor from boxing, which does not necessarily depersonalize the opponent.

However, there are other metaphors used which do, for instance those referring to hunting. The rout of retreating Iraqis was called “a giant hunt”. U.S. pilots likened their job to “shooting fish in a barrel”, “It was like a turkey shoot.” (Aksoy and Robins, in Mowlana et al, 1992: 209). The term “a turkey shoot” was employed by US soldiers during the war in the Phillipines in 1898, and was inherited and used for their action in the desert in 1991. Richard Beeston, on February 1st, does use the metaphor, but not to glorify the action, rather to shame it: “.... goods vehicles, oil tankers and military transport littered the highway like the giant carcasses of animals hunted down in the night.” It was a hunt of largely Kurdish and Shiite conscripts, though there were also “Scud-hunts” and a “manhunt” for Saddam Hussein: “.... now we are making a determined effort to hunt him down.” (February 17th, by James Adams, quoting a Pentagon source). People were “soft targets”, and the glimpses given of the human consequences of the aerial bombardment were faceless and nameless. Technology distanced the killer from his victim, and he only saw it later on black and white videotape when it was no more real than a horror film.

Sport and games were popular images to convey the idea of modern technological warfare. On *CNN* (Feb 11th, 1991) a returning pilot reported: “....lotta good explosions.....Just kinda

fun. It's great !.... It's like an amusement park...in a strange kind of way there's fun-ness about it." "Our team has carried out its game beautifully" said an American military expert on *NBC*. Other phrases were: "We ran our first play, it worked great", and "We scored a touchdown." In *The Times*, this imagery is present, but only in quotations from American personnel: "‘If we fumble this ball, it is a clear signal to every tin-pot dictator that they can do what they want and not pay a price,’ said a senior American official last week." (August 5th, by James Adams)

Kellner (1995: 220) shows how “powerless” individuals felt themselves part of something larger when they went to pro-war demos and waved flags, feeling part of a community, as in a sports stadium. Sport and war both involve teamwork, both are competitive. Kellner quotes some examples, such as when, on December 19th, General Calvin Waller likened himself to a football coach, and when on January 23rd an interview was shown on television with a US soldier who said “Saddam Hussein doesn’t have much of a team”. On February 1st Richard Cheney whipped up the troops into a fighting frenzy like a football trainer. *The Times* lacks this imagery almost entirely, except for the following, where it claims Britain will win because it belongs to the “first division” like a top football team: “Sending the first division firepower” (September 16th, Headline, by John Cassidy)

The verbs “clear out”, “clear up”, “clean up”, “mop up”, “root out”, “draw the sting” and “flush away” are used to depersonalize the enemy. Ethnicity always runs the risk of becoming racist bias, demoting others to a subhuman level. This is particularly true when journalists use metaphors to describe military actions. “They” are likened to weeds, dirt or vermin to be “cleared out”, “cleared up”, “cleaned up”, “rooted out” or “mopped up”. The expression “Allied forces said.... (they made).... an effort to mop up resistance”, (February 3rd, Gulf War Diary) reduces enemy soldiers to the level of dirt, as in the article where the soldiers’ warspeak is quoted. One example is: “Cleansed = condition of Khafji after removal of Iraqi troops.” (February 3rd, Anonymous article).

Likewise, when the journalist reports that “Saddam’s soldiers began pouring out of the town, still being pounded by allied air strikes. By afternoon, only a few stragglers remained to be cleared out.” (February 3rd, by Richard Ellis), the term “pour out” is one which could refer to a liquid, that is, it is impersonal, while “clear out” is something we normally do with old clothes, not people.⁷⁵ To be fair, these metaphors are mostly quotes from the allied forces. The use of these phrasal verbs by journalists at *The Times* is usually when they refer to oil slicks, mines or dead bodies: “....engineers and medical units moved in to start clearing up the carnage left behind by three days of fighting.” (February 3rd, by Richard Ellis)

The Iraqi soldiers are likened to weeds which had to be rooted out: “....the soldiers sent in to root out the Iraqi infantrymen in the town were meeting fierce resistance.” (February 3rd, by Richard Ellis)⁷⁶ The image of the “surgical strike” implies that what is being taken out is something unclean, leaving what is wholesome untouched, as in “The concept of pinpoint bombing, surgical strike, quick and clean bombing actions, are a fantasy of the armchair strategists” (January 17th by George Galloway), quoted in an anonymous article as an affirmation disproved by events. Another metaphor used is that of a poisonous insect: “Mr Ashdown said there was still a venomous sting in the tail of the Iraqi war machine that would take some time to draw.” (January 22nd, Anonymous article)

Thus, some of the metaphors used in *The Times*, by army spokesmen or journalists, compared the Iraqis with refuse or vermin, needing to be “cleaned out” of their holes in the desert, or worse, as *Newsweek* put it, “The chain had to be pulled, to flush Saddam away” (March 11th, 1991: 48). The same metaphor is used in *The Times*: “.... hand-to-hand combat may be required to flush out Iraqi positions.” (November 1st, by Christopher Walker) It is true that such metaphors are not frequent, but if the reader tries to put them into sentences referring to the other side in the conflict, (s)he will see how incongruous they

sound. If the newspaper were to say, for example, “The Iraqis cleared out the British soldiers” or “successfully flushed them out”, the British public would have felt scandalized. Other expressions used to describe allied actions are described further on in this chapter.

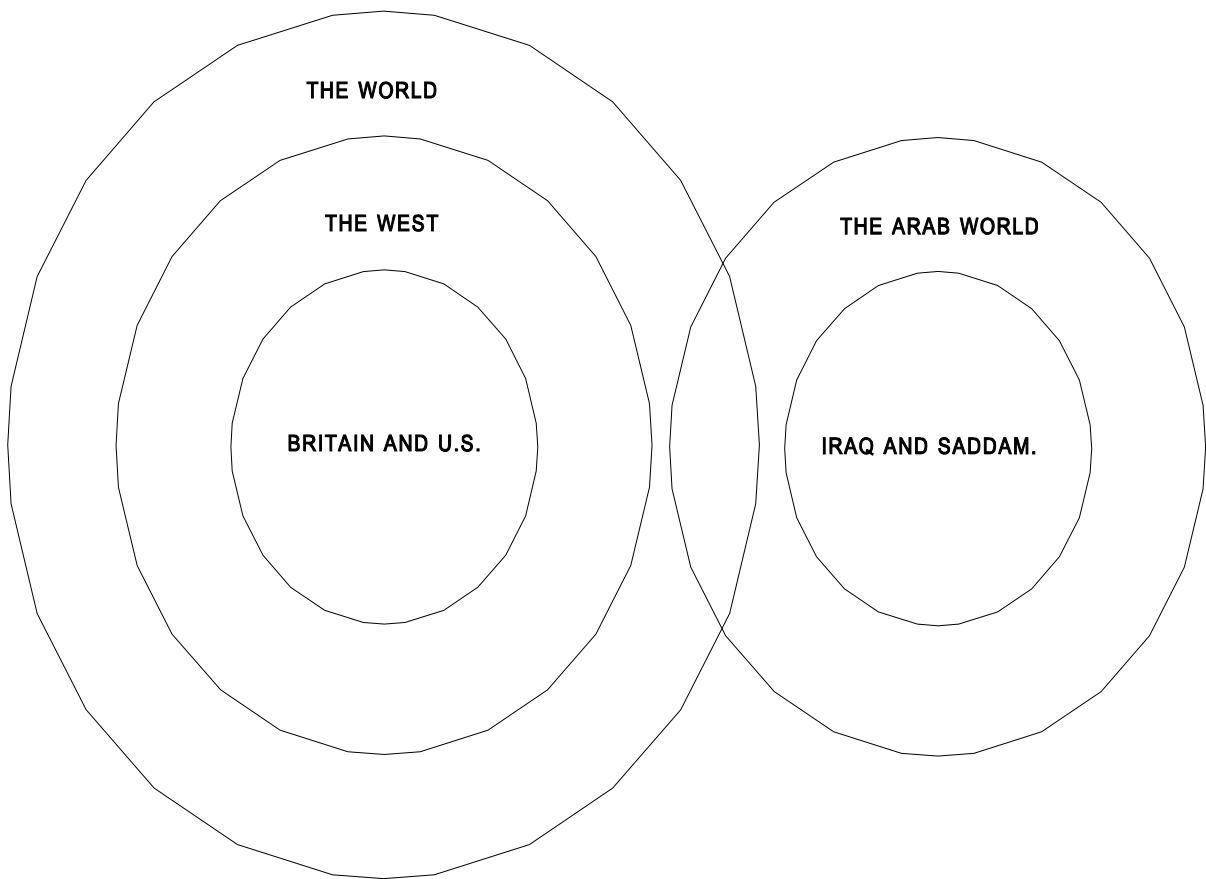
Another metaphor used is that of disease, though it is infrequent. “Kuwait is just a symptom of a malignant disease centred in Baghdad and its leader.” (January 16th, Letter from Sir Richard Dobson) Several references are made to Saddam’s supposed mental derangement (eg. February 7th), and the idea that the Middle East could be literally infected by Saddam’s chemical weapons arsenal, (eg. February 4th, by Thomas Prentice, entitled “Allies ready to defend against gas and disease”), but the idea seems quite widespread, as well, that the expansion of Iraq could turn metaphorically into the extension of a plague-like disease that could infect the whole of the Middle East.

4.5.5. A Working Model

Enough has been seen, through a consideration of the use of pronouns and naming devices, to postulate the identities of “us” and “them”. There is a division made between the Arab world, sometimes called the “Arab Other” ,⁷⁷ and the rest of the world, but this is more complex than a simple bipolarization. I shall suggest the following as a working model, with two provisos, firstly that the unmarked norm, from the point of view of *The Times*, is “us”, the other being the marked, deviant group, as I shall show at greater length when I study what is considered “normal”. Secondly, it is important to remember that for most readers this working model already existed. People may update their old models, impressions and frames, sometimes called “deactivation models” (Van Dijk, 1988b: 139), but the press does not help in this task. Thirdly, it is rarely made explicit in these texts. This identification is necessary only when communicating with non-intimates and strangers.

Diagram 3: “Us” and “Them”: A Working Model

It is seen that the two worlds overlap, with some “friendly” or “moderate” elements within the Arab camp, if only temporarily, being considered part of “us”. The identification made is a temporary one only. Since the time of the Gulf crisis, the “we” can be said to have widened, although there is not much difference between the international community facing Serbia and that facing Iraq, in essence. The “we” of international consensus is used more



frequently eight years later within the Spanish press, due perhaps to a greater integration of Spain inside NATO.

The next section will go on to show how the two sides in conflict are divided by lexical choices that describe their respective characteristics.

NOTES

-
- i. Bloomfield, 1933: 178. Words can be considered, too, as the different forms springing from the same lexical item, for example “goes” and “books” are words formed from the lexical items “go” and “book”. (Trask, 1993: 304f)
- ii. Givón, 1993: 141, includes phrasal verbs as lexical units. Lock (1996: 18, 25) includes non-clausal phrases among lexical items, and shows how, for example, “water”, “the water in the bath” and “the water which is in the bath” would all operate at the same rank within sentences.
- iii. Fishman, 1970; De Vos, 1982: 5; De Vos and Romanucci-Ross, 1982: 364.
- iv. Iraqi Ba’ath party manifesto, quoted in Fishman, 1970: 274f
- v. Abdul, an Arab.... HRP human remains pouch; body bag.... KZ killing zone.... LC’s line-crossers; defectors.... Rag-head, person of Middle Eastern origin.... Sammy, Saddam Hussein.... (February 3rd, Anonymous article on Warspeak)
There is talk of “waxing” (killing) Saddam, of “trashing” (destroying) Iraq, of “making the rubble bounce” (carpet bombing Iraq). They even make use of Iraq’s own term for hostages, “restrictees”.... (August 19th, by James Adams)
- vi. *The Times*, covering the Brixton and Toxteth riots in the eighties, was pro-government and frequently used the language of conflict and confrontation. (Fowler, 1991: 137f, 142)
- vii. Kress, 1983: 45-50; Hackett and Zhao, 1994: 28
- viii. Hatim and Mason, 1990: 162
- ix. Now the talk is of censorship, internment, the stifling of dissent, supporting “our boys”, we are hearing again such slogans as “Careless talk costs lives”. Worse, the xenophobia which is never far below the surface....is flourishing in the open. (January 31st, Letter from Mr David Sinclair)
John Gray does a grave disservice to understanding.... by describing Muslims as having “a radically different mentality”. This smacks too much of dehumanising your opponent prior to annihilating him. (September 1st, Letter from Mrs M Hosein)
- x. According to Givón (1995: 377) zero (simply not mentioning the subject) is the unmarked anaphoric reference device, and together with pronouns it makes up 74.4% of anaphoric references in spoken English, while definite nouns make up the remaining 25.6%.
- xi. “Markedness” was introduced into linguistics by Trubetzkoy and Jakobson, and is considered in this study in terms of frequency of use and structural complexity. Within mainstream Western news discourse, the unmarked categories have been shown to include life, marriedness, fertility,

heterosexuality, white persons, righthandedness, north and rich, as opposed to their unmarked opposite counterparts, (Waugh, 1982: 309) though the possibility of the reversal of markedness (markedness shift) over time is admitted by this author.

xii. Maitland and Wilson, 1987: 499

xiii. Chilton and Schäffner, 1997, about a speech to the British Conservative Party Congress.

xiv. Speech to the World Affairs Council, Los Angeles, March 31st 1983.

xv. And every so often in this country’s history we are called upon to defend them. (January 13th, Leading article, referring to British people’s rights and freedoms)

We need to be as single-minded in the current crisis....The reason why we will shortly have to go to war with Iraq is.... (August 12th, Leading article)

xvi. We are most deeply concerned by the escalation of tension. (August 22nd, Letter from the president of the United Nations Association)

xvii. “We soldiers of the prophet Muhammad vow to launch a jihad. We are aching to confront the crusaders.” (August 8th, by Martin Fletcher and Juan Carlos Gumucio, quoting Islamic preacher)

xviii. Group Captain Martin Widdowson said: “.... We are deploying at full squadron strength.... we have obviously chosen the most experienced crews we have....” (August 11th, by Geoff King)

We went over the target as low as we dared. We dropped the bombs and then ran like hell. We were frightened of failure. (January 20th, by Jon Swain, quoting British pilot)

Corporal Speese said: “We have heard that the guys we are shooting at may include old men and children. But it’s us or them and this is what we get paid to do.” (January 31st, by Nicholas Watt)

Flight Lieutenant Mark Toft....said “We had a good time. Hopefully we have done some damage.” (January 22nd, by Lin Jenkins)

As the pilots got out, punched the air and shared jokes.... Flying Officer Malcolm Rainer.... “We came out of the haze, saw the target and bumf! Piece of cake.” (January 23rd, by Lin Jenkins)

.... One Jaguar aircraft taxied back, grounded..... Squadron Leader Mike Rondot was speechless with disappointment. (January 23rd, by Lin Jenkins)

xix. It was the nightmare people in Israel were dreading; something we preferred not to think about. (January 19th, by Richard Owen)

By the time we had finished eating a spicy curry the distant blasts were coming.... Standing outside our tent, we could occasionally see the lights.... (January 29th, by Philip Jacobson)

“When we joined the (Victor) tankers we were almost out of fuel. It was nice to see them. We were operating in cloud, but it was great to see them,” he said. (January 18th, by Lin Jenkins)

At least we cheered up the troops, who need no encouragement for a spot of mickey-taking.

(January 22nd, by Philip Jacobson)

21. We have heard various evocations of 1914 (“gallant little Kuwait”).... (August 17th, Letter)
...we may soon witness a scene perhaps possible only in the Middle East. (August 16th, by Anthony Parsons)

22. “If America and its allies will not accept the initiative, we will resist by force, we will be victorious” (August 13th, by Christopher Walker, quoting Saddam Hussein)

23. Said (1993: 354, 368) shows the all-pervasive, unquestioned nature of the “we” of national consensus in US media debates, in what he calls “the most covered and least reported war in history”.

Richard Cheney, the defence secretary, said: “The fact is we have over the years built in a very heavy reliance on reserve units into our forces.” (August 16th by Martin Fletcher)

Mr Arens declared: “We have said publicly.... that if we were attacked we would react. We were attacked. We will react, certainly. We have to defend ourselves.” (January 19th, by Richard Owen)

24. We are wise to keep a nuclear deterrent.... We would then feel obliged to become involved, as we already are with our naval forces.... (August 8th, Letter from Field Marshall Lord Bramall)
We have placed our forces under American command, and it would hardly be possible now for us to detach ourselves, even if we had doubts about its wisdom. (January 7th, by Ronald Butt)
We are spending huge sums of money.... we have put at risk hundreds of thousands of lives.... (January 15th, Letter from Dr Hugh Middleton)

“That was a distinctly British concern. This time there are doubts as to whether we should be in the Gulf,” he said. (January 15th, Unnamed journalist, quoting Liverpool University professor)
Here we are on the road to thousands of body bags.... we cannot allow our armed forces to die for cheap oil.... we should not let this war happen. (January 6th, Letter from Scotland)
We ought not to give him the opportunity to have that sort of victory. (December 21st, by Susan Ellicott, quoting Mr Heath)

25. Fairclough, 1989: 128f and Golding and Harris (1997: 98) stress this point.

“We are trying to prevent a war from happening. We hope that your presence as guests is not going to be for long....” (August 24th, by Ray Clancy, quoting Saddam Hussein)

Mr Netanyahu said: “This is not the time to act with our hearts. We are going to act, as the people of Israel expect, with our heads.” (January 23rd, by Richard Owen)

“What we fear is that they will be interned somewhere. I’d like to express the anger of the British people if any such step is taken.” (August 17th, by Andrew MacEwen, quoting Mr Waldegrave)
Americans would need “planning, patience and ... personal sacrifice, a sacrifice that we must and will meet if we are to stop aggression ...” (August 21st, by Martin Fletcher, quoting Mr Bush)

26. we in the West have taken a different view of war.... should we take military action.... if

we do not round criminals up, believe me, they come back. (January 13th, by Barbara Amiel)
 We should aim not only to contain Saddam, but to force him to retreat. The West should overcome its post-colonial inhibitions.... (August 7th, by Amir Tahari)
 We have little enough reason to blame poverty-stricken Arabs because, if we lived as they live, we should believe what they believe.... (August 12th, by Brian Walden)
 “We risk paying a higher price....if we give Saddam more time to prepare for war....” (quoting Mr Bush).... ”But what is absolutely imperative is that Saddam Hussein understands that we are serious....” (quoting Mr Major) (January 6th, by Marie Colvin and David Hughes)

27. We should not have allowed ourselves to get into such a situation.... we failed.... we had to face others....We do not have to make the same mistake again. (January 2nd, by Michael Howard)
 I watched a cheery group trying to burn what appeared to be a small American flag. Well, I’m all in favour of a system that permits dissidents to burn the flag. (January 20th, by Barbara Amiel)
 And the “we” who matter are not the Germans or the Japanese or the Russians but the Americans. (January 20th)
 One official said: “There will be no unified command structure, like we have in Nato.” (August 13th, by Michael Evans)
 Mr Major said ”We both regret.... It is our view that Saddam Hussein has missed an opportunity....” (January 15th, by John Phillips, Press conference by Mr Major and Mr Mitterand)

28. “.... we are completely unified with our Arab allies....” (January 14th, by Peter Mulligan, quoting Mr Major)
 Once the Gulf shooting started, we were able to observe the Euro-show’s principal actors turn a ghastly shade of grey, mumble incoherently in diplomatic French (January 20th, by Michael Jones)

29. The White House said “.... We are hopeful that his trip will impress upon Saddam how united the world is.” (January 11th, Anonymous article).
 “We stand today at the brink of war between Iraq and the world.” (January 13th, Anonymous article, quoting Mr Bush in a letter to Saddam Hussein)
 What we need from the UN is an orchestration of world outrage and wrath.... (August 4th, Letter from Mr Jim Sillars MP)
 “In calculating what we do, we have to recognise that this man is not one of us,” said a senior Pentagon official. “We have to look at this as a worst case, knowing that he might do things that a normal, civilised human being would not contemplate.” (August 5th, by James Adams)

30. We had something of the same at the time of the Falklands conflict....when we sank a whiskery Argentine cruiser that was heading for the ships that we had sent out to liberate the Falkland Islands. (August 26th and January 20th, by Norman Stone)
such as the Boxer Rebellion in China at the end of the last century, when we combined with all the civilised powers to restore order. (January 20th, by Norman Stone)
 That was the terrible mistake we made in dealing with Germany in the second world war....

(January 21st, by Ronald Butt)

The cause for which we fought was just.... As we stare this week into the abyss of war in the Gulf.... (January 13th, by Robert Harris, referring to the Falklands conflict)

Have we forgotten that “careless talk costs lives”? (August 14th, Letter from Mr E.J.Hart)

31. Senator Alan Cranston.... said that he hoped that America would not be “the lone ranger that we were in Vietnam’ (August 10th, by Peter Stothard)

Cheneyacknowledges that, as in Vietnam, the military commitment is open-ended. “We don’t know how long it will last; we don’t know when it will end.” (August 10th, by Martin Fletcher).

As was the case in the 1930s, we see in Saddam Hussein an aggressive dictator (August 9th, by Christopher Walker and Martin Fletcher, quoting Mr Bush)

“You get a better response if you treat them humanely. We found that in Vietnam.” (January 20th, by Patrick Bishop, quoting a US marine)

32. Tony Benn suggested that the possibility of EC talks with Iraq showed there was “a lot more uneasiness than perhaps we are allowed to know in Britain”. (January 2nd, by Andrew McEwen)

It may turn out that the simple good-bad characterisation is something we shall deeply regret.... our children and grandchildren will wonder at our global irresponsibility and feel great shame.

On the video screen we cannot see if there are people inside. (January 26th, by Mary Kaldor)

Sir, The effects of a war in the Gulf could, we believe, set back by a decade the development work in many of the countries we assist....We call upon your readers and her Majesty’s government.... (January 15th, letter from the Director of Christian Aid)

33.what is prophesied is the end of international conflict as we have known it. (January 25th, by Janet Daley)

Christians have based their respect for individuals on the belief that we are each made in the image and likeness of God, (January 28th, by Cardinal Basil Hume)

34. Experts in “crisis management” tell us that the longer crises last, the more options appear to be foreclosed. (January 2nd, by Michael Howard)

The experts tell us that if battle is joined there will be in all at least 100,000 killed. (January 4th, Letter from the Bishop of Salisbury)

35. Our large force.... has locked us into a junior partnership. (January 7th, by Ronald Butt)

President Saddam with the capability to bring the West to its knees, with a nuclear arsenal paid for out of the oil revenues he would extort from us. (January 13th, Leading article)

Future Arab generations would turn against us.... (January 13th, Letter from Dr Adwani)

36. One ought to remember that Israel may be the only country in the world that has actually given up rich territorial gains. (March 3rd, by Barbara Amiel)

37. “If you allow the taking of hostages.... you cannot sit back when someone invades a country If you do that there is no international law.... You have to deter an aggressor by making it clear that if he moved, we would be strong enough together....” (September 3rd, by Philip Webster, quoting Mrs Thatcher)

38. an opponent who considers it perfectly acceptable to shoot you down. (September 29th, by Michael Evans)

“There was some sporadic fighting at night but if you kept to yourselves the Iraqis left you alone.” (August 12th, by Andrew Alderson and Tim Rayment, quoting Britons left in Kuwait)

“You hear about what is happening further north, but you try not to think about it,” Simon Jones, aged 21 said. (January 21st, by Jamie Dettmer)

Since these views are going to be gesticulated into you every night by television interviewers with waving hands.... (August 19th, by Norman Macrae)

Had you watched that Panorama programme, however, you would have thought otherwise. (January 20th, by Norman Stone)

39. History teaches us that you cannot dispose of a sizeable land power..... by bombing. You have to face up to him on the ground. (August 24th, Letter from Mr Peter V. Facey)

You cannot give orders to our troops in the desert from London. (September 24th, Letter from Mr Roy Edey)

40. If Saddam Hussein is not stopped now, he will have to be stopped some time in the future, and at far greater cost in blood and treasure. The danger for the West is that if it desists from stopping him now, he may prove to be unstoppable next time. (January 13th, Leading article)

41. Givón, 1993: 235.

42. “The simple act of labelling or naming something can affect human behaviour toward that thing and even change the nature of the thing itself.” (Bennett, 1980) Also Cohen, 1980; Hall, 1982; Hackett, 1984: 237.

43. Bell, 1991: 195; Pilger, 1992; Taylor, 1982: 211-221.

44. Galtung and Ruge, 1973: 62-72.

45. Woodward Smith (1997:215f) finds the use of “Clinton” alone, in *The Times*, to be much rarer than in *La Voz de Galicia* when reporting the same event, of his taking office.

46. Woodward Smith (1997: 215) points out that the terms “Sr Clinton” or “Presidente Clinton” are common in *The Times* but non-existent in a Spanish newspaper report (from *La Voz de Galicia*) on his taking office in 1992.

47. In the desert, but not for the moment in the Gulf, a sheriff comes upon a lynching. He draws

his revolver on the mob. He fires, and someone falls dead. The mob flees. The absolute at issue here, morally, is “Thou shalt not kill”, and legally, the crime of murder. Taken in isolation from the rest, it seems that the sheriff is in the wrong. The step from drawing the gun to pulling the trigger.... should not shift the moral interpretation. Within the wider frame, the issues have not changed. Having drawn his gun, the sheriff must surely squeeze the trigger if the lynch mob is to be stopped.

48. a Republican senator....said President Saddam was “a butcher, a killer, a bully some day we are going to have to stand up to him.” (August 3rd, by Martin Fletcher)

In spite of a record of butchery which far surpasses anything that Hitler had notched up by the time of Munich.... (Letter from Mr Winston S. Churchill, September 18th)

49. Schank and Abelson, 1977; Kintsch and Van Dijk, 1978: 363 - 394

50. In a survey at the time, far more tabloid readers than quality press readers agreed with the statement that Saddam was like Hitler, so coverage was more neutral in the quality press. (Shaw and Carr-Hill, in Mowlana et al, 1992:151f)

51. Both come from dirt-poor peasant villages; both sustain their authority by violence; and for both, family is the key to power. Family is everything, or almost everything, because Saddam, like the Godfather, ultimately trusts nobody, not even his next of kin. For both, calculation and discipline, loyalty and ruthlessness are the measure of a man’s character.

52.to demonstrate, once and for all, to dictators like President Saddam Hussein.... (August 4th, Letter from Lady Fox)

A ruthless dictator is on the rampage.... (August 4th, by Abba Eban)

The United States could not be pushed around by a dictator like Saddam. (August 5th, Anonymous Insight article quoting General Colin Powell)

53. Wang, 1993: 581; van Dijk 1997b: 81

54. which the Iraqi dictator may not have foreseen. (August 8th, by Richard Owen)

.... officials were arguing that to condemn the Iraqi dictator.... (August 8th, by Richard Owen)

Mr Bush felt confident enough to claim on Friday night that the Iraqi dictator was “isolated”.... (August 12th, Leading article)

55. Brown and Gilman (1960, in Giglioli, 1972: 252 - 82; Woodward Smith, 1997: 181. The latter author comments on the complex problems of address that often face speakers, and the prolonged negotiations that can occur in speech before an acceptable form is found, all of which are ignored by journalists in naming elite Western figures.

56.Wing Commander Jerry Witts. (January 20th, by Jon Swain)

Air Vice-Marshal Bill Wratten, the RAF commander.... (January 23rd, by Michael Evans)
 Flight Lieutenant Steve Thomas’s discussions with the men.... (January 23rd, by Lin Jenkins)
 Squadron Leader Bill Hartree and his navigator, Wez Wesley. (January 24th, by Jon Swain)
 Bill Taylor, vice-president for international security programmes at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies. (August 3rd, by Martin Fletcher)
 Tom Lantos, a senior Democrat on the foreign affairs committee. (August 3rd, by Martin Fletcher)

57. America will also have to persuade some of its Nato allies.... (August 10th, by Michael Evans)

Britain.... as America’s closest European ally (August 10, Leading article)

58. The emir of Kuwait was meeting his Gulf Arab allies.... (August 3rd, by Michael Theodolou)

The White House has gained credit for the speed of its armed defence of its chief Arab ally.... (August 10th, by Peter Stothard, US correspondent)

“....America and its current Arab allies.” (January 16th, by Michael Binyon)

The West should seek as many allies as possible in severing all diplomatic relations (August 3rd, Leading article)

....the United States needs Israel as a strategic ally. (August 4th, Unnamed journalist)

59. Syria, still the Kremlin’s closest ally.... (August 15th, by Christopher Walker in Nicosia)

....Saddam, King Hussein’s his staunchest regional ally. (August 15th, by Michael Theodoulou)

60. Anderson, 1983: 15f.

61.to bring Iraq safely within the norms and conventions of the international community. (August 28th, by John Gray)

The former is the concern of the international community.... (August 7th, Leading article)

62.the impression that Vienna was moving away from the international community’s unified stand against Iraq. (August 25th, Unnamed journalist quoting Mr Franz Vranitzky)

....promoting a dialogue between the international community and President Saddam Hussein (September 1st, by Michael Knipe)

63. She said that the members of the international community could do nothing separately. They had to have a “collective will”. (August 3rd, by Peter Stothard, quoting Mrs Thatcher)

The purpose of the action from Britain and the international community was to deter any further acts of aggression.... (August 9th, by Philip Webster, quoting Mr Douglas Hurd)

Mr Hurd said it was remarkable how quickly and effectively the international community

had

responded to the emergency in the Gulf. (August 11th, by Andrew McEwen)

64. Bush rallied the world, save Libya and Jordan, behind military intervention and sanctions. (October 3rd, by Fred Barnes)

....the world is united against them.... on such force the world must, for the time being, depend in its confrontation with Saddam. (August 9th, Leading article)

65. But the assault was greeted with a determined silence by the Arab world. (August 3rd, by Michael Theodoulou)

But he admitted that the civilised world America, its allies.... (August 5th, Insight article, quoting a top American official)

66.mayhem for the world’s economic and political order. (August 5th, Insight article)
After the oil-price hike in 1978, the whole world went into a slump. (August 5th, Insight article)

67.as the world waited to see how the UN functioned (August 6th, by James Bone)

The world watched, wondering what he would do next. (August 5th, Anonymous Insight article)

America “will not initiate hostilities” the president assured the world in his television broadcast on Wednesday. (August 12th, Leading article)

68. More than 100 of the world’s 170 heads of government are Third World dictators. (August 12th, by Norman Macrae)

The world took no interest in the Iran-Iraq war....The world did not intervene in Turkey’s invasion.... The world might have damned him.... (August 7th, Leading article)

69.there was no sign of trouble with morale predicted by her loyal henchman, Tom King, the defence minister. (November 22nd, by Christopher Walker)

American precision bombing of him and his top henchmen, preferably combined with a coup.... (October 21st, by Norman McRae)

What more could Saddam and his cohorts want.... (January 13th, by Barbara Amiel)

We have already heard enough from Saddam Hussein and his henchmen. (January 26th, Letter)

70.they are living with Iraqi families whose work is essential to the war machine. (August 23rd, from Michael Theodoulou in Nicosia)

His war machine was equipped with the most sophisticated weaponry. (August 24th, Letter)

71. British cruisers, aircraft and armoured cars saved Kuwait from invasion by Saudi tribesmen. (September 12th, Letter from Lawrence James)

The franchise excluded not only the 1.3 million foreigners in Kuwait but the bedouin tribes who

arrived after 1920. (October 5th, by Rosemary Righter)

72. “Iraqi troops mass on Kuwait border” (Headline) US media reports that as many as 100,000 troops and 300 tanks were massed on the border. (August 1st, by Michael Theodoulou)
An avowed anti-Westerner with a massive military machine to feed....he banned all political activity and carried out mass arrests of his enemies. (August 5th, Insight article)
Iraq had amassed an enormous war machine.... (August 9th, by Christopher Walker)
President Saddam called for.... the overthrow by the masses of a number of Arab regimes.... his desperate call to the masses to revolt against their leaders. (August 11th, by Christopher Walker)

73. ordered the mass mobilisation of US reserves (August 23rd, by Martin Fletcher)
.... the multinational force massing against Iraq. (October 21st, Anonymous article)
Mr Bush has to sell the mass deployment of US troops.... (December 5th, by Susan Ellicott)
The United States has amassed the biggest sea-going force.... (January 29th, by Jamie Dettmer)

74. The British public certainly did not see the war as a video game. 82% of Shaw and Carr-Hill’s public survey endorsed the statement: "initial air attacks were precise strikes against strategic targets with minimum civilian casualties" and only 5% as "like video or computer games". (in Mowlana et al, 1992:129f)

75. Group Captain Irving said “....By clearing out the enemy, we may open another option....” (February 4th, by Michael Evans and Susan Ellicott)
There will be more than enough work for all the firms once Kuwait is clear of Iraqi troops. (February 28th, by Nigel Hawkes)

76. “That large (Iraqi) army is still sitting there and it will have to be rooted out, “ said General Tom Kelly at a Pentagon briefing on Friday afternoon. (January 20th, Leading article)

77. McKensie and van Teefelen, 1993: 309.

4.6. Introduction

Having analysed how the core concepts of “us” and “them” are identified within the texts, I will now consider some illustrative lexical items, generally adjectives, that reflect how the news discourse of *The Times* divided the world into two camps, categorizing and polarizing humanity. My research leads me to make three major areas of contrasting characteristics, shown in table form as follows:

“Us”	“Them”
rationality	irrationality
sensitivity	insensitivity
order / response to aggression	chaos / aggression

That is, something like the “civilization versus barbarity, reason versus madness, stability versus chaos” division mentioned by Martín Rojo, 1995: 71. I hope to show that many lexical items that characterize the two sides involved in the conflict are classifiable according to the above table. This classification is made according to personal, intuitional criteria, and to this extent it is an artificial categorization made for convenience. Nevertheless, many of the terms found in the discourse under consideration fit into this table, made after a lengthy process of observation of and reflection on a large number of texts. The selection made is illustrative rather than pretending to be exhaustive, but I have had to make numerous quotations from my primary source, *The Times*, mostly included in the end-note section.

In the world of international affairs, some terms have obvious inventors. The "Iron Curtain" and the "Soviet sphere of influence" are Churchill's inventions. Then, throughout the Cold War, new terms appeared, such as “détente” and "balance of power", which originated with

President Nixon, while President Carter popularized the term "international human rights". During the eighties the words "perestroika" and "glasnost" from the Gorbachov era accompanied new American terms, such as "Star Wars", the name of a missile system. President Bush's contribution was the "New World Order", which appeared during the Gulf conflict.

Most terms, though, have no obvious beginning. Such are "containment", as well as expressions like "a peaceful and stable world", "making the world safe for democracy", and the "free world". In the sixties and seventies, with the growth of alternative cultures which gained access to the media, came the accompanying terminology of "flower power" or "free love", which are unattributable to any one source. Most words are simply inherited from a tradition in a certain register, or overflow, often in the form of metaphors, from other fields. Together with the invention of new words and expressions, then, there has been the use of already-existing words, which together formed the ideological framework for the texts that concern us.

The world is not usually divided into two by any simple or obvious lexical device, in the quality press. This division is often insinuated with considerable subtlety, by means of terms which slip through our fingers due to both their vagueness and readers' passiveness, and it is some of these which have formed the object of most of this section. Diplomatic, political and journalistic language contain similar vague and ambiguous terms. The Final Act of Helsinki, which signalled the end of the Cold War and was celebrated during the period of the Gulf conflict, in September 1990, uses terms like "equality", "justice", "solidarity", "responsibility", as does every diplomatic document, terms which are general enough to justify practically anything. "The participating states recognize the universal significance of human rights and fundamental freedoms" could be used to justify invading a neighbouring state in defence of a minority. A diplomatic text "preserves margins of semiotic ambiguity", and Mininni (1991: 483) comments on the Final Act: "There is no reference whatever to the military and economic relationships on which the balance of power rests, and....a veil is

drawn over the ideological differences, the complex historico-political dimensions and traditions.” All states, such as the USSR and Malta, are considered as equals. A diplomatic document is a levelling device, which refrains from revealing winners and losers or the hard negotiations, suspended in a kind of euphemistic limbo of high-sounding language. In the same way, news about foreign affairs has a rather special lexical register, as it requires both delicacy and some typical political jargon borrowed from diplomats and politicians. It is typical newspaper style to call a war criminal “controversial”, or some such vague term.

So, often enough, we will look in vain for obvious, facile compartmentalizing. However, there are some terms that, as if wrapping the crude reality in cotton wool, divide the world subtly into two. Other researchers into media language have also observed this phenomenon, and some of their ideas have been found useful. For example, Hartley (1982) showed how the media use “boo” words and “hooray” words on a scale of positive, neutral and negative terms, according to the image the media want to give. (Appendix, Figure 11) During the Gulf conflict the enemy was demonized, and internal opposition to the war effort was often ridiculed and made simple enough to be and rejected out of hand. Chibnall (1977) and Fowler (1991) list the contrasting values consistently proposed by the mainstream press, here joined together in one table due to their coincidences. (Appendix, Figure 12) All these are blanket terms used largely uncritically by the media as self-evident or common-sense goods and evils.

The “we” of consensus narrows into a group which sees itself as being threatened by a “them” comprising groups which vary according to the occasion. Martín Rojo (1995: 58) shows how war forces society to form a single group, with a principle for survival, whose definition and delimitation comes from what she calls a “devil-dialectic”. In this way, the reader feels absorbed into a unique and all-embracing “we”, opposing “them” on several counts, as she notes, and again analyses in detail the vocabulary commonly used. (Appendix, Figure 13) Campos (1997) likewise contrasts media compartments during the Gulf conflict. (Appendix, Figure 14) The British press was not totally unaware of the double

standards being applied to “us” and “them”. *The Guardian* published a table of ironically contrasted terminology, entitled “Mad dogs and Englishmen” during the war. (Appendix, Figure 15) Many of the expressions listed above were used by the British press in covering the war. The following sections will explore some of them, as well as others that I have found in the primary source texts.

4.6.1. Rationality

One of the most striking oppositions observed is that between rationality and irrationality. That is, the allies represent the positive pole, while the enemy represents the negative one. There is a long tradition in the West of polarizing the world into “us”, who think rationally, and “them”, those who are intolerant, violent, emotional, fanatical and primitive. According to Martin Woollacott (*The Guardian*, March 4th, 1991) in an article entitled “Iraq was simply an extreme case of Arab sickness”, Arab life suffered from a problem of irrationality, unreason and fantasy. Elsewhere in the British press, too, Arabs were called, directly or indirectly, “dogs” or “pigs”, though some Arab countries in fact formed part of the alliance. *The Times* is very rarely openly racist, though some writers waver on the border line. There is a review praising a book which argues how Iraq and the Arab nation are linked, and displaying a fear of the growth of Arab unity.¹ John Gray (August 28th) labels “us” as “heirs to centuries of liberal rationalism and a tradition of secular materialism.... the model of man set out by Thomas Hobbes of an anxious and prudent being.... heirs of the European Enlightenment”. “We” cannot reason with Islamic regimes, he argues, as “rational bargaining fails in our dealings with the political representatives of militant Islam”, which “for the most part, is a spectacle of decline and decadence, convulsed by recurrent attempts at cultural revival and episodes of fundamentalist frenzy”. It is somewhat ironic in this respect that the word “fundamentalist” was coined in the United States to describe Protestant extremists, but now is applied practically exclusively to the Arab world. “Nationalistic”, “extreme nationalists” and “militant nationalism” refer consistently to “them”, but never the more rational “patriotic”. Some racism is thus present by insinuation, the implication being that irrational Arabs are often unreliable and do unforeseeable things. There is a tendency

to attribute reason to “our” side, as when John Major is quoted as saying: “I hope very much he will see reason....” (January 7th, by Robin Oakley)

Reason is not an innate quality of humanity, according to mainstream news discourse, but has been gained through a long historical process where reason has gradually triumphed over primitive superstition, starting historically at the Enlightenment, as is sometimes stated openly: “.... the Soviet leaders, like us the heirs of the European Enlightenment, are at a loss to understand why rational bargaining so often fails in our dealings with militant Islam.” (August 28th, by John Gray) “We” inherit of this way of thinking, so that adjectives used freely in the press, such as “acceptable”, “justifiable”, “evident”, “inconceivable”, “unclear”, “plain”, “obvious” or “foolish”, are culturally centred on Western concepts, the “reasonable” pragmatic Western model. The following key terms are listed in alphabetical order.

a. Analyst: Sometimes it is stated in which field the so-called “analysts” specialize, such as oil, the military, defence, or the institution which they work for.ⁱⁱ All too often, however, there is no indication what their field is or why they are considered qualified specialists.ⁱⁱⁱ It is noticeable that generally, with only two or three exceptions, for example “Egyptian analysts” (January 22nd, by Michael King), only Westerners are described as “analysts”, as they are presumably the only people considered by journalists to have the capacity of rational analysis. There is thus a certain racism underlying the selective use of this term. The term “analyst” implies rationality, wisdom, reflection and science, the triumphs of the Enlightenment. The use of the word is sufficient to know it refers to Western analysts, not those from other parts of the world. By definition, what an “analyst” says is more reliable than what the layman might suppose, and it is a prominent word in indirect quotations. The identity of the speaker quoted is hidden, except on a couple of occasions,^{iv} as are their actual words, and we are not told why their opinion is worthy of more credit than any other. An analyst is supposed to be neutral, but this may be contested by a discerning reader who finds the words “Pentagon analyst”. An interesting use, proving that the discourse of *The Times* is not uniform, is that by the linguist Mary Kaldor, who claims that “so-called

analysts” have the responsibility to explore the full consequences of the war. “If this war goes on to the bitter end, then journalists, commentators and analysts have a responsibility to explore the full consequences of what is happening” (January 25th), and there are other critics of so-called armchair analysts and armchair experts: “If an armchair analyst had predicted publicly that the allies would destroy the world’s fourth largest army in six weeks....” (March 3rd, by Richard Caseby). On March 27th it is shown that such faceless analysts are not omniscient, when their opinion that Saddam had no missiles capable of reaching Israel is seen to have been disproved. “Oct 9th. Saddam claims he has a new missile capable of reaching Israel and Saudi Arabia. Claim dismissed by analysts.” (January 27th, Gulf War Diary) The traditional distrust felt in Britain towards a separate caste of people setting themselves up as intellectuals may have something to do with this critical attitude. But such criticism is published after the event.

b. Brave / Daring / Resolute: These words are rarely used. “Fanatical” or “desperate”, sometimes applied to “them”, can be contrasted with “brave” and “daring”,^v just as “ruthless” can be with the word “resolute”. The former in each case has connotations of mindless daring, the latter of heroism. Braveness is used to describe heroic actions against the odds: “British refugees hugged and kissed.... after fleeing.... through the Gulf crisis zone, where they braved Iraqi tanks.” (August 12th, by Andrew Alderson) But bravery is seen as rational, unlike the more negative terms “fanatical” or “desperate”, though the real-world situation may not have been so dissimilar. It requires some linguistic juggling to make a superior force seem brave in the face of a patently inferior opponent: “Today, the United States of America has embarked on its most daring military adventure since its defeat in Vietnam” (August 9th, Leading article), but the journalists often fail to reflect this reality. It is used only for “us”. The difference is that “our” soldiers fight with their heads as well as their hearts.^{vi}

c. Caution: “We”, according to most contributors to *The Times*, only seek to do what is “necessary” to defeat the enemy, and “finish the job”, a characteristic euphemism for

destroying the enemy in the armed forces. “Caution” is related to “wise” and “prudent” (see below), weighing up the pro’s and con’s carefully rather than rushing headlong into some action. There are a few uses of “cautious” to refer to Arabs and Iranians, nearly all of them referring to elite persons within Arab countries, especially their leaders and diplomats, including Saddam Hussein.^{vii} But the “mass” of Arabs are described as being ruled by their heart rather than their head. The overwhelming majority of quotations referring to someone being “cautious” are to Western people, especially the military. Caution is a rational characteristic that writers believe is more likely to be possessed by the British or Americans than by the rest of the Europeans or certainly Arabs, who are considered to be more emotional. Even the allied bombing, in a curious juxtaposition created by President Bush, has to be carried out “cautiously”, not emotionally.^{viii} As a secondary meaning, “cautious” as a reaction, rather like the verbs “hesitate” and “waver”, and the adjective “unsure” often implies that something has not convinced the West. If a move by Saddam Hussein is given “a cautious welcome”, for example, this is generally a euphemism for rejection.^{ix} So this term plainly illustrates the attitude by Western journalists and other contributors towards the inherent characteristics of the people on either side in the conflict.

d. Expert: There are certain rational characteristics only attributable to “us”, all of them favourable. One is the ability to analyse, and another, expertise. The widespread use of the word “expert” has been commented on by other researchers: “Experts on the Iran-Iraq war said today that the lull in the war was probably temporary. The experts said they expected the Iranians to begin a new offensive....” (Quoted by Zelizer, 1989: 380) Western “armchair experts” feel capable of fulfilling the role of gurus on the Third World. Some people are awarded the title of “expert”, while others are by nature excluded from that category. For example, an American may be given the title of “expert on Central America”, but a Central American would never be called an “expert on the US”, at least in the mainstream press. Experts, in the media, are a fixed caste of people. Sometimes it is said in what field they are experts, as in “Military / Middle East / defence / biological weapons / terrorism / tanks / intelligence expert”, all of which appear in the texts. “John Laffin, an expert on the Middle

East and author of many books on the Arabs” (August 4th, by Michael Evans) is a typical example of the kind of sentence widespread in the mainstream media. It would certainly sound strange to Western ears to hear an Arab labelled “an expert on American / British affairs”, and Western commentators use this word to suggest a global situation where the Arabs are a subject for study, as though the “Arab world”, an expression in itself implying a closed society, is something alien and other enough to need expertise to understand. Similarly, “Yossi Olmert, a leading Israeli expert on the Arab world” (November 1st, by Richard Owen) is said. It would be most unusual to read “An Arab expert on Israel”. Whenever the word “expert” is used, it is taken for granted that it is a person from the West who is being referred to, especially from the Pentagon or some other Western institution. “Pentagon experts believe it would take Saddam some time to annexe the Saudi oilfields” (August 5th, by James Adams) is typical. Pentagon officials are unlikely to be neutral in their observations, but the label “expert” implies neutrality. “Expert” almost invariably means “our” expert. The BBC, more neutral, usually uses the label “commentator” for such people instead.

Many times, the experts are unnamed, and it is not even said in what field they are experts, who they represent, or their credentials, but it is clear whose side they are on.^x For example, if an “expert” says there is a “need” for coordination, that need is essentially felt by “us”, implicitly including the unnamed expert, and so-called “independent experts” are often said to be “in favour of military action”. The fact that one is labelled an expert apparently gives one the right to prophesy what will happen, or what the other side will do, for example, annexe the Saudi oilfields or fight a certain kind of war.^{xi} There are some independent critical voices also referred to as experts: “Gary Milhollin, a nuclear-proliferation expert, said: ‘For our leaders to imply that this is a big risk.... as a justification for going to war, is misleading.’” (November 29th, by Martin Fletcher), but there is only one reference to Iraqi military experts, in the seven and a half months studied, the only other time an Arab is considered an expert being when Saddam Hussein is called an expert in murdering.^{xii} Thus, “experts” are Western figures, usually in favour of military

options, and the argument between them is generally one of how far it is practical for “us” to go.

e. Moderate: “Moderate”, with connotations of thoughtful minds and a lack of excesses, refers almost invariably to pro-Western Arab countries, especially Egypt and, at the beginning of the conflict, Jordan. As the West is portrayed as reasonable, agreement with the West is also a characteristic of its “moderate” Arab allies.^{xiii} The underlying historical reasons for radicalism are never investigated. As far as the media are concerned, the definition of “moderate” is the opposite of “extremist”, “fanatical” and “radical”. “Moderate” during the Gulf conflict implies a willingness to compromise “reasonably” with “us”. To be against the West is to be against the moderates, for the equation “The West = moderation” is a “given” of news discourse.^{xiv} It is thus used practically exclusively to describe Arabs who are not like the masses of “fist-punching extremists”, though it is at times used to describe Western “doves”. Even Iran and Syria, if friendly to the alliance, are accorded the label “moderate”.^{xv} The use of this term is also disputed on a few occasions,^{xvi} but in general “we” are moderate and restrained, and those like us are as well.

f. Necessary: The implication of “necessary” is that a decision has been reached rationally, weighing up the requisites of the moment for the task in hand, not in the heat of the moment and not in excess. It is often used in combination with other linguistic devices. Thus, when the editorial declares: “That compulsion has been found necessary is regrettable but wholly understandable” (December 31st, Leading article) a series of devices are used. Firstly, the verb is an example of what I call later a non-negative agentless passive (see 5.4.3.), whose logical subject is identifiable with the “we” of consensus. Secondly, the use of “regrettable” and “understandable” (see 5.10.) suppresses the subject, and lastly, “necessary” is a wholly subjective term, begging the question: “Necessary for whom?”

A parent, policeman, or sheriff may be reluctant to punish, but will do so if it seems

necessary, and once such a role has been assigned by the media to a person or country, the chosen representative can do whatever (s)he sees fit. It is “we” who will decide what it is necessary to do, and when the moment to do it has arrived.^{xvii} “Needs” and “interests” are not seen as the same thing. The former are global and impersonal, while the latter are selfish and individual. It is seldom mentioned in *The Times* that the US and Britain act in their own interests. The mainstream argument runs that if the UN had acted, the US would not have, the logic being that the US acted in the interest of the UN. As Rosemary Righter writes on August 18th: “The British and American decisions... would not have been necessary had the UN acted...” The use of this word is extremely subjective, depending from whose point of view an action is “necessary”. At first it is used in a fairly neutral way, with statements that the presence of Iraqi troops along the border with Iran was “necessary”, and one letter challenging the “necessity” for Britain and the US to use force to impose the trade embargo.^{xviii} Thenceforward the West seems to kidnap the word, and for most writers an action is “necessary” when the British government deem it necessary. However poor the response of the British people to volunteer for service, they must be called up, as the British government knows what is necessary when they compel people to go to the Gulf against their wishes.^{xix} Sometimes the necessity is justified by the need to restore “international peace”: “Article 42authorises the Security Council....to take such action.... as may be necessary to restore international peace” (August 4th, Letter from Lady Fox), yet often enough the necessity is not explained, but merely understood to be “to expel Saddam”.^{xx} On dozens of occasions the expressions “to use force if necessary” and “the use of all necessary means” appear, as appears in the United Nations resolution, as if to remind the reader unceasingly of the backing “we” have internationally.

For most journalists, it is a British tradition to kill only the number of enemy soldiers “necessary”, as when Clifford Longley (January 19th) mentions “....the deliberate British policy of minimal force in that conflict, which represented a desire to kill no more Argentinians than was necessary.” This is a key word in all the parliamentary and diplomatic agreements and resolutions, being sufficiently vague to justify anything.

Opponents like Mr Benn are allowed to challenge the mainstream definition occasionally, though his words significantly are placed between inverted commas, thus distancing them from the journalist. His words may be contrasted with those of President Bush, which are adopted by journalists who blur them in with their own.^{xxi} A few letters challenge the use of “necessary” as used in the mainstream press: “I cannot believe that using total air superiority as it was used in the last days of the war over Baghdad and on the fleeing troops was necessary” (March 3rd, Letter from Mrs D White), but this letter was published when it was all over.

g. Numbers and Statistics: Numbers are quantifiers, generally included in the noun phrase, and so have been included in this section on lexical items. Newspapers use numbers to convey objectivity, and they stress the scientific, rational and neutral nature of the reporting and the reporter. However, they can be used as a stylistic device, as a rhetorical means that contributes to a melodramatic world picture. In the press, numbers are repeatedly, and paradoxically, linked to patterns of presentation that appeal more to readers’ emotions than reflecting true facts. “Numbers.... contribute to the impression of true facts of life, but in fact contribute to the melodramatic while at the same time contributing to the image of credibility.” (Berger, 1995: 350)

Numbers and statistics are the most verifiable, quantifiable and undeniable of facts. Some complex areas of news become reduced to being reported in numbers. Bell (1991) and Van Dijk (1988a: 114) talk of the “rhetoric of numbers”, because news has an assertion-type speech act function, and its major aim is to achieve credibility with the reader. Hence, rhetorical strategies are used to stress the precision and truth of the text, one of which is numbers. In the same way economic reporting in popular media may be limited to the consumer price index, the share market and the unemployment figures.

Facts and figures make the news sound more truthful, scientific and professional (Hodge and Kress, 1979: 191), because media professionals have to be able to deliver the image

of independent judgment. The result is often the overuse of numbers and percentages, and an obsession with the science of warfare. In one case study it is shown how the size of a bomb and the exact time of its explosion, the number of deaths and injured, the date of the election of dead Lebanese President Gemayel, and so on, are given even when these things are not necessary to the gist of the story of his assassination. (Van Dijk, 1988a) There is exaggeration through numbers, sometimes for impact, and this is often a misrepresentation, adding to newsworthiness. Phrases like: "In the next few years New Zealanders will see the seas rise by 8 centimetres" (Bell, 1991), seem scientific enough, but "few years" or "many years" is subjective, and journalists, in a competition for publication, exaggerate for impact, especially in headlines. People remember the more exaggerated claims rather than more moderate ones, "many dead" rather than "not many dead". People like to be shocked, and even quality newspaper headlines prefer "bound to/will happen", rather than "might happen", as is seen in paragraph 6.4.6. Sometimes the flood of numbers becomes overwhelming, as in "Only 4000 tonnes were caught in the 4 weeks after the season began on December 15th, 70% down on the 13,000 tonnes taken by this time last year." (Quoted in Bell, 1991)

So numbers and statistics are a device used in wartime ostensibly to give a more neutral, scientific slant to news discourse, but the effect is often to shock, exaggerate and attract attention. In *The Times*, as in all other British dailies, there was almost an obsession with numbers, some articles being practically composed of them. Thus, in the following short paragraph, the precise age, distance, time, number of press-ups and sit-ups are all stipulated:

Men under 40 have to run a mile and a half in 15 minutes and 30 seconds and grunt their way through 33 press-ups and 32 sit-ups. The time limit for each set of exercises is two minutes. Women in the same age group are allowed 17 minutes and 15 seconds for the run, and have to complete only 13 press-ups and 30 sit-ups. (January 5th, by Thomas Prentice)

The pattern is repeated again and again, some articles being almost lists of statistics,

percentages, costs, code numbers and troop numbers. Numbers are used as propaganda by both sides to advertise their own strength.^{xxii} I have found that the use of numbers and statistics in the period under consideration shows the following characteristics. Firstly, there is almost an obsession, already noted, with numbers of weapons, troops and so on. Secondly, the West is interested in exaggerating the potential of the enemy, “the world’s fourth largest army”, as it is called again and again, in order to stress the courage of its own troops, and to make “our” victory appear more glorious.^{xxiii} Thirdly, and by contrast, there are statistics which are avoided. *The Times* carries diagrams of warplanes, showing the load of bombs they are capable of carrying, but is very vague about the number of Iraqi casualties, as focussing on the number of casualties is bad for morale. There are hardly any mentions of these, as they would place the responsibility on the agents, that is, on our forces. For example, it is popular to talk of the “loss of life”, “deaths”, the “death toll” or “civilian casualties”, as in “Western journalists taken to Falloujah confirmed the attack but put the death toll at no more than fifty.” (February 17th, by Richard Ellis) Here, the journalist minimizes the number of dead, uses the euphemism “death toll” and the nominalization “attack” (see 5.6.1.), and avoids specifying that the dead are “people” after the word “fifty”.

h. Wise: “Mr Bush has been particularly stung by the repeated criticism.... that his actions in the Gulf might be justified but were not wise.” (December 1st, by Peter Stothard) So the twin virtues of prudence and pragmatism are seen as paramount in a Western politician, are often praised in Mr Major, and are said to be one of the distinguishing features of “our” leaders as against “theirs”, who can throw away human lives without internal opposition. Presidents are burdened with “the task of showing that war is a wise and worthwhile course” (December 1st, by Peter Stothard), and not a matter of emotional commitment to a cause. Wisdom is a necessary characteristic, especially in a leader, a feature of the elite, as the American president writes to Saddam on the eve of the air attack: “I hope you weigh your choice carefully and choose wisely.” (January 13th, by George Bush) But for Saddam to behave in the wise Western way would be surprising, against all the evidence to the contrary, as the newspaper repeatedly assures us, as he is irrational. So “wise” is applied

and exhorted in these texts especially to Western leaders: “The allies have wisely aimed at the military units.” (January 30th, Leading article) “Unwise” on the other hand, is an adjective applied exclusively to the other side, and especially to Saddam Hussein and Palestinian leaders (January 27th, Leading article). As we shall see in the following section, this is widespread in lexical choices during the period chosen.

4.6.2. Irrationality

Arabs are people portrayed as being led, not by the rational side of human nature, but by their emotions. Popular Western literature and films reinforce prejudices against the Arabs. Some phrases used in popular fiction to describe Arabs’ characteristics are: “smouldering rabble.... pent up.... stirred into religious hysteria... a mob of fellaheen.... cold-blooded.... goaded by their leaders....wild chantingsout they poured.... enraged mob....” (Quoted by Van Teeffelen, 1994: 384) There are many terms to describe Arabs’ natural state as one of semi-hysteria, such as “frenzied”: “Mr Hussein, for his part, tried to explain to Israelis that the frenzied marchers in West Bank towns....” (August 23rd, by Richard Owen) The implication is that if only they had thought about their situation reasonably, they would not have behaved in that indiscriminately violent way. Another term used to describe Arabs, but hardly ever Westerners, is “ecstatic”. Mr Bush would never be described in these terms, but is said to be “buoyed up” or “optimistic”.

a. **“Anti-”**: “Anti-” is the only non-lexical item considered in this study in isolation, if we accept pronouns as lexical items. It is generally a bound morpheme, though it can appear exceptionally as a word in its own right. The use of this prefix for “anti-tank weapons”, or “the anti-Iraqi alliance”, is often neutral: “as the anti-Iraq task force mobilised this week....” (August 10th, Leading article) I have mainly selected those examples where it is not. The use of “anti-” often indicates a primitive, non-pragmatic world-view dependent on an ideology, which “we” have grown out of. It is very rare to find anyone in the West named “anti-” anything, as this implies an irrational prejudging of issues.^{xxiv} It is generally a quality of “them”, the untamed forces of nature, unthinkingly rejecting the West, being led by the

nose by extremist leaders, and showing irrational gut reactions which a long Western tradition assigns to Arabs. It is perhaps worrying to find its use so extended by journalists themselves. It would be almost unthinkable for a Western journalist to call a British or French politician “pro-Iraqi” or “anti-Egyptian”, because “we” are supposed not to be led by our emotions, but journalists use freely this kind of vocabulary when describing Arab leaders and especially ordinary Arab people.

“Anti-American”, “anti-Israel” and “anti-Western” are mainly associated and juxtaposed with words naming negatively associated phenomena, such as boycotts, propaganda, ugliness, anti-moderation, terrorism, aggression, massive military machines and rhetoric, and never have their origins hinted at. This *sui generis* character of mass emotions is described rather like the behaviour of football supporters. Arabs’ emotions are “whipped up” or “stirred up”, they are irrational and primitive.^{xxv} The lack of reasonableness among the Arabs is added to the above-mentioned lack of historical background in the account of the Gulf crisis given in the Western media (Paragraph 3.3.5.). Western audiences do not have great knowledge of the background to the Middle East conflict, and so actions against Western interests are incomprehensible, as they all occur in a historical vacuum.

b. Extremist: I find very few references to this word in *The Times*, unlike in the tabloid press. The references given in this section are the only ones in the texts. The most striking point about this word is therefore its scarcity. There is only one occurrence of it in December, and none at all in November. Journalists from *The Times*, with one exception, Christopher Walker,^{xxvi} are not generally given to using this term themselves. This makes us question media critics who say the enemy is constantly depersonalized and made to appear as driven by primitive forces alien to civilized nations. It is in fact to be found also to refer to anti-Iraqi extremists in Britain in America, and to Israeli extremists, as well as to Palestians and Arabs.^{xxvii} We see that here, as in other cases, *The Times’s* journalists are often fair and avoid giving their own opinions. The association made between “Arab” or “Muslim” and “extremist” in fact has a second reading, that of not wishing to label all

Muslims as extremists but only a section of them.^{xxviii} Indeed, some Arab governments may be moderate although the Arab masses are extremists. The term “extremist” is linked to other emotionally loaded terms such as “fanatic” and “terrorist”, with violence their common denominator, though less so in the quality press than in the popular. The term is mostly linked with “Islamic”, “Muslim” or “Palestinian“, as in: “....Abu Nidal, the Palestinian extremist who recently moved his headquarters....” (October 5th, by Christopher Walker) Anti-Americanism can only be described as a “sentiment”, “feeling” or “emotion”, held by “masses” and “frenzied marchers” in demonstrations, as its root historical and economic causes are never touched on. In conclusion, it may be said that extremists are nearly always Arab extremists, despite some examples in the West, and that there is never any analysis in *The Times* that will throw any light on why they adopt extreme positions.

c. Fanatic: It is a telling fact that there is no mention of anybody being a fanatic during the months of October, November or December in *The Times*. In the quality British press, the public were not brainwashed into believing that all Muslims were extremists and fanatics. Journalists respected the rules of their profession. The idea is present, however, that some Arab nations are ruled by irrational and unpredictable leaders. As John Gray writes (August 28th): “.... regimes animated by radical Islam, in which a Western model of rationality and strategic calculation is projected onto a radically different mentality.” “Fanatical” implies irrationality, previously used to label communists but in the post-Cold War period the property of Islam, with “those air-punching Muslim urban fanatics, who are Saddam’s stage army....” (August 19th, by Norman Macrae) The most Westernized regime in the Middle East at that time was called “fanatical”, and in fact the term is usually reserved for Iran, against whom Saddam fought, but it appears that Saddam exploits this fanaticism.^{xxix}

d. Madman / Psychopath: The rhetoric of editorials in the tabloid press feeds ethnic prejudices in the popular imagination. Orwell, as far back as 1950, criticizes the expression “mad dog”, a common term later applied to Colonel Gaddafi and Saddam Hussein in the mainstream Western press, although interestingly the term “mad dog” never appears in the texts studied. The cluster of terms associating the enemy with madness, such as

“paranoid”, “crazy”, “deranged”, “insane”, “pathological” and “psychopath”, has been noticed by other researchers.^{xxx} Generally, in *The Times*, Saddam is not seen as being as mad inherently as his actions, as this attribution of madness would reduce the danger of his calculated invasion: “Far from being a Western stereotype of a mad Arab, Saddam Hussein has calculated his risks, concluded he runs none, and acted accordingly.” (August 3rd, Leading article)^{xxx1}

However, the main message is that, if not actually mad, he is verging on it. Making out Saddam as a semi-madman meant that no offer made by Iraq could be taken seriously, as it was the nonsensical ravings of a madman. The fact that in the whole of the period there are so few references to Saddam Hussein’s supposed madness shows that the newspaper does not fall into the trap of the tabloids, who frequently attribute madness to Middle Eastern rulers, but when the American decision had been taken, “moral closure” certainly took place against him.^{xxxii} In an article entitled “Saddam’s psyche shows the strain of paranoia under intense stress” the question is asked: “Is Saddam Hussein a maniac?”^{xxxiii} Madness is seen as being out of touch with reality. The fact that the journalist involved is one of those regularly reporting on the events of the war, and that he so readily assumes the American officials’ position, says little for his neutrality.

Saddam’s condition can be diagnosed by Western psychologists and “experts”.^{xxxiv} The journalist’s repetition of the words “dangerous certainly”, in one of these texts, implies that the self-appointed Israeli analysts are right. American government officials painted a similar picture of Colonel Gaddafi of Libya. In keeping with the diagnosis of paranoia is “Saddam’s increasingly melodramatic view of himself as champion of the Arab people against Israel.... going beyond rhetoric and reflecting a messianic belief in a destiny of martyrdom.... a bungling psychopath who has ruined his country.” (February 3rd, by Robert Harris)

4.6.3. Sensitivity

Another major polarization in the media is between those who are sensitive to others’

feelings and those who barbarously take no account of them. Although emotions are to be avoided, at least when they are extreme or fanatical, there are certain emotions it is good and noble to feel. “We” are shockable, normal people. Words like “lukewarm response”, “bungling”, “blundering”, “hesitating” or “vacillating”, during the Gulf conflict were ambiguous, supposed to be criticisms of wavering politicians, but also meaning that “we” had our doubts about using force. The Americans “pale” (August 11th, by Susan Ellicott), the Israelis are “aghast” (August 11th, by Martin Alexander) at the thought of war.

a. Agony: “Agony”, like doubt, reluctance and hesitation, are Western or Israeli feelings: “The distressed families of those detained in Iraq and Kuwait are.... letting their fears and agonies pour out.” (August 21st, by Martin Fletcher) Western governments are supposed to have a much greater sensitivity with regard to human life than their Arab counterparts. So the agony of Vietnam is seen as exclusively American agony, and the Israelis agonize before “retaliating”, according to politicians, spokesmen, and journalists alike.^{xxxv} There are a few occasions when Arab agony is mentioned, but when this is so, the worry is portrayed that they will be public enough to stir “our” conscience and so impede the war effort, so they must be hidden.^{xxxvi} The worry is that the presumed Western agonizing over innocent Arab victims will comfort Saddam Hussein, according to journalists. In fact, in *The Times*, more concern is shown over the agony of seabirds than that of the Iraqis, if the number of references is indicative of this.^{xxxvii}

Even though the war is being fought on Arab land and the casualties are mainly Arabs, the only human “agony” and “anxiety” referred to are Western agony: “....an intense anxiety that the demons of the Middle East might win and the country (the United States) could be in for further agony.” (January 22nd, by Charles Bremner) The dominant idea is that the Americans and British only decide in favour of military action after agonizing in their consciences over its consequences.

b. Alarm: The use of this word indicates a common journalistic concern, that of creating an impression of drama. Its consistent application to the West, rather than to the population of

Iraq, indicates the extent to which journalists have assumed the language of the West's tradition.^{xxxviii} The Israelis are “alarmed” by the allies' failure to attack, and by the Iraqi Scud missile attacks, so “Israel is alarmed by America's failure to act.” (August 24th, by Richard Owen)

The term is applied to some non-Western countries: “Saudi Arabia has begun translating alarm into action.” (August 7th, by Juan Carlos Gumucio), but even when the term is applied to the Palestinians, only “some” are alarmed by the lack of gas masks: “Some Palestinians have been alarmed by Israeli announcements that there are insufficient supplies of gas masks for the inhabitants of the occupied territories.” (January 9th, by Richard Owen) The alarm in Baghdad, the real alarm of Iraqi civilians about allied air and ground attacks is never reflected by this word. On the other hand, there is alarm felt over torture, the treatment of Arabs, and that the United States might go too far.^{xxxix} Besides the quotes included, there are numerous ones referring to the false alarms set off in the West. “Alarming” is considered in the following chapter (5.10).

c. Anxiety: “Anxious” has been selected, in its meaning of “extremely worried”, but not with that of “anxious to please” or “anxious to inform”. Anxiety, like “fear” (see below 5.6.2.), is an emotion felt only by elite figures, rich Arabs, American Congressmen, military commanders “anxious to step up the destruction rate.” (February 15th, by Christopher Walker)^{xl} It is often used in close juxtaposition with “fear”, and is the state of Western man, who has been through a historical process, including the Enlightenment, which makes him capable of feelings like anxiety: “...the model of man set out by Thomas Hobbes of an anxious and prudent being.” (August 28th, by John Gray) There is evidence of “closure”, a hardening of mainstream media attitudes, as the conflict lengthened. At the beginning, in August 1990, Iraqis were shown as capable of having feelings, but later these are hardly ever referred to. Anxiety, like fear, is made extendible to whole countries and institutions, “Arab states” (September 14th), the Arab League (December 8th), the Bundestag (January 18th) and Israel (March 12th).

Journalists sometimes display a sense that they share others' anxiety, as when Charles Bremner, in a clear allusion to the supposed threat of Arab extremists and terrorists, on February 9th, refers to “Israeli anxiety”, seeming to accept the reasonableness of the Israeli position. There is also mention of real anxiety, of wives for husbands held hostage, for example,^{xli} and it must be said that other countries, and opponents of the war in the West also feel anxiety.^{xlii} However, the faceless victims of the conflict are generally also unfeeling ones. Only occasionally do the “hundreds of thousands of refugees” or the “...hundreds of thousands of bewildered and anxious refugees making their escape from the Gulf” (August 26th, by Marie Colvin) come to the surface. This fear and anxiety takes a back seat to “our” feelings. Curiously enough, only a Jewish writer, Efraim Karsh, refers twice to Saddam's own “anxiety”.^{xliii} There is never “anxiety” about the fate of Iraqis, and during the attack on the retreating Iraqi troops on the Basra road, the anxiety about the fate of people is only for the missing reporters: “Anxiety rises over reporters missing on road to Basra” (March 6th, by Susan Ellicott and John Phillips)

d. Civilized / Civilization: It is striking that there is only one reference to Saddam Hussein being a threat to civilization, in all the leading articles, opinion sections and letters to the editor spanning the seven and a half month period. This lack of cultural prejudice is significant, as it avoids too simple a division of humanity. Indeed, that one mention is made by an Arab, not by a Westerner: “...Iraq is a threat to world order, to regional stability and to civilized behaviour” (August 30th, Letter from Gulf Security Council Chairman). One of the other mentions is to criticize supposedly civilized Western leaders, and another refers to the ancient civilizations of the Middle East.^{xliv} It is striking, too, that there is no editorial material mentioning threats to Western civilization, as perhaps there would have been in the days of Andrew Neil. The Arab countries are however marginalized, to the extent that they take the place of the Soviet Union as the enemy. The latter is now called by one regular contributor “one of the two civilized superpowers” (August 12th, by Norman MacRae)

e. Concern: It is a mark of civilized people to be “concerned”. It displays emotion, on the one hand, shows that decisions have not been hastily made, and that they are made in response to a threat to the “status quo”. The United States, during the Cold War period, was constantly shown in the media to be “concerned” or “worried” about supposed Soviet threats to its “backyard” in Central and South America. “Concern” is not an emotion likely to be felt by non-Westerners, so it seems: “The lorries....driven by Filipino and Thai drivers working for Jordanian hauliers. None seem concerned about the international controversy.” (August 16th, by Christopher Walker)

Fatalism characterizes citizens of the Third World, and only the leaders of the West are pictured as feeling concern. Both journalists and the people they cite use this word in the same way, that is, to describe only Western reactions, such as those of British troops, their wives, the US president, British officials and Mrs Thatcher. Arabs are seen as subject to more primitive feelings, except in two isolated examples.^{xlv} There is thus an undercurrent of racism in the use of this word. On most occasions when Arabs are questioned about whether they are concerned, they usually say they are not. It is especially striking in these texts that there is “concern” in American circles not about war itself but about anti-war movements, troops’ boredom, the possibility that Israel might be asked to pay compensation, “linkage” to the Palestinian issue, European peace initiatives, and the like, for “fear” that these might open cracks in the alliance, as the most important thing in wartime is solidarity among allies, the sense that they are all pulling together. They are more concerned about moves towards peace than moves towards war. The most common use of “concern” and “concerned” is that of not showing a united front. “Concern” is almost by definition “reasonable concern” and seems to be shared by journalists and elite voices alike. It is used throughout the crisis for Israelis, the British government, almost everyone in fact, except those in imminent danger of death, that is, ordinary Iraqis.

There are alternative voices in the West, and in the texts studied there is reflected the

concern of people for the escalation in the war, churchmen who represent their serious concern at the prospect of a conflict in the Gulf or civilian casualties.^{xlvi}

f. Disaster: “Disaster” both implies regret for the consequences, and, at the same time, like the word “incident”, avoids responsibility on the part of the West. The “disaster” on February 13th 1991 was the damage done to the West’s united front, in most articles, not for the families decimated by the Amiriya bomb: “.... the propaganda disaster of the Baghdad bombing.... America is reassessing its targeting to try to avoid a similar public relations disaster.” (February 15th, by Peter Stothard), “.... the bombing of the Baghdad bunker and Washington’s subsequent handling of the disaster.” (February 15th, by Christopher Walker), “.... the Iraqi offer, soon after the disaster of the allied bombing of the Baghdad air raid shelter, could cause discord....” (February 16th, by Christopher Walker), and “After the public relations disaster of the Amiriya bombing....” (February 17th, by John Cassidy) This is another clear example of the way the conflict is consistently seen from one point of view. The use of this word is thus a convenient way of showing that we have feelings while disclaiming real responsibility.

g. Fear / Afraid: Fear can exist even when a country is superior in military strength, and the term was consistently used in the mainstream press on both sides of the Atlantic to describe the feeling of the United States towards Nicaragua’s Sandinista government, despite the obvious imbalance of power. Fear is attributed ideologically, as it would seem more likely to be felt, not by the rich and powerful, but by ordinary Kuwaitis or Iraqis waiting for a missile to fall on their home or bomb shelter, or an air strike, and indeed there are some references to this. Reference is made to Palestinian fears, and to fears of censorship.^{xlvii}

Yet references to “fear” and “afraid” in the texts studied are overwhelmingly, well over ninety per cent, applied to elite persons, states and institutions. Fear is felt, not by victims of air strikes, but by those who will carry them out, that is “us”, even at the height of allied

bombing. There are only five references to the fear felt by ordinary Iraqis in the whole of the seven and a half month period (February 3rd, 10th, 14th, 16th, 18th).

The West fears, not Saddam's military option, but the option of peace, the unity of the pacifists (November 15th), a peace mission (December 2nd), Iraqi withdrawal from most of Kuwait (September 22nd, December 9th, February 3rd, 10th), public opinion turning against the war (December 16th), the French rejection of the use of force (January 10th) and discord in the coalition (February 16th). The Americans fear, not for themselves, but that Israel may be asked to leave the West Bank. Israelis fear a limited American action (January 15th) or a compromise (February 18th), or a solution to the Palestinian problem (March 12th), or a gas attack (February 25th).

French ministers (August 24th), American presidents (August 13th, 24th), veteran commanders (August 26th), officials, analysts (August 9th) and diplomats, Arab kings and sheikhs are capable of feeling fear, which is made extendible from individuals to whole countries and institutions, especially Western ones, such as the City (August 12th), “Western intelligence agencies” (August 12th), the United States (September 12th) or “the administration” (August 9th), though it is not a fear for one's physical wellbeing, rather the milder kind that we refer to when we say “I'm afraid it won't work”.

Fear is an elite persons' emotion, felt only by those with enough wealth and power to fear the loss of either, for example British fear of the French a hundred years ago (August 17th). The majority of Arab people, according to this same newspaper, felt respect and admiration for Saddam Hussein, rather than fear, for whatever reason. He may be “the most feared man in the Middle East” (August 11th) but only the most feared by the oil sheikhs, a point that Rosemary Hollis makes on the same day. Rational, prudent fear, of death for example, is a positive quality.

There is a great effort made to avoid legal suits arising from anti-Arab racism, such as that brought against *The Sun*, the down-market partner of *The Times*, but it sometimes comes

fairly close. According to John Gray (August 28th), “our” Western rationality and prudence lead to a “natural” fear and anxiety on appropriate occasions, while “pathological” Muslims are alien to such feelings. This comes dangerously close to relegating “them” to a sub-human category, making their deaths less important. There is blurring of journalists’ views with those of elite persons, as when, for example, Susan Ellicott mentions General Powell’s “fear of laying lives on the line” (August 11th), and when Tim Rayment comments favourably on the British government’s fears (August 12th). Journalists say that the White House, or the administration, or Israel “fear” certain events, while the Jordanian fear of an Israeli incursion, for example, is distanced from the journalist, by “Jordan says....”. (January 11th)

h. Outrage: Westerners are the only ones to be justifiably “indignant” or “outraged”, the feeling of audiences towards the media when Iraqi casualties are shown on screen, for instance: “‘Outrage over BBC war bias,’ shouted the Daily Express.... In the Daily Mail it was: ‘Outrage as TV’s bunker bomb bulletins ‘show bias to Saddam’ ” (February 17th, by Robert Harris), and they are the only ones to suffer “outrages” such as terrorist attacks.^{xlviii} Public “outrage” after the bombing of the Amiriya shelter was towards the propaganda that this was supposed to have provided for the Iraqi cause, or the bias produced in reporting.^{xlix} Others, such as the Palestinians and other Arabs, may feel some kind of generally unjustified outrage, because it was their “turn to be outraged”, as is said on one occasion, but their statements are usually distanced by inverted commas.^l The only “outrageous” acts are those carried out by Saddam. There are occasional references that show that people can also feel outrage about what the West does: “And it would be a moral outrage.” (August 26th, by Stuart Weir, referring to the possibility of war in the Gulf over oil) but the only, very few, times this word is used for “them” are to describe Arab reaction to the bunker bombing: “Pentagon officials suspect Saddam gauged the Arab world’s outraged reaction to the Amiriya bombing” (February 20th, by John Cassidy).

i. Reluctant: Doubt, misgivings, hesitation and reluctance are human failings, but ennobling ones. Only Western leaders and peoples are portrayed as having them. They “waver”, “hesitate”, “vacillate” and “dither”, it is understood, because their civilization makes them have qualms over the effects their military actions will have.^{li} However, often enough journalists are realistic and explain this reluctance in terms of realpolitik rather than qualms about enemy soldiers’ deaths.^{lii} “They” are never said to feel any such reluctance to act in the primary source texts. Journalists are not without their critical sense, however: “As Bush returned to Washington from his summer holiday, the White House media machine sought to portray him as a reluctant warrior.” (September 9th, by John Cassidy)

j. Tragedy: The Amiriya bombing played an important part in the development in the conflict, and may have hastened the start of the land offensive. The allied attack on this bomb shelter, mistaken for an Iraqi command centre, on February 13th, 1991, killed about three hundred people, it is estimated. Articles, and especially letters in *The Times* pull no punches in condemning the attack, it seems, and there is serious debate on the matter, with articles such as those entitled “Overwhelming grief as corpses are pulled out” (February 14th, by Marie Colvin) and “Direct hit in Amiriya” (February 14th, Leading Article). “Tragedy”, like “disaster”, is a word that diminishes responsibility for an action, while at the same time expressing regret. A missile striking a shelter can be a “tragedy”, while an act of terrorism or an Iraqi attack would never be so described. “It does nothing to diminish yesterday’s tragedy” (February 14th, Leading article), or “Wednesday’s tragedy at Amiriya” (February 15th, Leading article) Some writers are more concerned about the effect of all this on the Western image: “Yesterday’s tragedy will give Saddam ammunition” (February 14th, by Michael Evans) Even the word “tragedy” is too much for some people, however: “... his use of the words ‘major tragedy’... were deemed close to treasonous by sections of the public.” (February 16th, by Charles Bremner, on the American public reaction)

4.6.4. Insensitivity

The “other” is characterized by a lack of human feelings, as the use of the following adjectives shows.

a. Callous: “Callous” only refers to a possible placing of civilians in the bomb shelter by Saddam, not to the action of bombing it: “Siting a command centre in a night-time air-raided shelter would be an inexcusably callous extension of this policy, but would not be surprising.” (February 14th, Leading article)

b. Chilled / Chilling: There are no references to anyone or any decision in the West being chilling, or chillingly cold and calculating. All references to “chilling” refer to “them”, even during the allied attacks. “We” are the only ones “chilled”, usually by Saddam’s threats.^{liii}

c. Cold-blooded: The only use of this word to be found in these texts is a statement suggesting that Saddam “had his people bombed” or in some way obliged the allies to do it: “General Thomas Kelly.... said he could not rule out “a cold-blooded decision on the part of Saddam Hussein to put civilians.... into a facility and have them bombed.” (February 14th, by Martin Fletcher)

d. Deliberate; *The Times* admits the attack on the bomb shelter, but hedges it around with various conditioning expressions, such as “bunker”, “inevitable development”, and “originally built as a bomb shelter”. The only “deliberate” action was Saddam Hussein’s placing civilians there, while the Americans were “misled”. “Deliberate” is thus a negative word, with connotations of a criminal action. “Deliberate attack”, for example, would never be applied to the West, but is applied to Iraq’s military actions.^{liv}

e. Ruthless: This word describes people “devoid of pity or compassion, pitiless, unsparing, merciless.” (*OED*) Together with “ruthlessness”, as in “The ruthlessness he displayed” (February 4th, by Hazhir Teimourian), and “ruthlessly”, as in “He has purged his army ruthlessly” (December 28th, Letter), it is applied almost exclusively to “them”, especially to Saddam Hussein himself: “Saddam Hussein appears to have many of the characteristics of

a ruthless psychopathic criminal” (January 15th, Letter). He is “a ruthless murderer” (January 25th, by Janet Daley) and the allied attacks “made him far more ruthless in his determination to hold on to power” (January 20th, by Judith Miller). In all, Saddam and his actions are so described on thirty-five occasions. There is a marked increase in the frequency of use of this word after the allied air attacks began, as if to justify them in the eyes of the reader. Saddam’s governors and Palestinian terrorists (once each), are also so described, but overwhelmingly it the Iraqi leader who has this label applied to him. On the other hand, it is also used to describe what Bush and the allies should be, and by a British serviceman to describe women soldiers as opposed to their male counterparts (once each).

There are other adjectives with this same general sense which appear with certain frequency, such as “cruel”. The labelling of Saddam as a “tyrant” and “dictator” also contributes to this idea. The frequent use of the words “masses” and “war machine”, as well as depersonalizing metaphors, with their connotations of unfeeling Arab hordes, as if of a slave army, has already been noted (4.5.4.).

4.6.5. Aggression and Response: Defending the World Order

This section is a bridge between the more stative and the more dynamic parts of the linguistic study, between the lexical and the syntactic, and includes some verb groups, as well as adjective and nominal groups. There are many ideas and behaviours to be condemned as beyond the pale of decent people, and those who practise them are branded as “deviants” or “trouble-makers”. *The Times*, like the rest of the media, often portrays the West as suffering aggression and violence, but seldom or never as meting it out. In 1991, businessmen were portrayed as “preparing for the worst”, while businesses and embassies were “likely targets”. (January 12th, by Susan Ellicott) The vocabulary in this article is based on the evidence that some important people have issued a warning, either “the US State Department”, “British intelligence” or “Mr Cheney”, sources listed in this same article. The list of possible targets was impressive, making believable what would be incredible, unless the reader takes into account the known demonic characteristics of the

enemy and his imagined strength. The words “fear” and “threat” built on the media image of the bogeyman, who will stick at nothing. There was an overstatement of Saddam’s power to spread terror in the West, a panic-stricken “terrorists everywhere” syndrome, with people beginning to store food, emergency anti-terrorist committees set up in Birmingham (January 22nd, Diary article), isolated police action against “false pacifists”, and a constant emphasis on Saddam Hussein as the soldier, as the arbitrary dictator, the idea of the West’s “patience” as running out, and of the world becoming more peaceful and homogeneous, with Saddam as a dangerous oddity.

The West is pictured as a victim of violence, never as the instigator, doing its duty reluctantly. In this section, lexical and syntactic phenomena overlap, and what follows has much in common with the contents of the following chapter, as is shown in the examples in the present paragraph. “Administration officials worried yesterday that the US might be being drawn into a difficult and dangerous conflict.” (August 8th, by Peter Stothard) The Americans were “drawn in”, using the passive voice, they did not decide to go themselves. The Americans are pictured as being “resigned to war”, that is, reluctant warriors: “America resigned to war as peace initiatives flounder.... President George Bush now said to be resigned to war with Iraq” (September 2nd, Anonymous article). Even in the thick of the bombing of Baghdad, *The Times* says that “we are in for a long hard slog”, that is, the Western audiences are going to have to put up with war on their screens and front pages for a long time, not that the population of Baghdad are going to have to put up with aerial bombardment: “Early expectations that aerial bombardment alone was going to deliver quick and easy victory are giving way this weekend to the grimmer realisation that we are in for a long, hard slog.” (January 20th, Leading article) The nominalization of the action into “bombardment” suppresses the agent of the action. By the phrasing of ideas in this way, the media can represent the aggressor as the victim and the victim the aggressor: “Allied forces prepare for a grim baptism of fire” (January 23rd, by Philip Jacobson), again using nominalization, makes it appear that the allied forces will be under attack, whereas in fact they were doing most of the firing themselves.

In the same article, the prime minister is quoted as saying that the British “have committed themselves to the problems of the Gulf”. That is, there is no element of self-interest involved, and war often “breaks out”, has its own momentum and is out of our control, as is expanded on in the study of agency in the next chapter. There was a signal lack of activity, in fact, on the part of the allies, according to the press. Ministers, secretaries of state and the armed forces held press conferences and gave out press releases, but seldom acted. Creative acts are noticeably absent from front page news in all contexts, and strikes and demonstrations are non-acts, or negative only, upsetting creation. This ideology is present in otherwise neutral articles. Emphasis on “unrest” and “disturbances” worldwide means importance is given to whether these will affect the stability of the government, not to the social causes.^{iv}

The following section shows how these contrasts are reflected lexically in *The Times*. For convenience I have placed some semantically similar terms together, though they are placed in alphabetical order. The state of the world presented is that of a united “us” in-group, representing reason, order and the higher human sentiments, attacked by a “them” out-group, representing unreason, chaos and a lack of sensitivity. I have included here terms which deny the deliberate nature of allied actions, avoiding culpability by naming them “accidents”, “errors”, “blunders”, “incidents” and so on.

a. Agreement / Consensus: Although these words superficially display a desire to unify the world, they really serve another purpose. When two people are said to “agree” about something in the news, this has connotations of acceptability. If the news states that “Major and Mitterand agreed that military action was necessary”, this is half-way to justifying it. *The Times* would be unlikely to report that “Iraq and the Yemen agreed that the invasion of Kuwait was necessary.” The fact, then, that in the period under study the West and some Arab states come to an “agreement” about military action seems to make it right. For the media, “consensus” and “agreement” are positive words. “Consensus”^{lvi} is a frequent

lexical item, implying as it does that only extremists of right and left will reject it. International affairs are not shown as a situation where conflict takes place, but rather a place where everything is agreed on in a civilized way.

The press as a whole contributes to this comfortable idea, which does not mean the journalist is clearly conscious of the values (s)he is using. It is very rare to hear, for example, in *The Times's* review of other newspapers, any criticism of other news outlets. Social cohesion is produced, or engineered, by social acceptance of a version of reality. There is interaction with the media outlet, in the absence of other cohesive factors in modern society, due perhaps to the lack of a sense of local community.^{lvii} There is a connivance between reader and news outlet, a kind of "together we can get along nicely" attitude. Critical analysts describe this "false consciousness" and "false consensus", "false and fabricated consensus", or "consensus stitched together", a situation whereby intelligent criticism of affairs declines and a mood of conformity prevails, the effect of the opinion-moulding techniques employed by the media industries. The price for non-acceptance of the "we" of consensus is partial exclusion or self-exclusion from the group.

Diplomatic and other languages may be an instrument of cooperation. Reagan used "we" for himself and Gorbachov, to indicate that both were trying to work together for agreement, emphasizing the good will of both parties. The USSR's desire in 1990 was to be reintroduced to the international community from which it had been excluded, and the significance of Gorbachov's foreign policy was that he re-established the Soviet Union's rights as an interlocutor. (Chilton, 1990: 212f) By 1991 Russia formed part of the "we" of consensus, though it remained on the edge. It has been argued that journalists fulfil a role of "culture brokers", assisting the legitimation of government action by alleging consensus, legitimating government action, in the case of international conflicts involving the US, in analyses of news coverage of the Gulf crisis. According to these largely critical studies, the war evoked in the media images of collective threats and solidarity, with displays of popular culture, coverage of flag-waving crowds, newsreaders wearing yellow ribbons, sets that

resemble board games. (Bennett, 1996: 379; Kellner, 1995) “Consensus” is a positive word, implying agreement about the aims of the military action, and is a hallmark of the New World Order, where rebellion is deviance from the agreed norm.^{lviii}

The Times accepts the idea of a supposed international consensus against Iraq wholesale. In diplomatic terms, the consensus existed, but the protesters and the anti-war lobby could not be called a meaningless minority, out of step with reality. The united diplomatic front hid a host of fissures at a popular level. It was a consensus primarily created by politicians and their spokesmen, and echoed by the mainstream media. The opinions of politicians and journalists are blurred, showing that the consensus achieved is considered by everyone involved a good thing,^{lix} there being no clear distinction between the journalist’s words and the official line. There are a few who break this artificial consensus, sometimes portrayed as troublemakers, such as Jesse Jackson (September 4th), Mrs Thatcher, curiously enough, by toeing the American line too obviously (September 4th), or the French, with their inopportune last-minute “peace proposals”. More seriously, there are some who reject this definition of the situation altogether.^{lx} There is a critical use of the word on February 20th, when a distrust of national unanimity is voiced in an article by Brian Jacques, who complains that the political consensus is killing genuine debate about the war. At about this time, the consensus itself was beginning to wear thin, and the media were being criticized for superficial coverage of the conflict.^{lxi}

b. Appease / Buy off / Court: The use of these words harks back to the recently concluded Cold War period, and especially to the year before the Second World War, 1938, when Chamberlain is argued to have been weak in the face of Hitler’s aggression. The press continue to use it for policies that make peace with the few remaining countries that have Communist regimes, such as North Korea or Cuba, or in this case, Ba’athist Iraq. The use of this term implies that the aggressor is always the “other”, and that negotiation with him is equatable with softness. In *The Times*, it is often used, not usually by journalists, but in quotations from politicians.^{lxii} The mainstream, hawkish view is not the only one to be

publicized in *The Times*, though it is more common in leading articles, as there are also many writers who question and challenge this use of the word associated with softness, criticizing its overuse and double standards implied. Especially critical is ex-prime minister Edward Heath.^{lxiii}

Alternative terms to describe a softer Western response to the invasion include “court”. In *The Times*, there is a striking absence of some terms of confrontation. “Extremist” and “fanatic” are very rare, as was shown above. There are fewer mentions of Saddam being a “monster” or other such labels in *The Times* than there are in the popular British press. Though “court” is present, used to describe a submissive attitude to the Arab states, it is infrequent, only being found in a few examples.^{lxiv} It is noticeable that none of these references is to be found in editorial comment. They are all from hawkish opinion columns. “Buy off” as an alternative version of “appease” is only used once in the seven and a half months studied: “...cash handouts by the oil exporters to buy off discontent in the souks of Cairo.” (March 6th, Leading article)

c. Blunder / Error: These words are sometimes used to deny the deliberate nature of an allied action. Even the admission that some action was a blunder is rare, the following being the only instances with reference to the Amiriya incident: “... the Pentagon is privately facing up to the likelihood that the bombing was a blunder.... the bombing was a tragic blunder” (February 17th, by John Cassidy), and “... most of the evidence points to an intelligence blunder.” (February 17th, by James Adams) It is hard for the West to even admit there was a mistake. There is only one reference to this word: “Pentagon admits error on bunker hit.... there is still little agreement about how the error occurred....” (February 17th, by James Adams and Marie Colvin) The use of impersonal “there” constructions is a method of suppressing the agent, especially when combined with nominalization.^{lxv}

d. Deter: The accepted view is that the United States is a “sheriff” and has a legitimate

role, often referred to as "policing". The US is "the world's policeman" or "the global gendarme", and Western governments and the media from time to time express their fear that the US is turning away from the rest of the world into a kind of isolation. Once the US is assigned this role, it has the right to employ as much force as it likes in order to impose the "New World Order" or any other kind of order, as was noted in Section 3.1. There would be something strange about saying that a robber "deters" a policeman. But the question of who gave this policeman his job is never broached in mainstream Western media. The line generally followed is that the United States government is "fighting back" against some aggression from terrorists or Third World dictators, but never that it initiates situations of tension.

In press conferences and press releases, "we" never initiate aggression. If we attack first it is called a "preemptive attack" or "preemptive strike". As noted below regarding the word "deterrent", the implication is that the enemy was going to attack, so we had to act first. Similarly, "patience" or "great restraint" is what police officers, or "our" troops, exercise up to the moment when they are "forced" to shoot. "Deter" was used a lot in the nuclear arms debate, and especially the word "deterrent". If both sides were locked into the logic of the "deterrence" argument, then nobody could ever escape. Similarly "defence" in cold war terms can be extended to mean a preemptive strike.

"Deter" and "restrain" and their derivatives are convenient terms, as they both mean that "A stops B". We never know if "B" would have done something if he had not been deterred or restrained beforehand. Thus, the statement "NATO deterred the USSR from invading Europe" is impossible either to prove or disprove as it never occurred. Protesters who oppose nuclear weapons are doing something that sounds positive, but those who oppose a "deterrent" are doing something negative, for a "deterrent" is by definition a good thing, and the word would never have been used to describe a Russian weapon during the Cold War. (Chilton, 1985: 103)

On a few occasions the word is used to apply to Iraq, though sometimes the journalist suitably distances him/herself from the words: “Westerners seized ‘to deter attack on Baghdad’ ” (August 7th, Headline, by Juan Carlos Gumucio) “Deter” is used without inverted commas for the Iraqis only when journalists state that hostages were held to deter American air strikes, or referring to Iraqi troop positions.^{lxvi} Journalists usually assume the truth of Western arguments. For example, they accept unquestioningly that American B52s and other forces have been sent to Saudi Arabia to “deter an invasion”: “...America prepared to dispatch B-52 bombers to the region in an effort to deter Iraq from invading Saudi Arabia.... such symbolism will do little to deter Saddam, or his 100,000 troops. He will only be deterred by far greater signs of force.” (August 5th, by James Adams) Furthermore, on many other occasions the journalists do not put quotations to this effect within inverted commas: “Washington would consider stationing a multinational force in Saudi Arabia to deter him.” (August 5th, Insight article)^{lxvii}

The same argument is repeated again and again by journalists themselves and in editorial comment, right up to the days prior to the allied air attack. This is the official Western line, but not even the majority opinion in the United States, apparently.^{lxviii} On many occasions the idea is present that the West has not gone of its own accord but in response to a plea for help. Journalists, though, seem to suspect Western intentions, seeing the huge build-up of forces, and begin to distance themselves from this line by the use of inverted commas and other disclaimers.^{lxix} Henceforward the journalists begin to say the allies themselves will not be deterred by hostagetaking or hedging. At no time does any writer ask the question: “Who will deter the allies?”, but there are frequent complaints that the absence of a strong United Nations or Gulf Cooperation Council has not deterred Saddam Hussein, with the subsequent “necessity” to send Western forces as a moral duty to the Gulf states.^{lxx} Thus, the West and Israel in *The Times* are represented as the recipients of aggression. “Israel: Prepared for the worst”, or “Israel prepared to fend off attackers” are among the headlines.

When the allies “engage” the Iraqis, this is variously referred to as “resisting / combatting / defending against / deterring or countering aggression”,^{lxxi} both in opinion columns and on-the-spot articles, whose assumption of the honesty of Western intentions is striking, with considerable blurring between official words and their own: “Washington should at the very least have convened a meeting of the United Nations Security Council at the first signs of Iraqi aggression last week....Washington did take action to deter possible Iraqi aggression early last week....” (August 3rd, by Martin Fletcher) This is a key word in warspeak, and forms part of the title of a pertinent study by Chomsky (1992).

e. Engage / Pay a Visit / Strike / Take out: The word “engage”, or its derivatives, is used twenty-four times during the month of August alone to refer to military actions, always with reference to hypothetical British and American actions, never to Iraqi ones.^{lxxii} The mainstream message, with the use of other words, like “counter-attack”, is that the allies respond to provocation, which in the immediate historical context is true, but deeper issues are never gone into in depth, so the Iraqi invasion can be clearly portrayed as aggression. Very few voices, only in one letter to the editor, challenge this view of things, or consider the Iraqis’ historical justifications for the attack, which indeed existed and were uncomfortably linked to Britain’s imperial past. The terrorist threat is an “attack”, even when it is explicitly said to be in retaliation for Desert Storm, and the word “engage” is never used for enemy actions.

“Pay a visit” is military jargon and is placed within inverted commas by journalists on the very few occasions when it is used: “16 Tornados had ‘paid a visit’ to a crude-oil pumping station deep in Iraq. Ammunition stocks were being hit....” (February 4th, by Michael Evans) More usual as an alternative to “attack” is “strike”: “Haaretz said....Israel or America would respond with a paralysing strike before the Iraqis could prepare a second launch” (January 12th, by Richard Owen) Even “mission”, with its semi-religious connotations, is used on numerous occasions to describe Western air attacks: “the effectiveness of the air missions” (January 19th, by Susan Ellicott). “Take out” is common among American service

personnel. Allied missiles have the mission to “take out” Iraqi targets. “We get a target position and then we decide which weapons are best for taking out that target.” (January 23, by Lin Jenkins, quoting a Flight Lieutenant) Another euphemistic term, mentioned by Mascull (1995) is “measures”, which are taken against the enemy, as opposed to taking “half-measures”, which is the way the peace lobby would act.

f. Face: Often, this word, as noun or verb, is applied to Iraq: “... the UN would give Saddam a fixed period in which to withdraw or face military action.” (September 2nd, Anonymous article) and “Saddam would still face the full might of an allied onslaught.” (January 12th, by Robin Oakley) are examples, and there are hundreds of others. However, many times, the word is used to describe what the allies have to face: “Today’s debate should rally Britain’s elected representatives in the face of a grave threat.” (September 5th, Leading article) The real-world situation, with Britain’s armed forces thousands of miles from home, is often still represented in *The Times* as defensive, as though against some direct threat to the nation. “British troops are facing action”, as a leading article states on September 7th, even when the action is their own, and patently an attack: “Dr David Owen said that they had now to face the need to eject Saddam from Kuwait by armed force.” (January 16th, Parliamentary report) In a similar line, though referring to the Americans, are the following: “He (Mr Bush) was expected last night to renew his call for the nation to face the reality of a tough conflict.” (January 24th, by Peter Stothard), and “For 40 years the US has planned for one kind of war. Now it faces another.” (January 16th, by Jon Connell) This use is, paradoxically, especially frequent in the midst of the allied air and land attacks.

g. Firm: It is said many times by journalists that the important thing is for the West to have the “will” or the “firm will” to stand up to Iraqi aggression. “Firmly” is the way a parent treats a child, or any figure of authority treats a subordinate. Thus, the discourse of the news puts Iraq “firmly” in its place. Any misbehaviour will receive its just punishment. “Firm” and “stand firm” also imply that “we” are the receivers of a blow, and not the instigators of

aggressive actions. However, on three occasions it is linked to verbs of action, “firm action”, “firm opposition” and “firm sanctions”.^{lxxiii} This vocabulary is shared by not only prominent politicians but also by a left-wing Labour MP, a correspondent who opposes the war and the Soviet Union’s leader, who all talk of “standing firm”.^{lxxiv} An alternative view is heard in a few articles: “... Britain’s “double standard” in failing to stand as firm on the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.” (September 6th, by Andrew McEwen)

It would be unthinkable to hear any voice reported in *The Times*, either editorial or journalistic, say that Saddam had decided to “stand firm” against the Kurds, for example. It is only once used to describe Saddam Hussein’s stand against the Americans, by an Arab correspondent: “...in the eyes of the Arab people, the only Arab leader who has stood firm to the Americans.” (January 11th, Letter from Dr Hossam Abdallah)

h. Incident: This is a word favoured by journalists to describe military action carried out by the allies, and is used on several occasions. The connotation is that the action had death and destruction as an unintended side-effect: “The religious conservatives are even more angry because they see the incident as the slaughter of fellow Muslims” (February 15th, by Christopher Walker), referring to the bombing of the Baghdad bunker. “... in an incident on Friday a Lynx helicopter from HMS Manchester destroyed a 180ft-long Iraqi Spasilac class salvage vessel...” (February 17th, by Andrew Alderson) and “If you look at the thousands of sorties we have flown over Iraq and look at the reported incidents...” (February 19th, by Lin Jenkins) It is used to refer to air attacks carried out on Iraqi anti-aircraft installations.

i. Normal: The press foments the idea that “our” country is the norm. For example, in the United Kingdom the media often use the term “the mainland” when talking of Britain, when it is in fact an island. The press at the same time differentiates Britain from other European countries. If it is the majority which is the norm, then the British media, in order to make out that the British position at Maastricht, at the summit held in December 1991 was “normal”, were involved in a curious kind of “doublethink”. In the same year as the conflict in the Gulf,

when there was such a lot of talk of solidarity among the Western bloc, the European Union was deeply divided between Britain and the rest. In January 1991 Britain was criticizing minorities who opposed the war, but now they were a minority themselves opposing agreements between democratic countries in Europe. Britain was seen as the conservative factor blocking a future federal Europe and a single European currency. Minorities always run the risk of being called deviant, dogmatic, stubborn and extremists, but on this latter occasion the press claimed Britain was “brave”, not “odd” or “abnormal”. Britain was “pushed into a corner”, was “ambushed by a gang of six”, “defends its principles”. Being isolated is less important than giving up principles. It is “realism” against “utopianism” and there were no concessions towards building European unity. (Verkuyten, 1996: 455ff)

As has been noted elsewhere, when the historical background is missing or defective, a framework can be easily constructed whereby the immediate events are the only ones used for moral judgment. The situation holding prior to the war situation is pictured as composed of “peace”, “community” and “normality”, and afterwards there is “...a gradual return to normal life” (January 21st, anonymous photograph caption) which has merely to be “restored” by the allied victory.^{lxxv} Democracy was not a “normal” situation in the world, especially in the Middle East, in 1991, and it can only be pictured as “normal” for British ships to be defending merchant shipping in the Gulf from a subjective point of view: “The three warships of the Royal Navy.... are carrying out their normal duties protecting British merchant shipping in the Gulf”. (August 13th, by Michael Evans)

j. Order: “Order” is a positive word, implying that no action is necessary, just as there is no need for anyone to tidy what is already tidy. “Riot”, “demo”, “mob”, which are all popular words in the popular press, are negative terms expressible by “demonstration”. Thus “riot control” or “mob control” have a positive ring, meaning the protection of property, innocent bystanders and the restoration of public order. The social order is seen as defending itself against aggression. The press tends to lump together “violent demonstrators, rioters, intimidatory mass pickets or soccer hooligans.... (who).... bully, hurt, intimidate or obstruct” ordinary people. (Fowler, 1991: 54) The common thread, established by politicians and

followed by the media, is that "we", the silent majority, respond, we do not initiate violence by unjust laws. In the same way, mainstream media coverage of the Gulf conflict represented the present order as the norm, while any force that threatened that order was a destabilizing one resulting in chaos and mayhem. Language is full of this division of markedness, unmarkedness, asymmetries and hierarchies, an imbalance which in the present texts is reflected in the “us” and “them” divisions, where the identity of “them” is less important than the cohesion and protagonism given to the “we” group, the norm.

Digging out the actual event from the “preferred reading” which flows along so smoothly is a difficult thing at times. In the sentence "There are fears of real civil disorder", the word “disorder” implies a positive opposite "order". It is never explained who is the agent of “fear”, just as a demonstration can "get out of hand", but whose hand is never made clear. Impersonal statements like "There were 100 arrests" is a nominalization which implicitly justifies those arrests, and the presence of the police. Events fit into, and are recognized by forming part of, the already existing order of news events. (Hall, 1977: 341ff) This normality in the Gulf conflict is British and American. The others are abnormal, and have to be brought “into line”, that is, made to accept Anglo-American discipline. Thus “.... by the weekend.... the Europeans came into line,” (August 5th, Insight article) means that they followed a line set down beforehand by the dominant partners.

This word has three main meanings in the texts selected. Firstly, it means that something has been ordered by somebody in authority, for example: “Mr Bush signed an executive order at 6am freezing Iraqi assets.” (August 3rd, by Andrew McEwen) This use is the most frequent. Secondly, “order” is a “hooray” word, having the connotation of a lack of “disorder”.^{lxxvi} It is a single but important step between “international order”, “global order”, rather like the expression “law and order”, which can be contrasted with “crime”, (Campos, 1997: 194) and the third meaning as in “the global order”, “the international order”, all three meanings in fact being connected: “.... to chart a new global order....” (September 9th, by John Cassidy) If someone gives an order, law and order is imposed, and on a world scale

this order is “the new world order”, an expression coined during this period by President Bush.^{lxxvii} It represented an interest-laden view of the world economic and military state of things, balanced heavily in favour of certain countries and interests. “Order” is frequently used in combination with others, like law, justice and peace,^{lxxviii} and will have to be defended, restored or established by its guarantors, America and its allies. As on other occasions, however, journalists’ comments are not lacking in irony and a critical faculty. They sometimes distance the word with inverted commas and otherwise ironize about its use: “... the intellectual vacuum of the ‘new world order’... On Capitol Hill, the old order was still firmly entrenched.” (September 12th, by Peter Stothard) Arab doubts about the new world order are also expressed from time to time.^{lxxix}

k. Peace: The paradox of “peace = war” and “war = peace” is Orwellian, as in *1984*, and is strikingly shown in the argument, often repeated in this discourse, that to negotiate with Saddam is to be provoking worse trouble in the future. One letter (January 6th) even says that if we do see the need to stop Saddam, we will be murdering our own children. The West is only fulfilling its moral obligations to the countries of the Middle East that have invited them onto their territory. The key idea is that it is a necessary challenge for the war to be waged, though it is not our desire.^{lxxx} War is “the burden borne by Britain” in Mr Major’s words (January 23rd, by Robin Oakley). Orwell himself (1950) drew attention to the way official language sometimes contradicts the facts of life: “Defenceless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the huts set on fire...this is called ‘pacification’” (p171).

In *The Times*, there is space for the peace movement, though it is limited. For example, on January 16th, 1991, that is, in the thick of the battle, an article entitled “Have peace women lost their voice ?” by Joy Melville, is made up of interviews with the peace women. Later, peace demonstrations are reported on, and with a photograph. (February 4th) Many articles in the American media put “peace protests” and “peace demonstrations” in inverted commas, showing scepticism as to peace campaigners’ real motives.

Movements against war are often painted in warlike terms by the media, with words such as “peace activists”, sometimes known as “peaceniks”, “overcome”, “struggle”, “victory” or “march”. (Hodge, in Chilton, 1985: 131) Paradoxically, those who call for peace are the ones creating disorder, while those advocating war are those who want real peace. Instead of “warmongering” we are told to beware of “peaceniks” and their “peacemongering”.^{lxxxix} The use of this word implies that so-called peacemakers were in fact warmongering or campaigning. Linguistic devices often had the effect of ascribing agency and evil intentions to the protesters, while the state was rendered passive.^{lxxxii} Anti-war rallies were said to be creating hostile confrontations, creating problems for the authorities. Peace protesters in Britain are often considered as troublemakers, breaking into the normality of things. The bloodshed of real war was cleaned up through euphemisms and metaphors, while active opposition was defined and presented in warlike terms, with “campaigns” and “rallies”.^{lxxxiii}

One argument was that the freedom to express opposition to the war was preserved by the very same military muscle. Protest was also painted as the opposite of democratic politics; because the representatives of the people had voted in favour of war, opponents had no right to oppose it. One-dimensional protests, with chanting of the same slogan and supposedly facile arguments, were reported on. The contrast with “them” is often made, in that while in the West you can say whatever you want, in Iraq you cannot. Protests were also trivialized, talking in terms of “a few ageing protesters”, “the standard cluster of sincere grandmotherly ladies” or “the passion is not there”. There is detailed description of the peace protests, leisurely observation from a higher ground. It is unusual to hear the peace movement ridiculed in *The Times*, though in one article peace protesters are called “the dogs of peace”.^{lxxxiv} Just as “free” is used in combination with other words to make up combinations like “free Kuwait”, “the free world”, “free Europe” (Mascull, 1995: 177), similar combinations made with “peace” include “the peace-loving nations”, “a lasting peace”, and “leaving the door open for a peaceful settlement”. Peace is often linked to other terms in *The Times*. As we have seen in the section on “stability”, about the articles on February 2nd

and 16th, the concepts of peace and stability are linked. The concepts of “security”, especially Israel’s, “reason” and “order” are also often mentioned in the same sentence. Peace is a term often used during the Cold War in Communist propaganda, which often talked about the Communist bloc as “peace-loving nations”, and is also found here, as in “Kuwait is an undeniably peace-loving state” (August 18th, by Rosemary Righter) and “Saddam, warmonger and conqueror of peaceful Kuwait.” (August 19th, by Brian Walden) “Peace” in the texts under consideration often means the continuation of a certain state of affairs, such as “the Middle East peace plan”, “peace effort”, “peace mission”, “peace moves”, “peace offer”, “peace process”, “peace-keeping process”, “peace initiative” and “peace talks”, all found on more than one occasion in these texts.

For the Iraqis, there can be no peace without the achievement of their aims, and although “Guns and bombs are very imperfect ways of trying to enforce the peace,’ said Douglas Hurd” (August 5th, by James Adams), there was no initial British reaction in favour of a forceful expulsion of Iraq. However, this official British attitude changed radically when the resolve of Washington and the United Nations was seen to be very firmly in favour of restoring “international peace”.^{lxxxv} Henceforward, the only way to achieve this longed-for peace is seen as the unconditional withdrawal of Saddam Hussein, and media “closure” takes place against Iraq and against other solutions, which are described as “lukewarm peace”, “short-term peace”, “peace at any price” and so on. It was seen that a “genuine peace”, a “lasting peace” or a “durable peace”, as in “... an Iraqi surrender on terms which alone can assure a durable peace” (August 28th, Leading article) had to be imposed, by a “peace force” or “peacekeeping force”, however contradictory that might appear.

I. Respond: “Respond” is used more to refer to the allies’ military actions.^{lxxxvi} During the month of August “respond” is used fifteen times to refer to military actions, ten to refer to the West and five to refer to Iraq. In September the word is used eleven times, all of them to refer to the allies, and in October the word is used only twice, both times to refer to the allies’ possible response. In November, it is used twice, once for each side, and in

December four times, all to the allies. In January, when the allies attacked, there are only three references to any Iraqi “response”, but thirty five to the allies’, overwhelmingly Israel, responding or exercising restraint in not responding to Iraqi provocation. It is the same story in the month of the allies’ ground offensive, when “respond” never refers to Iraqi actions, but again is used four times to refer to the allies’ actions. The word never appears in March 1991 to refer to military actions.

It is clear from the selection made that nearly all mentions of “response”, “military response”, or “measured or just response” (Campos, 1997: 198) belong to the allies’ answer to Iraq’s invasion, none to Iraq’s response to Kuwaiti price-cutting of oil, for example, which is another reading of the situation, nor to the creation of the emirate of Kuwait as a provocation to Iraq.^{lxxxvii} The historical background is biased, when it is mentioned, which is hardly ever. “Respond” is a key word in the discourse of Israel, as is shown by the number of times Israeli spokesmen use the word. They show “restraint”, only reacting when their integrity is threatened directly. Iraq, on the other hand, hardly ever responds, but takes the initiative in military action. There is evident blurring of the journalist with the ideas of the “Master Narrative”, that is, that “we” merely respond to “their” provocation. It is only when the allied attack actually starts that the Iraqis are said to be responding rather than provoking military action, and when Saddam is asked to give some response to American “peace offers”.

m. Retaliate: The word “retaliate” and its derivatives are used thirty five times, mostly referring to hypothetical actions by either side and divided as follows: eleven times to refer to Iraq and twenty four times to the allies. The actions of the allies are accepted as being in retaliation, at times blurring the identity of the journalist’s with political leaders’ words, as in “...imposing economic sanctions against Baghdad in retaliation for its invasion and annexation of Kuwait.” (August 11th, by Juan Carlos Gumucio) Western intentions are accepted as transparent.^{lxxxviii} However, the use is different when Iraq uses the word “retaliate”. It is usually either placed between inverted commas, or otherwise clearly marked

off from the journalist's own words.^{lxxxix}

Other expressions that remove the responsibility from the agents involved are "anomaly", which is often used instead of "accident". "Accidental delivery of ordnance equipment" means accidental bombing of civilians or one's own troops, just as "friendly fire" does. There are many terms that mean "killing" but not overt enough to shock, such as "arbitrary deprivation of life", which means murder by friendly governments, "health alteration", "rendering nonviable", "termination with extreme prejudice" and "neutralization". When talking about deaths, there are devices for underplaying their reality, such as "... is no longer a factor", or "... is nonviable", or "... has been rendered nonviable".

"Collateral damage" means unintended civilian deaths in the course of military attacks (Mascull, 1995: 177). Human beings in warspeak are often depersonalized and called "soft targets", as opposed to hard ones, such as buildings and military objectives. "Energetic disassembly" or "uncontained failure" carried out by "incontinent ordnance" mean an explosion, usually one destroying a built-up area or something mechanical. "Friendly fire" is a euphemism for the killing of one's own troops by accident. A civilized Western country never engages in arms sales but in "security assistance" to selected governments.^{xc} In 1991, the actual war was often not called a war but "the move to eject Saddam Hussein from Kuwait", "President Bush's effort to free Kuwait", "American involvement in the Middle East", the war effort, support for our men and women, whose action is not to inflict death but to risk it.

n. Revenge: It is human to need a positive self-image. It is therefore common, especially in a country like the United States, where Hollywood movies insistently justify "revenge", "vengeance" and "to avenge", to find those words applied to the allies (see 3.2.). The initiator of violence is always the "other". But as Mininni (1991: 483) says: "Diplomatic discourse deals with the hard structures of the actual relationship between the interested parties, but does so by wrapping them in the fine cotton-wool of its texture." *The Times*

journalists sometimes criticize military jargon: “The ability to hit back after the other side has fired first becomes ‘second strike counterforce credibility’; laying waste to crowded cities is ‘countervalue targeting’ and killing your own troops is ‘accidental delivery’”. (August 29th, by Jonathan Green) However, one will generally look in vain for “revenge”, or indeed “avenge” or “vengeance” as applied to the Western allies’ actions. It is only used in relation to supposedly more primitive Arab feelings: “There is open talk of bloody revenge for Arab casualties” (January 16th, by Edward Gorman), “Saddam’s revenge punctures mood of euphoria in America” (January 18th, by Peter Stothard) and “Uday (Saddam’s son) decided to take his revenge at a party” (January 20th, by Judith Miller), though it is once applied to Israel: “Israeli forces bent on revenge” (January 20th, by Tony Mills), and is used by a critic of military action: “It seems to me incredible that in order to avenge the killing of Kuwaitis....” (January 22nd, Parliamentary report, quoting Maria Fyfe MP), and occasionally openly by service personnel: “Describing it as a revenge strike for their captured colleagues....”. (January 22nd, by Lin Jenkins)

m. Stability: “Stable” and its derivatives are loaded terms in mainstream news discourse. A government such as the Cuban one is felt to be threatening to “destabilize” an area, when all “we” want is said to maintain “stability”, through “strong” friendly governments. The correspondent of the Israeli newspaper *Ma’ariv* in Washington wrote “the USA supported the election of Gemayel in an attempt to bring about a strong central government in Lebanon”, which leaves out the fact that the United States would only support a strong pro-US candidate. It is not likely that the United States would support a strong pro-Syrian or pro-PLO candidate, even if such a candidate could form a strong government. (Van Dijk, 1988a: 108) A “stable” system with “strong” governments such as the Communist bloc would certainly not make the West enthusiastic, but stability is a virtue when it is in “our” interests: “A stable political system must be developed in the region. Kicking Saddam out of Kuwait.... should be the first step towards creating a stable system in the region.” (August 7th, by Amir Tahari) There are thirty five references to the stability of the region in the period considered, all of which are stability from a Western point of view, usually taking as

a necessary previous step the removal of Saddam Hussein.^{xci} Saddam’s invasion of Kuwait is an act of aggression against a whole world system. The permanence of Saddam’s armies in Kuwait would “shake political, economic and financial stability everywhere.” (August 20th, by Martin Fletcher, quoting “financial experts”)^{xcii}

n. Tolerate / Reward / Capitulate to / Surrender to Aggression: As “we” are supposed to occupy a higher moral plane than our enemies, the peace option is described as “tolerating”, “rewarding”, “compromising with”, “capitulating” or “surrendering” to the aggression or violence of his invasion. This is supposed to be the stand of those on our side who are “gullible”, “naïve”, “well-meaning” or “well-intentioned”, words commonly used in the press to describe the peace lobby, though none of them appears in this corpus. In the whole period, there are thirty-two mentions of Saddam’s aggression being “rewarded” if the allied offensive is not carried out, such as: “Any such deal would reward Iraq’s aggression.” (August 23rd, Leading article)^{xciii} It is only figures of authority who “tolerate” the actions of others, as Israel, the US administration and Britain do in the Gulf crisis: “Mrs Thatcher believed that the world should now make it clear to President Saddam that the obliteration of Kuwait ‘is not to be tolerated.’” (October 1st, by Charles Bremner)^{xciv} Those who are tolerant, then, can either “acquiesce in” or “face up to” the aggression. The expression “tolerate Iraq’s invasion” occurs ten times during the conflict, there being only one example of a view challenging the double standards consistently applied by the West: “Let us recall: Iraq’s ‘weapons of mass destruction’ have been summoned up by Israel’s which the United States has unlawfully tolerated.” (October 3rd, Letter from Mrs Elizabeth Young) There is only one example of “capitulate to aggression and “surrender to aggression” in the period: “What further peacemaking, short of capitulation to aggression, can those who oppose war possibly expect?” (January 14th, Leading article), and “...an excuse for no war, excuse for surrender to Saddam’s aggression.” (January 16th, Leading article).

This section, then, has shown two twin ideas expressed in lexical choices. Firstly, there is

that of the action that is not a deliberate act of destruction but is covered in “cotton wool” terminology, with words like “engage”, “take out”, “incident”, “blunder” and “error”. Secondly, there is a series of terms that make it appear that the allies invariably respond to provocation when their “patience runs out”, without taking the initiative themselves, even in the middle of their own air and ground action. These ideas are separate but overlapping.

4.6.6. Aggression and Response: The Aggressors

The West is assumed to be the victim of violence throughout the period, as in the following extract:

“West steels itself for terror blitz” (Headline) Western intelligence agencies fear Iraq will launch terrorist attacks on British and American targets around the world in retaliation for the two countries sending troops to the Gulf. Senior Iraqi officials made it clear last week that they are willing to unleash two of the world's most feared terrorist leaders, Abu Nidal and Abul Abbas, who are both in Baghdad. (August 12th, by James Adams and Marie Colvin)

The use by these journalists of emotional terms such as “feared”, without specifying by whom, and “unleash”, with its connotation of uncontrolled violence and animals chained up, show bias towards one side. During the Gulf conflict the media tended to break its own rules about fairness and impartiality.^{xcv}

Similar acts of aggression, when committed by friends or enemies, receive different labels. The attack by the allies on what was thought to be a bunker but turned out to be a bomb shelter, five miles from Baghdad, on February 13th, 1991 is an example of the different treatment meted out to both sides. It is a typical, if extreme, case. Herman^{xcvi} lists the contrast in language used in *Newsweek* and *Time* in describing Soviet and Israeli destruction of a civilian airliner. Herman's conclusion is that, though the two incidents were of a similar nature, “The Soviet act elicited a frenzied and sustained outcry of recrimination. The Israeli act was greeted in the West with understanding, forbearance and a complete absence of recrimination or threat.” (Appendix, Figure 16)

a. Aggression: This word is not a nominalization of any particular verb, as such, but shares the most significant characteristic of these, which is that the agent and often the object are hidden, so the term is open to manipulation. The original invasion of Kuwait was a "brutal" or "flagrant" act of aggression, as is repeated again and again.^{xcvii} Whenever “aggression” is mentioned by a Western politician, spokesman or journalist without inverted commas, it is the Iraqi aggression that is referred to. “We” are never mentioned as the agents of aggression, and by not mentioning Kuwait, as happens on many occasions, it seems that “we” are the objects of this aggression too. The end of the Cold War means that the Russian media use the same terms: “There were around two hundred specialists in Iraq at the beginning of its aggression.” (January 25th, quoting *Tass*)

Once the framework of the current world order has been assumed to be normal or natural, then any attempt to alter it can be labelled “aggression”. The natural hierarchy of things needs no explaining in the news. Just as the traffic situation on the roads is “normal” when it is like yesterday’s, but abnormal when compared with fifty years ago, so normality depends on what has happened recently. Mention of Iraqi aggression is still dominant, and in fact reaches a crescendo, after the allied air attacks started on January 15th, 1991, with even greater frequency of the word from then on.^{xcviii}

In order to “resist”, “counter” or “put an end to” the Iraqi aggression, the allies may be forced to enter Iraq itself, but this is called “crossing the border”, according to the British foreign secretary: “.... to end the aggression, the allies would.... have to cross the border....”. (January 21st, by Ronald Butt, quoting Mr Hurd) In the same way, once the Iraqis established their administration in Kuwait, they felt free to enforce their own laws and repel “aggression” by the Americans. Any references to “allied aggression” come from Iraqi spokesmen and are distanced from the journalist involved by inverted commas. sometimes by “scare quotes”.^{xcix}

There are literally hundreds of mentions of Saddam’s aggression, as in “unprovoked

aggression”, “aggression against a small defenceless state”, and rather fewer occasions on which Arab leaders consider both the Iraqi and the allied actions as aggression, when they can get their words reported. The PLO and Iraqi government spokesmen are sometimes given the chance to speak: “ ‘Hundreds of thousands of people in Europe and America are expressing support for peace and democracy against American aggression,’ Mr Jassim reiterated.” (January 16th, Iraqi spokesman reported by Richard Beeston and James Bone) It is striking that the generally positive reporting verb “reiterated” is used here. Some challenging views about aggression are also included, drawing attention to the way Iraq’s aggression towards Iran was treated differently, to the way the West’s claim to be defending a small nation against a bully was rejected in the Arab world, and to Western hypocrisy in treating similar situations in other parts of the world differently.^c

“Aggressive” is a slightly more neutral term than “aggression” as it can be applied to medical treatments, sales talk and executives. As with “aggression”, the term is limited almost wholly to describing Iraq, by journalists and spokesmen alike, though the Arab world uses the word also to apply to the West in its response to Saddam’s invasion.^{ci} It is common to refer back to other Arab attempts to overthrow the status quo as aggressive.^{cii} It is easier to admit that one’s policies are “aggressive”, in the sense of “energetically carried out”, than to admit they are an act of “aggression”, which explains the greater frequency of the former when reference is made to the West, even by prominent Westerners and journalists: “The United States appeared to shift its strategy in the Gulf to a more aggressive stance at the weekend.” (August 13th, Washington correspondent)^{ciii} In conclusion, we find that “aggressive” can be a positive characteristic, as in business, whereas “aggression” is always negative, so that the former is applied in a rather more even way to the two sides than the latter.

b. Attack: Usually, alternative constructions are sought to describe allied actions. Some of them are considered in Chapter 5. Even when an action carried out by the allies is clearly

not in retaliation for some aggression, ways are found of avoiding responsibility falling on “our” heads. The “word” attack has negative connotations, in that it could be an unprovoked attack unless otherwise stated. Depending on who is doing the attacking, the term varies. If the attacker is friendly to the West, he sometimes “engages” the enemy, sometimes “attacks” him, the term “engage” being a useful euphemism, never used for the other side’s actions. During the month of August, the word “attack” and derivatives is used 306 times, to refer to actual or hypothetical future military actions, 197 of them referring to Iraq, and only 109 to the allies. One may see this as logical, as the only actual attacking was done by Iraq.^{civ} The Iraqis deny that their action is an attack on the West: “An Iraqi spokesman, making the announcement about the children, added: ‘Iraq did not attack the West. Iraq is a peaceful nation.’” (August 19th, by James Adams) These words are reported within inverted commas, as the reporter distances himself from them.

If the West attacks, it is because it is provoked: “Nasser’s purchase in 1955 of huge amounts of Soviet arms and his nationalisation of the Suez Canal in 1956 led France, Britain and Israel to attack Egypt that year. (January 20th, by Judith Miller and Laurie Myroie) *The Times* view of history is that the instigators of violence are radical Arabs, and this influences their view of history. At times the word “attack” can be used to refer to Israeli or allied military actions, but far less frequently.^{cv}

c. Crime: As against our “law and order”, they represent “crime”, a violation of that order, a word which is mentioned many times to describe the original act of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.^{cvi} The word often refers to the literal war crimes committed by the Iraqis in Kuwait during the invasion, such as using hostages as human shields, but also to Saddam’s responsibility for the aggression. He is shown not only as a criminal but a psychopathic one: “Saddam Hussein appears to have many of the characteristics of a ruthless psychopathic criminal.” (January 7th, Letter from Hugh Middleton) The use of this word to describe the possible action of Saddam in disguising an intelligence centre as a bomb shelter is combined with others. “No crime is beyond this man....” (February 14th, by Hazhir

Teimourian) or “The judges will be able to distinguish between crime as deliberate policy and crime as the inadvertent by-product of war.” (February 25th, by Ann and John Tusa) Though distanced by inverted commas from the journalists’ words, Iraqi spokesmen are allowed space to describe the attack: “The health minister.... said 'This was a criminal attack against civilians.' Tariq Aziz called on the UN to condemn the “hideous crime'.” (February 14th, by Martin Fletcher) “Banners carried messages such as ‘Bush killing civilians is a crime’.” (February 15th, by Marie Colvin)

The words “crime”, “invasion” and “aggression” are often juxtaposed, all implying an attack on the status quo, which is pictured as fair. The metaphor of crime and criminals is a useful one, as when one opinion column writer compares the enemy with the burglars who have entered her house: “If we do not round criminals up, believe me, they come back” (January 13th, by Barbara Amiel), though one must point out firstly that it is far more frequently used in reported speech, quoting Iraqi spokesmen talking about America, than by journalists and letter writers talking about the enemy, and that in this newspaper its use is rare.

d. Disorder: Disorder is sometimes internal, as in “Special Branch, who would be responsible for intelligence on possible.... disorder.... (August 11th, by Stewart Tandler) The unanimity required to maintain the international world order is threatened by the invasion of Kuwait. “Without their (service personnel’s) efforts the world would be open to the prospect of greater catastrophe and disorder.” (January 19th, by Nicholas Wood, quoting Mr Kinnock) This word is very rare, and usually reflects the opinions of hardliners like Norman Stone: “.... episodes of murderous disorder in the world at large, such as the Boxer Rebellion in China.” (January 20th) However, in the same line, on some occasions Saddam and the Palestinians are said to be threatening to “upset” order, or replace it with “unrest”, “disturbances”, “subversion”, “chaos”, “havoc” and “mayhem”.^{cvii} It is argued that there is some “conclusion”, as though human history, and the messy uncertainty of the future, can be brought to some kind of standstill by bringing the confrontation to a “....a successful conclusion.... a swifter conclusion.” (August 4th, Leading article)

e. Maverick: This term is used, though its appearance is rare, for those who do not toe the line, usually people who would “normally” be on “our” side, yet who think differently. It is a slightly endearing term, as in “Ted Turner, the maverick US broadcaster” (January 20th, by Michael Binyon), being also the name of a US missile. In the texts studied it is used for independently-minded supposed eccentrics. So “a united national resolve that Labour’s maverick toffs, Tony Benn and Tam Dalyell, will be unable to wreck” (September 2nd, by Ben Pimlott), contains the idea that unity and order are threatened and that the result could be a “wreck”, another negative word that reflects disorder. Similarly “the maverick defence minister, Jean-Paul Chevenement” (January 11th, by Philip Jacobson) is a negative way of expressing the fact that the minister was not in favour of the allied war effort and thus threatened Western unanimity. It can also be used to refer to people on the other side in the conflict, thus “Abu Abbas.... leader of the maverick Palestine Liberation Front.” (August 10th, by Christopher Walker).

f. Provoke: Provocation is something alien to the West, who only have to defend the status quo: “The task for America and its allies is to stand up to Saddam in the Gulf without provoking him into an attack.” (August 5th, by James Adams), “Bush has ordered the Pentagon not to provoke Saddam.” (August 11th, by Christopher Walker) Therefore, the word is used almost exclusively in the texts for actions or potential actions by “them”, as has been seen above: “have warned Saddam not to provoke Israel”, “such an attack would provoke US military retaliation”, “provoking a far stronger international reaction”, “the unprovoked conquest of a sovereign state” (that Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait was “unprovoked” is mentioned over a hundred times during the period in question), “the provocative announcement”, “Saddam may provoke a military response from the West”, are all phrases found in the first half of August alone, and “trusted that Israel would not be provoked”, “If further Iraqi strikes provoke a concerted Israeli response”, and “attacks on Israel are nothing but futile provocations” just a few among the many in January. Only on one occasion is any lasting historical provocation mentioned: “For most Arabs, there is no such

thing as an unprovoked attack on Israel. The existence of Israel is a standing provocation.” (January 19th, by Conor Cruise O’Brien)

g. Rape: The Hollywood tradition favours vengeance in return for rape, (Kellner, 1992: 208) so it is no surprise to see this term used as a metaphor in the press for the treatment meted out to Kuwait. Real genocide, rape, murder, torture and kidnapping took place in Kuwait, and the cases reported on, though some are rumours, are mentioned first and foremost. It must be said that *The Times*, when proof is wanting, is scrupulously fair. “Alleged”, “reportedly raped” are used, and when the cases are disproved, the newspaper retracts.^{cviii} However, the same reports are afterwards often referred to, for example on September 23rd, December 9th, and March 3rd, as if proved beyond all doubt.^{cix} The press thus made rape into a justification for allied military action.

The two concepts of real and figurative rape become inextricably mixed in the mind of the reader by this metaphor.^{cx} Equating the invasion of Kuwait with a rape is used to justify any response.^{cx} The expression “The Rape of Kuwait” is used freely by the tabloids and in the American press, but is used with less frequency in the quality press. Said (1993: 357) shows how the image of rape fits in with the framework created by the mainstream media during the eighties, that Islam was an intolerant religion that hated and mistreated women. In *The Times* it is significantly more frequent in editorial comment, for example on December 9th and January 13th, but journalists sometimes use it in reports, as on March 1st and 3rd. In some cases, then, the ideology of rape is added to other emotive words: “The world can’t accept a raping of an innocent state.” (August 30th, Letter from Secretary General of Arab States Cooperation Council) The use of the word “state”, as against the Iraqi “regime” has ideological significance in the latter example.

The next chapter will deal also with other expressions used with some partiality to refer to military actions taken by each side.

4.7. Conclusion

The language of international politics is what Wittgenstein called a "language game". It is played within a framework of its own internal rules. At different times in history the rules of the game change and "new types of language, new language games, as we may say, come into existence, and others become obsolete." (Wittgenstein, in Downes, 1983: 306) Often, words and phrases are long-winded, with confusing and incomprehensible technicalities. Words in journalese such as "render inoperative", "militate against", "prove unacceptable", "give grounds for" and "exhibit a tendency to" are sometimes unnecessarily pretentious, and were criticized many years ago by George Orwell. (1950: 160) Politicians have always used expressions which cover up unpleasant truths, and their use by journalists spreads them through society. In 1984, Orwell himself shows us a world where history itself is changed by the destruction of documents and the altering of language by centrally controlled media, demonstrating how each word means what its user wants it to, such as "democracy", "socialism", "freedom", "justice" and "equality", to which we might add from a contemporary perspective "progress" and "progressive", the "free world", and others.

The language of the Gulf conflict adapted mainstream news discourse terminology to the new situation of a unipolarized world, but the frames of reference are pre-established, and are virtually unaltered. Therefore, the implications of news language often goes unnoticed. A *Daily Telegraph* front page article, observed outside the period studied, which was headed "Twenty more US bombers for Britain" conveys a meaning very different from that of a hypothetical title "US have Britain deploy twenty more bombers", or "US force twenty more bombers on Britain", which could have been used to represent the same event. The way the headline is worded presupposes that the two countries form part of essentially the same group, that they are indeed allies and that it is an asset for Britain to have the bombers.

The main overall conclusion that can be drawn from this section on lexical items is that there is a great internal consistency and coherence throughout the texts in questions of

reference, labelling devices and characterization. It has been shown that the lexical choices vary little according to the speaker involved, at least in the two word classes looked at mainly so far. The point in common to practically all of them is that the favourable terms are applied in the majority of cases to “our” side, whereas “they” have unanimously negative labels. In *The Times* there is a chance for resistant, thought-provoking and challenging readings, such as that printed on August 29th by Jonathon Green, entitled “Softly spoken words of war”, which questions commonly-used terms like “deterrence”, “credible”, “less than desirable”, “force posture”, “effectiveness”, “force density”, “capability” and other military and political jargon. The period in which it was written was not in the thick of the conflict and closure against the Iraqi regime had not yet taken place, but it nevertheless shows independence from official views. However, this is an exception to the rule, and the predefined “us” and “them” are never challenged even here.

It has been seen in the course of both sections of this chapter how the real world is only in part represented by the lexical choices. It has been shown how, in general, the mainstream British media viewpoints mentioned in 4.1. have been demonstrated in the course of these texts. Categorizations have been seen to flow logically from the Master Narrative holding in the United States and described in detail in 3.1., whereby armed force is seen as a necessary and indeed essential means of defence for a basically fair world order, and the justice and democracy that are believed to accompany it. Once the basic premiss is accepted, that of the new world order being the best possible, then it is logical that the people who have most benefitted from that system should be portrayed in a positive light, which is what has been seen here. Thus, the mainstream media often picture the rich and powerful as the most positive elements, and sometimes, it must be said, look for the humane side of even the most inhuman, while at the same time exaggerating the darker side of those who have not triumphed, trying to find reasons for their failure within a kind of natural justice. So the richest countries are also assumed to be the most tolerant, the most moderate, the most even-handed.

The examples given within this chapter are meant to be illustrative of many other lexical items chosen by journalists, which are in daily use up to the time of writing, with only the crisis and the enemy changing their identity. I stated at the beginning of this study that it was to follow in part Critical Discourse Analysis (p1). In the following few pages I aim to be critical, pointing out some paradoxes and contradictions within the lexical choices highlighted.

This second section, on the characteristics of “us” and “them”, has confirmed the working model suggested in 4.5.5. There are other ways than the one chosen above of organizing the lexical items selected, and a certain overlapping exists in any classification, so mine has been to a certain extent a personal choice. However, it does respond to a real need often felt by critical readers of the media to organize the diverse ideologically significant elements encountered. The significance of the polarization “rationality / irrationality” is that if people are reasonable and analytical enough they will come to see the truth of the “Western” way of thinking, which is portrayed here as a single tradition, thus simplifying it greatly. There may not exist one single tradition of rationality, or it may only exist in a refined form not contemplated in this newspaper. The presence in Western societies of great, and increasing, cultural diversity seems to give the lie to the unified picture the press sometimes paints. It could be said with some truth that most societies contain some elements of the First World and some of the Third, so that any blanket characterization is dangerous. Together with wisdom, rationality and expertise, verifiable numbers and a scientific outlook, there are connotations of neutrality, moderation and caution, where ambition and excesses are anathema.

The press has been seen to represent in a similar way a long line of dictators and leaders opposed to Western interests. It personalizes military conflicts and focuses its ire on one man, while the West has always insisted that it has no quarrel with the people of the enemy country. However, paradoxically, those who suffered allied military actions in 1991 were not the Iraqi ruling elite but mostly the ordinary people, while Saddam survived to lead Iraq for

the next eight years at least, up to the time of writing.

Religion in Britain affects only a minority, with only two per cent of British people actually attending church. Britain is a lay society *par excellence* and it is seen as part of the irrationality of the Arab “other” to be a fundamentalist, but at the same time, paradoxically, God is a central part of the American Master Narrative, and the concept of “fundamentalist” was born in America. An enemy who lacks “concern”, “alarm” and “anxiety” is at the same time more emotionally “anti-” and “fanatical”. They have a dangerous “war machine”, but paradoxically do not have “experts” to run it. They are “calculating”, even “chillingly” so, but lack the “analysts” necessary to calculate. “We” are “dare-devils” and at the same time “cautious”, sophisticated “professionals” and also primitive “desert rats”. This paradoxical terminology, however, does not strike a discordant note within the general flow of news discourse.

“Deliberation” before acting is part of rationality, but “deliberate” is a negative term only attributed to the enemy, as are “cold-blooded”, “calculating” and “calculated”, though at the same time Saddam is pictured as being on the verge of madness, and out of touch with reality. Connected with this contradiction, there is also an ideological sub-plot of individuality against mass emotions that has been illustrated by the words “masses”, “fanatic”, “frenzied”, of Arabs “pouring out”, contrasted by “bravery”, “daring”, “freedom”. Paradoxically, the newspaper also stresses words that point in the opposite direction, such as “agreement” and “consensus”, which imply that individual responsibility is delegated in the whole group, and those who step out of line are labelled “mavericks”.

Allied “agonizing”, “anxiety”, “blunders”, “bungling”, “wavering” and “hesitation” are within a tradition in Britain where the Empire was portrayed as being acquired in a fit of absence of mind, without political calculations and almost as if manna dropped from heaven. Western civilization, though rarely mentioned by name, is a hallmark of those who feel noble emotions like “concern”, “fear” and “outrage”. How a position of dominance was actually

achieved is thus veiled in mystery, as words representing aggression and invasions are suppressed when they would apply to allied actions. It appears the status quo and the allied consensus was formed on a basis of gentlemanly agreements, rather than on that of the strongest calling the tune.

As has been said, “defence” and “attack” are relative concepts, depending on the persons speaking and spoken about. “Peace” and its derivatives mean whatever the writer or his/her source wants them to mean, generally positions closely linked to the world order in force, so that any attack carried out by the dominant nations can be justified by saying it will force the enemy to negotiate, rethink their position, draw them to the negotiating table, and so on. On the other hand, peace activists are represented in warlike terms.

The fact that the bloc holding a certain degree of hegemony within the world information order is also democratic, with freedom of expression, may lead us to doubt the monolithic nature of this order, but its consequences exist and affect the media worldwide. One consequence of the lexical choices made in the English-speaking media is cross-cultural. Lexical choices made in the British and American press have international repercussions. The translation of lexical items (and to a lesser extent syntactical features) into other languages, can export the ideologies, world view and categorizations into other languages. Spanish is one example. Many of the terms included in this chapter have been accepted in Spanish-language media although they reflect classifications that form no part of the national outlook. Thus, to talk, as the Spanish media often do, about “líderes”, “el régimen de Milosevic / Saddam Hussein”, “la administración norteamericana”, “la estabilidad de la zona”, “el proceso de paz”, “expertos”, “analistas” and so on, is to use words and word groups translated directly from English. This is very significant, and is part of a growing tendency to globalize, with all the advantages and dangers that this involves for other cultures. It is not *The New Statesman* that finds its way onto the bookshelves of newsagents all over Europe, but the mainstream press, such as *The Times*. It is not *The Nation* that is used as a source for the Spanish press but *Reuters*, *CNN*, *Associated Press*,

and even *The Times* itself. That is, in a world increasingly unipolarized, without alternative mainstream discourses, it is logical that most of the terms used here have been imported uncritically into the Spanish media. They seem to change their referent according to the whims of international English.

NOTES

i. Arabs have yet to dispense with the self-pitying notion that their failure to create modern nation states derives from that twin sister of zionism, imperialism.... the Arabs remain in a limbo between the ancient and modern worlds, trapped in a twilight zone of popular myths and images.... (January 16th, by James MacManus)

Muslims living in Britain clash tragically with what they see as our godlessness, failing to understand that democracy (and its corollary, freedom of speech) is the religion of European secular society. (January 25th, by Janet Daley)

“Saddam Hussein, The Don from Takrit” Saddam has said: “The glory of the Arabs stems from the glory of Iraq. Throughout history, whenever Iraq became mighty and flourished, so did the Arab nation. This is why we are striving to make Iraq mighty, formidable, able and developed” Edited extract from Saddam Hussein And The Crisis In The Gulf, published by Arrow Books, £4.99.) (January 20th, by Judith Miller and Laurie Mylroie)

ii. “Iraq is playing on its reputation for being unpredictable,” said an Arab oil analyst. (August 1st, by Michael Theodoulou)

Military analysts say the invasion and its planning were in line.... (August 5th, Insight article) senior analyst and Middle East expert at the Foreign Policy Research Institute (August 21st, by Martin Fletcher)

Israeli military analysts yesterday said Saddam Hussein would.... (January 7th, by Paul Adams)

iii. Only a meeting could break the deadlock, analysts said.(August 1st, by Michael Theodoulou) A Western analyst described this as a forced tour. (August 6th, by Juan Carlos Gumucio)

iv. Bill Sweetman, a military analyst.... (March 3rd, by James Adams and James Blitz) Ben Wattenberg, a veteran analyst at the American Enterprise Institute. (March 3rd, by John Cassidy)

v. Hodge and Kress, 1979: 182.

vi. A test of resolve would be their willingness to.... (August 3rd, by Roger Owen)

.... enough to make it worth resolute prosecution. (August 3rd, Leading article)

Given imagination and resolve this objective is eminently attainable. (August 7th, by Amir Tahari)

The president appeared appropriately resolute.... (August 9th, by Conor Cruise O’Brien)

.... do not overestimate the resolve of the West, or its Arab allies.... (August 12th, Leading article)

vii. That does not make him a fool, or an incautious calculator of his country’s strengths and weaknesses. (August 7th, Leading article, referring to Saddam Hussein)

President Saddam played his cards cautiously.... (December 7th, by Michael Evans)

- viii. In the past Paris has been cautious in criticisms of Iraq (August 3rd, by Andrew McEwen)
General Powell has proved himself cautious in his use of troops for fear of laying lives on the line. (August 11th, by Susan Ellicott)
...has instructed his commanders to bomb Iraqi targets cautiously and methodically. (February 5th, by Jim Adams, quoting Mr Bush)
- ix. The news of the announcement was treated cautiously by British diplomats in Baghdad. (December 7th, by Philip Webster and Michael Knipe)
“Cautious Bush says America must keep the pressure on Iraq” (December 7th, Headline, by Susan Ellicott and James Bone)
- x. “Experts misread signs of conflict” (August 3rd, Headline, by Andrew McEwen)
Some experts estimate that Iraq could acquire a nuclear capability.... The experts are said to believe that the Iraqis have acquired.... (August 11th, by Hazhir Teimourian)
- xi. Independent Middle East experts said yesterday that the Bush administration could and should have done more to deter the Iraqi invasion (August 3rd, by Martin Fletcher)
Many independent experts are arguing that the administration should.... (August 21st, by Martin Fletcher)
Israeli defence experts yesterday predicted that.... (August 23rd, Anonymous article)
According to most experts, a war of attrition is Saddam’s likely.... (August 12th, Insight article)
- xii. Iraqi military experts believe the forces in Saudi Arabia.... (October 28th, by Marie Colvin)
He (Saddam Hussein) is expert at eliminating rivals (August 15th, Leading article)
- xiii.could link up with more moderate Arab states, such as Egypt. (August 7th, by Amir Tahari)
President Mubarak, the leading Arab moderate (August 8th, by Richard Owen)
.... King Husain, whose moderate rule is more agreeable.... (March 12th, by Adam Kelliher)
- xiv. He represents moderate, reasonable Palestinians. (February 4th, Letter)
Mr Abu Sharif a leading PLO moderate.... (October 11th, by Penny Gibbons)
Nasser fomented the revolution that brought down the moderate, pro-Western leadership in Iraq. (August 12th, by Robert Harris)
In Sanaa, the Yemeni capital, 5,000 anti-US and anti-moderate Arab demonstrators were on the streets for the second day. (August 11th, by Christopher Walker and Juan Carlos Gumucio)
- xv.....and a moderate Iran into an alliance now involving Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia. (September 25th, by Christopher Walker)
Syria’s new position as a pivotal member of the moderate Arab camp. (August 15th, by Christopher Walker)

xvi. But from those who profess to speak for Muslim moderates.... (August 21st, by Daniel Johnson)

....the Western powers or any of the so-called moderate Arab states. (August 28th, Letter)

xvii. Mr Bush last night ordered warships to immediately begin enforcing UN trade sanctions and to use force if necessary. (August 17th, by Andrew MacEwen)

“We cannot leave open the possibility that necessary action could be blocked....” (September 8th, Anonymous article, quoting Mr Kinnock)

The British government could not risk allowing the United Nations to veto the use of force if that were deemed necessary, Douglas Hurd made clear yesterday. (September 8th, Anonymous article)

xviii. Iraq has 24 divisions. Their presence has been necessary.... (August 16th, by Michael Evans)

The intention of the US and the UK to use force if necessary If it appears necessary for further steps to be taken to make the embargo effective.... (August 16th, Letter from the Chairman of the United Nations Organisation in Britain)

xix.to world opinion why war against Saddam is necessary. (August 19th, Leading article)

The action has become necessary because of the poor response to the government’s appeal for volunteers (December 16th, by James Adams)

Our needs have to be met, and only the minimum number of casualties “necessary” will be caused. (January 19th)

British ships are under orders to use the minimum force necessary. (August 16th, by Andrew MacEwen)

xx.the decision by the United States and Britain to enforce the UN trade embargo against Iraq with military means if necessary. (August 15th, by Michael Evans)

75 percent of whites favour military action if necessary. (September 10th, by Charles Bremner)

xxi. Tony Benn described the outbreak of war as “a completely unnecessary tragedy”. (January 17th, Anonymous article)

The president’s determination to solve the crisis by whatever means necessary was reflected in an uncompromising letter to Saddam. (January 13th, by John Cassidy and Marie Colvin)

xxii. The five months wasted by waffle mean that Iraq’s 2,000 artillery pieces and several hundred missiles may be loaded....The good news is that the still very Third-World Saddam is probably (say, 80% probably) too inefficient and too hated by his own people yet to manage any of this, but people....ask: why take the 20% risk? (January 6th, by Norman MacRae)

A new ABC/Washington Post poll shows 65 per cent support for war if Iraq does not leave Kuwait by January 15, up ten points since December 18. Of that 65 per cent, a quarter said force

should be used immediately and 57 per cent within a month....Exactly half believed direct talks would fail to produce a peaceful solution, compared with 43 per cent who thought they would. Seventy-seven per cent, the highest recorded figure, thought America was heading for war, up 16 points since a poll on December 9....According to the Pentagon, there are now 1.1 million troops lined up against each other in the Gulf 245,000 allied and 335,000 American servicemen and 530,000 Iraqis in and around Kuwait. The General Accounting Office said Operation Desert Shield would cost more than \$30 billion this year even if there was no war. Contributions from other nations amounted to about \$4.6 billion....The aircraft include long-range F15e Eagles and anti-tank versions of the F16 Falcon (January 5th, by Martin Fletcher)

... America now had 325,000 servicemen, 50 warships, 1,300 combat aircraft, 1,000 tanks, 1,500 helicopters and 2,000 armoured personnel-carriers....(January 3rd, by Martin Fletcher)
The ATACMS can deliver 1,000 bomblets at a range of 90 miles. The British Gulf forces include 18 Gazelle and 18 Lynx combat helicopters (January 10th, by Michael Evans)

xxiii. The US defence department says Iraq has more than 510,000 soldiers.... facing a roughly equal number of troops in the multinational force. Another report says that Iraq has formed five new divisions of the Republican Guards, totalling about 130,000 men. It has mobilised an estimated 400,000 men in four waves, including the call-up of men aged 17. (January 2nd, by John Holland and Andrew McEwen)

xxiv. King Husain of Jordan this week accused the US and international press of being anti-Saddam. (August 23rd, by Richard Owen)
The anti-war party, embracing Tony Benn in Britain and a few voices on the far right in America.... (September 10th, Leading article)

xxv. An ugly mood of anti-Americanism in parts of the Arab world (August 11th, by Christopher Walker)
5,000 anti-US and anti-moderate Arab demonstrators.... (August 11th, by Christopher Walker)
to stir up pro-Islamic and anti-American feeling among the Arab masses (September 1st, by Christopher Walker)
...exploited by Baghdad and helped its campaign to whip up anti-American feeling among Arab masses. (September 15th, by Christopher Walker)

xxvi.reports in yesterday's semi-official Egyptian press that Abu Nidal, the fanatical Palestinian extremist, may have moved his base to Baghdad. (August 10th, by Christopher Walker)
Among those striving to whip up pro-Iraqi sentiment are Palestinian militants, Muslim extremists and left-wing Arab nationalist groups. (August 11th, by Christopher Walker)

xxvii. Police say they are taking steps to protect the Saddam Hussein Mosque in Birmingham after fears that extremists tried to burn it down. (September 18th, Unnamed journalist)
Anyone searching for middle ground was bound to be accused of bias by extremists on either

side, (October 18th, by Richard Owen, quoting Mr Douglas Hurd)

xxviii. the anti-government activities of Muslim extremists.... (August 14th, by Christopher Walker)

Russia has aided and abetted every extremist and terrorist regime in the region. (September 23rd, Letter)

the blowing up of the American embassy by pro-Iranian Shia extremists.... (September 13th, by Hazmir Teimourian)

xxix.....Abu Nidal, the fanatical Palestinian extremist (August 10th, by Christopher Walker)

His stand against the Iranian fanatics was vital (August 24th, Letter about Saddam Hussein)

“Worse than a madman: a fanatic exploiting religion” (August 28th, by John Gray, Headline)

xxx. For example, in Van Dijk (1997b: 173), with reference to the Cold War.

xxxi. “Worse than a madman: a fanatic exploiting religion” (August 28th, by John Gray, Headline)

.... the Iraqi leader “fanatical, calculating and brutal” rather than mad. (September 3rd, by Michael Knipe, quoting Mrs Thatcher)

“I note people have stopped calling him mad.... He is not mad in the least. He’s a very astute person, a clever person” (March 3rd, Anonymous article, quoting Edward Heath)

xxxii. Saddamis perceived as utterly ruthless and possibly mad. “....we have to recognise that this man is not one of us,” said a senior Pentagon official. (August 5th, by James Adams)

The Iraqi army is not entirely devoted to Saddam’s mad dream (August 7th, by Amir Tahari)

Another Iraqi exile said: “If Saddam is mad like the West says, it is a madness which the West has created. (August 10th, by Michael Theodoulou)

“....stopping a mad dictator from controlling the economic well-being of every country in the world” (November 18th, by John Cassidy, quoting Mr Bush)

“Mad, bad and increasingly dangerous to know”..... The view is widely held that Saddam Hussein is a psychopath....He may be mad but, if so, the madness wherein he raves has a cunning to it....(February 3, Headline, by Michael Jones)

Many are now persuaded that President Saddam Hussein is mad as well as bad, yet his strategy has been perfectly coherent (February 16th, by Edward Luttwak)

xxxiii. Is Saddam Hussein a maniac? American officials are digging up a worrying amount of evidence to suggest that Saddam is indeed insane. Until a couple of weeks ago they were confident that although ruthless, reckless and power-hungry, Saddam was at least rational But events of the past week have forced a hasty reassessment. (January 17th, by Charles Bremner)

xxxiv. “ The Israeli intelligence service, obtained a sample of the Iraqi president’s handwriting.

A graphologist’s report....read: “This man makes hasty decisions, tends toward extreme moods, is willing to take extreme decisions and implement them, tends towards violence and is dangerous to society. Dangerous certainly, but Israeli military leaders believe Saddam to be rational also. “He may be impulsive, violent and radical, but I reckon that even a madman knows to be careful....” says General Dan Shomron. (August 5th, Anonymous Insight article)

xxxv. Retaliation Dilemma. Israel was agonising over a crucial decision yesterday: whether to retaliate against the Iraqi missile attack. (January 19th, by Richard Owen)

Bush, facing similar agonising decisions as Harry Truman did over Korea and Jack Kennedy over Vietnam. (August 12th, Insight article)

US presidents have often found patience an agonising comrade (August 13th, Leading article)

xxxvi. We Arabs were badly let down. It is a bewildering, agonising time. (September 12th, by Mohamed Heikal)

Labour’s Lord Molloy said some Muslims in Britain did not seem concerned about the agonies of co-religionists....(January 22nd, Anonymous report on Parliamentary debate)

The Americans, if not the British, agonise over the loss of a single soldier.... Iraqi losses would inevitably include large numbers of women and children, whose agonies would be flashed on every television screen in the world. (November 5th, by Michael Howard)

....recordings of personnel in agony or severe shock (January 13th, by Brian MacArthur)

xxxvii. The allies’ political and emotional agonising over Wednesday’s loss of civilian lives in Baghdad will comfort Saddam. (February 15th, by Michael Evans)

....the peace movement has largely.... concentrated its concern on the agonies of Iraq (March 3rd, by Robert Harris)

.... seabirds would be oiled and slowly die in agony (January 26th, by Michael Macarthy)

xxxviii..... increasing alarm in the West over President Saddam (August 4th, by Michael Evans)

This prospect still alarms many in the West, including many American Jews. (August 8th, by Richard Owen)

xxxix. “The Green party and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament issued a joint statement that expressed alarm at the presence of American troops in the Gulf.... (August 14th, by John Winder)

“We have detailed brutality on an alarming scale” (January 13th, by Andrew Alderson, quoting Amnesty International spokesperson)

xl. Crowds of anxious Gulf Arabs in flowing white robes could be seen gathered round news agency printers in the lobbies of luxury hotels.... (August 6th, by Richard Owen)

The Security Council expressed concern and anxiety (August 18th, Anonymous article)

- xli. “Anxious families can only watch and wait” (August 10th, Headline, by Peter Victor)
Wives spoke of their anxiety for the men flying out (August 11th, by Geoff King)
- xlii. Opposition anxieties about a possible attack on Iraq (September 8th, by Robin Oakley)
Reports from the campuses suggest considerable anxiety. (September 10th, by Charles Bremner)
- xliii. His occupation stems from anxiety and perennial insecurity (January 12th, by Efraim Karsh, on Saddam Hussein)
...a series of indications of Saddam’s growing anxiety (January 31st, by Efraim Karsh)
- xliv. the governments of presumably rational and civilized nations.... (January 2nd, Letter)
...Dilmun and beyond to the Indus civilization (January 19th, by Norman Hammond)
- xlv. Palestinians and liberal Israelis are concerned (August 4th, Unnamed journalist)
The subject of most concern was the price of food. (December 16th, by Marie Colvin, describing the reactions of the citizens of Baghdad)
- xlvi. We are most deeply concerned by the escalation of tension. (August 22nd, Letter from Chairman of the United Nations Association)
Palestinian organisations have demanded that the world community display a similar concern towards UN resolutions demanding Israeli withdrawal.... (October 9th, by Christopher Walker)
- xlvii. Ibrahim fears his family could be in greater danger....There’s fear of a total breakdown in order. (January 14th, by Richard Beeston in Baghdad)
The smell was overpowering, a mixture of unwashed bodies, of fear and of the sickly-sweet odour of untended wounds. (February 3rd, by Richard Ellis, describing captured Iraqi soldiers)
- xlviii. The international outrage made it likely. (August 3rd, by Andrew McEwen)
The present international outrage should be seen.... (August 4th, Letter from Lady Fox)
- xlix. “Outrage over BBC war bias,” shouted the Daily Express. (February 17th, by Robert Harris, on BBC coverage of allied air attack on Baghdad bomb shelter)
In the Daily Mail it was ‘Outrage as TV’s bunker bomb bulletins show bias to Saddam’. (February 17th, by Robert Harris, on BBC coverage of allied air attack on Baghdad bomb shelter)
- l. Next it was the Palestinians’ turn to be outraged. (October 18th, Leading article)
“He’s doing this not from any sense of moral outrage,” he said. (September 11th, by Martin Fletcher, quoting a Democratic Congressman talking about President Assad of Syria)
- li. It is understood that President George Bush has been reluctant to order that planes violating the embargo should be shot down (September 2nd, by Mark Hosenball)

Most of us will probably agree, however reluctantly, that we have no other course. (August 12th, by Robert Harris)

lii. Bush now seems reluctant to launch an attack because it may jeopardise the unique international consensus.... (August 26th, Insight article)

The administration is reluctant to start a war because it fears American casualties would be too high (September 30th, by John Cassidy)

liii. Iraq displays a chilling resignation to the prospect of war. (September 23rd, by Marie Colvin)

Saddam Hussein’s war plan is chillingly simple. (November 23rd, by Marie Colvin)

.... the most chilling allegation of all: that the Iraqis left premature babies to die. (January 13th, by Andrew Alseron)

Only 11 of Iraq’s 800 aircraft had been destroyed, a chilling reassessment of earlier claims.... (January 20th, Insight article)

liv. two missiles aimed deliberately at a protected Iraqi bunker.... the deliberate targeting of a facility which may have been built originally for civilians.... (February 14th, by Michael Evans)

Military establishments were also deliberately made to look “innocent” to mislead American satellites.... possible that he deliberately placed civilians.... (February 14th, by Michael Evans)

American and Saudi spokesmen suggested that President Saddam Hussein had deliberately placed both women and children at risk. (February 14th, by Peter Stothard)

American spokesmen in Washington and Riyadh suggested that President Saddam Hussein might deliberately have put Iraqi citizens inside the building (February 14th, by Martin Fletcher)

lv. Van Dijk, 1988a: 11f.

lvi. “A set of shared beliefs” (Fowler, 1991)

lvii. Horkheimer, Adorno, Habermas, Thompson, Sorlin (1990: 55), Roeh (1982: 52)

lviii. Only in this way will the international consensus be maintained.(August 16th, by Anthony Parsons)

Those led by President Mubarak.... are the dominant consensus. Saddam Hussein is the lonely deviation. He can be contained and brought to heel. (August 4th, by Abba Eban)

lix. President Bush is coming to the view that, despite the unprecedented international consensus on sanctions.... (September 1st, by Charles Bremner)

This was the Arab consensus that Mr Bush struggled.... (October 24th, Leading article)

lx. Rev Jesse Jackson broke yesterday with the American consensus. (September 4th, by Charles Bremner)

“Thatcher stance on attack threatens UK all-party consensus” (September 4th, by Philip Webster)

When Diane Abbott, the Labour left-winger, said in the Commons there was no consensus “for an allied invasion of Iraq to smash his military machine....” (January 30th, by Robin Oakley)

“This stitch-up is known as a ‘consensus’,” says John Pilger in the New Statesman. (February 10th, by Brian MacArthur)

Ixi. At no time has it seemed that Britain faced important choices.... One reason has been the political consensus. (February 20, by Martin Jacques)

“Consensus is under threat” (February 25th, Headline, by Michael Knipe)

Ixii. there exists a scenario for appeasement. (August 8th, Letter from Frederick Peacock)

Fears of a war in the Gulf rose yesterday after President Bush said appeasement did not work. (August 9th, by Christopher Walker and Martin Fletcher)

Ixiii. “appeasement doesn’t work, you’ve got to stand up to the dictators”. But clearly enough, the real cause is our desire to prolong.... (August 17th, Letter from Mr Christopher Derrick)

“Heath: Appease Saddam” was the Express’s distortion. (September 23rd, by Robert Harris)

Professor Stone accused me of appeasement. However, there is a fundamental distinction between appeasement and negotiation. (October 7th, by Edward Heath)

Edward Heath, the former prime minister, said that there had to be talks. He rejected claims that talks meant appeasement. (December 12th, by Peter Mulligan and John Winder)

....the encouragement of jingoism, the withering contempt for “appeasers”, the shouted instruction to the nation.... (January 20th, by Robert Harris, quoting Mr Benn)

Ixiv. successive French presidents have courted the Arab states of the Middle East. (August 11th, by Martin Alexander)

“Baghdad courts world sympathy on UN move” (September 26th, Headline, by Nicholas Beeston)

The miserable procession of political failures and has-beens who have rushed to court him in Baghdad.... (January 2nd, by Michael Howard)

Insensitive people such as Western politicians courting him.... (January 6th, by Norman McRae)

Ixv. Downing, 1992: 260

Ixvi. the thousands of Westerners held by Iraq were used as a crude human shield to deter American air strikes (November 6th, by Nicholas Beeston)

“Saddam’s ploy to deter attack” (November 26th, Headline, by Nicholas Beeston)

Iraq’s objective in accumulating so many troops and tanks across Kuwait is to deter an allied offensive. (December 22nd, by Michael Evans)

Ixvii. American troops massing to deter Iraq.... whether the United States and Britain would

consider using the nuclear option to deter a chemical attack. (August 10th, by Michael Evans)
...in response to an appeal from Saudi Arabia, he sent US forces to deter further Iraqi attacks
(August 16th, by Michael Howard)

“Propaganda barrage seeks to deter Saddam” (August 18th, Headline, by Richard Owen)

Ixviii. The poll also showed that more Americans believed the troops had gone to preserve US
oil supplies than simply to deter aggression. (September 1st, by Charles Bremner)

It was only the rapid deployment of American combat aircraft to Saudi Arabia that deterred Iraqi
tanks from crossing the border. (August 30th, by Michael Evans)

Weapons are for deterrence in a sound cause. (January 15th, Leading article)

Ixix. General Colin Powell...continues to insist that the mission of the American forces in Saudi
Arabia is to deter and to defend. (August 20th, by Michael Evans)

..the “defensive” build-up of military force to deter further aggression (August 22nd, by Nicholas
Wood, quoting Mrs Thatcher)

Ixx. The purpose of the action was to deter any further acts of aggression..... the foreign secretary
said the main aim was to deter an attack.... (August 9th, by Philip Webster, quoting Mr Hurd)

....in spite of the clear statements from Britain and the United States that they will not be
deterred. (August 22nd, by Michael Knipe)

...the Gulf Co-operation Council failed to deter Iraqi aggression. (January 18th, by Douglas
Hurd)

Ixxi. Parliament should explain to the British people.... why resisting aggression remains a
prime duty of the international community. (January 15th, Leading Article)

.... the allied force deployed to counter aggression in the Gulf.... allows the United Nations to use
force to combat aggression. (January 16th, from James Bone)

America’s leadership in countering Iraqi aggression.... (January 24th, Leading article)

Ixxii. The US and British governments have agreed to revised terms for engagement of their
military aircraft in the event of a Gulf conflict (August 16th, by Andrew McEwen)

“.... when our forces are engaged, when they are taking defensive action in support of
independent and peaceful countries....” (August 23rd, by Nicholas Wood, quoting Mr Kinnock)

Ixxiii. has culminated in firm action against Iraq.... (September 18th, by James Bone)

....a united, firm and effective opposition could have been mounted against Iraq.... (September
20th, Letter from Bahrain minister of Development)

I strongly support firm sanctions against Iraq.... (October 29th, Letter from Mr Frank Allaun)

Ixxiv. While I am wholeheartedly behind the UK, US and the UN in their firm stand against this
despot.... (September 10th, Letter from Mr Colin McMillan)

The British Government has been rightly praised in the past for its firm and unshakeable position towards terrorists and hostage-takers. (September 29th, Letter from Mr Roderick Cochrane)

lxxv. normal international practice, which tells us that all peoples have a right to be represented by emissaries of their choice. (August 4th, by Abba Eban)

“We have to look at this.... knowing that he might do things that a normal, civilised human being would not contemplate.” (August 5th, by James Adams, quoting a senior Pentagon official)

The UN.... the world body moving.... to freeze Iraq out of the normal community of nations until it disgorges Kuwait. (September 29th, by Charles Bremner)

lxxvi. “Anyone with a stake in international order has an interest in ensuring that all of us succeed.” (August 31st, by Charles Bremner, quoting President Bush)

.... the new post-cold-war relationship, in which the great powers co-operate to suppress regional disputes and enforce global order. (September 9th, by John Cassidy)

lxxvii..... a new world order which will spread democracy and economic liberalism. (August 19th, Leading article)

The confrontation is the first test of the post-Cold War order (August 8th, by Peter Stothard)

lxxviii.minimum considerations of order, law and justice (August 4th, Letter from Lady Fox)

.... regional peace and international order. (August 4th, by Abba Eban)

lxxix. “Out with the Americans, in with a new Arab order”.... A new world order is emerging, but Arabs are at risk of being excluded. (September 12th, Headline, by Mohamed Heikal)

“Arab doubts about a new order in Gulf region” (September 20th, Letter from Mrs Leila Jaroudi)

lxxx. It is now apparent that the allied bombing of Iraq and its forces in Kuwait will have to continue for some time yet. (January 20th, Leading article)

“We must ensure that, while we back up our forces in the Gulf and face up to the the military challenge and see this conflict ended at the earliest possible time....” (January 30th, by Harvey Elliot, quoting British defence minister Tom King)

lxxxii. There are those people whose peace-mongering proceeds from a special agenda such as a conscious or unconscious hatred of liberal democracy.... The peaceniks in Trafalgar Square thought they had nailed me. (January 20th, by Barbara Amiel)

lxxxii. Hackett and Zhao, 1994: 516

lxxxiii. The attack on Israel has ensured that the war will be long and bloody, peace campaigners said. (January 19th, Anonymous article)

“Peace rallies lose their drawing power” (January 20th, Headline, by Mark Skipworth)

“Peace campaign is put to test as support dwindles” (January 21st, Headline, by Ray Clancy)
Peace protesters argue that Kuwait ought not to be defended.... (January 25th, by Janet Daley)

lxxxiv. “A quiet defeat for the dogs of peace” Whatever happened to the peace movement during the Gulf war?.... Why did the dogs of peace fail to bark? (March 3rd, by Robert Harris)

lxxxv. The Security Council has authority to “take such action.... as may be necessary to maintain.... international peace and security. (August 7th, by James Bone)
.... UN charter’s chapter seven, which is directed against “threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression”. (August 20th, Leading article)

lxxxvi. Claiborne Pell said if President Bush had responded to earlier Iraqi excesses President Saddam may have “got the message” (August 3rd, by Martin Fletcher)
Mr Hurd said it was remarkable how quickly and effectively the international community had responded to the emergency in the Gulf. (August 11th, by Andrew McEwen)

lxxxvii. Mr Bush was considering a military response to the Iraqis.... (August 4th, by Martin Fletcher)

The proportionality of the response requires complex justification. (January 18th, Leading article)

The prime minister spoke of a “swift and severe” response if Iraq were to mount an attack on Israel. (January 18th, by Robin Oakley)

lxxxviii. It became clear that there were differences between Britain and the United States over the use of diplomatic retaliation against Iraq. (August 29th, by Michael Knipe)

“Retaliation Dilemma” (Headline). Israel was agonising yesterday: whether to retaliate against the Iraqi missile attack....(January 19th, by Richard Owen)

lxxxix. Should Saddam retaliate, he will be attacking the world (August 27th, Leading article)
Iraq has said that would be a “serious act of aggression” and that it would make America “feel the taste of death” in retaliation. (August 15th, by Martin Fletcher and Michael Theodoulou)

xc. Other deceptive terms listed by Mascull (1995) are military / direct action, air missions, a firm line, friendly cooperation/fire/country, national security, security measures/zone, buffer zone, special services/ commandos, sabotage, theatre of operations, vital interests, zone of influence, military advisers, softening up defences, (military) activity, agitator /activist.

xc. is in the interest of regional prosperity and stability. (August 7th, Leading article)
America’s objective.... should be to ensure “that we have peace, stability and a correct balance of power in the Middle East....” (November 3rd, by Martin Fletcher, quoting Norman Schwarzkopf)
Mr Bush’s commitment to restore peace and stability to the Gulf. (December 7th, Leading article)

xcii. Iraq is a threat to world order, to regional stability and to civilized behaviour (August 26th, Letter from the Secretary of the Gulf Cooperation Council)

The creation of stability in the Middle East is a world interest. (October 31st, Letter)

xciii. something that would reward him for his aggression (September 6th, by Martin Fletcher)

If that does not amount to appeasement and a rewarding of aggression, what does? (September 18th, Letter from Mr Winston Churchill)

“It is our position that he should not be in any way rewarded for his aggression.” (October 18th, by James Bone, quoting Mr Baker)

xciv. the administration failed to signal to Saddam that an invasion would not be tolerated. (October 3rd, by Fred Barnes)

President Saddam may have “got the message that his lawlessness would not be tolerated”. (August 3rd, by Martin Fletcher, quoting a US Senator)

xcv. The *New York Times* Stylebook (1988: 75) "Fairness and impartiality should be the hallmark of all news articles and news analyses.... It is of paramount importance that people or organizations have an opportunity to speak in their own defense, imperative that the reporter make every effort to reach the accused or criticized person or persons, or organization, and supply the opportunity to reply.”

xcvi. 1986: 192, reproduced in the Appendix, Figure 16.

xcvii. Western intelligence agencies insist they were well aware of the build-up to Saddam’s aggression. (August 5th, Insight journalist)

....members of the Security Council rushed to the chamber within hours of the Iraqi aggression. (August 6th, by James Bone)

xcviii.Saddam first indicated that aggression remained the mainspring of his foreign policy. (January 16th, by Richard Beeston)

Not since 1939 has an aggression left so clear a choice.... like other unprovoked aggressions.... Iran was the victim of his aggression.... rewarding him for his aggression.... surrender to Saddam’s aggression.... the reversal of Iraq’s aggression. (January 16th, Leading article)

xcix. “We will retaliate against aggression” (August 9th, by Christopher Walker, quoting Iraqi officials)

He feared that Iraq would receive a massive strike. “There is an aggression coming....” (August 9th, by Philip Webster, quoting president Mubarak)

“When the people listened to the first report about the beginning of the aggression against Iraq....” (January 17th, by James Bone, quoting Riyadh Mansour, of the Palestine Liberation Organisation)

....captured American servicemen were made to denounce their country’s “aggression”. (January 22nd, by Christopher Greenwood)

c. America’s claim that it is defending small nations against brutal aggression was angrily dismissed as hypocrisy in some quarters (August 10th, by Michael Theodoulou)

.... many Arabs do not see his aggression in this way (August 12th, by Brian Walden)

....attacked what it termed British and American-led aggression against Iraq. (January 20th, Peter Davenport, quoting Islamic missionary centre in Bradford)

We seem to have forgotten our failure to condemn his aggression against Iran. (January 26th, by Mary Kaldor)

ci. Saddam Hussein’s aggressive statements are reason enough (August 13th, Leading article)

If the threat is aggressive we must fight that threat. (January 17th, Article by Douglas Hurd)

cii. Sir, In 1967 Nasser’s aggressive actions, like the closing of the Straits of Tiran.... Saddam Hussein’s aggressive actions are.... (January 5th, Letter from Mr Ansel Harris)

“As in the 1930s, we see in Saddam Hussein an aggressive dictator threatening....” (August 9th, by Christopher Walker and Martin Fletcher, quoting Mr Bush)

ciii. Iraq said it would detain citizens of “aggressive nations”. (January 16th, by Nicholas Watt)

Iraq says it will detain citizens of “aggressive nations” (January 27th, Unnamed journalist, Diary)

The objective is.... aggressive, sanctions against Iraq ... (August 15th, by Michael Evans)

Aggressive action by the West would have been far safer (January 20th, by Barbara Amiel)

There is no reason why democracy should ensure non-aggressive policy. (January 25th, by Janet Daley)

civ.most of Kuwait’s financial assets were moved abroad before the attack.(August 3rd, by Andrew McEwen)

One of the first installations to come under attack was Kuwait International Airport.... (August 3rd, by Michael Theodoulou)

.... unless the United Arab Emirates is also attacked. (August 3rd, by Andrew McEwen)

cv.Kuwaiti civilians and army troops attacked Iraqi forces near the Ahmadi area (August 8th, Anonymous article)

Saddam’s growing fears of an American attack. (August 7th, by Juan Carlos Gumucio)

....an appeal to the Arab world to support him if the US and other Western countries mounted a military attack. (August 8th, by Richard Owen)

cvi. distracting attention from his crime of aggression. (August 16th, by Anthony Parsons)

.... the crime which Saddam Hussein committed against international law by invading Kuwait. (January 22nd, by Robert Morgan)

cvii. Saddam's plan to... create potential mayhem for the world's economic and political order. (August 5th, Anonymous Insight article)

Saddam... would create worldwide chaos. (January 20th, by Norman Stone)

The Iraqi dictator would wreak economic havoc in the world (August 19th, Leading article)

Iraq is a threat to world order, to regional stability and to civilized behaviour.... (August 30th, Letter from The Secretary of the Gulf Cooperation Council)

Saddam has upset the international order and the legitimate rule of an Arab ruling class (September 21st, by Peter Stothard)

cviii. In the Philippines, it was reported that three Filipino women working in Kuwait had been raped. (August 11th, by Hazhir Teimourian)

Other women were raped..... (February 28th, by Christopher Walker)

“Rapes denied” (Headline) (August 16th, Anonymous disclaimer)

Three stewardesses, allegedly assaulted by Iraqi soldiers.... five rapes allegedly took place last week.... Pauline Weatherall denied the rape reports. (August 19th, Anonymous article)

cix. “UK protests over Iraqi soldier's rape of hostess” ...The soldier raped her despite the protests of passengers.... (August 9th, Headline, by Michael Horsnell and Harvey Elliott)

....the children shot; the women raped.... (March 3rd, by Robert Harris)

....thousands of people killed, imprisoned, raped.... (March 3rd, by Ian Glover-James)

cx. Unless we are prepared to let him get away with the rape, ransack and subjugation of another nation, force will have to be used. (December 2nd, Leading article)

Within two years he was raping and looting Kuwait.... most certainly in the midst of rape, pillage and war. (January 20th, Leading article)

cxi. “Rape of the Gulf: Iraq invasion of Kuwait” (August 5th, Headline, Insight article)

Saddam has raped Kuwait. (August 19th, Leading article)

....how the West would handle his next rape of an innocent nation. (August 26th, Leading article)

Chapter 5 Agency

5.1. Syntactic Questions: Introduction

Turning now to syntactic rather than lexical issues, a few introductory remarks are called for. Syntax concerns the clause rather than the individual lexical items that compose it. Unlike the lexical items studied in the previous chapter, the objects of study are generally “speech acts” within discourse, language generally within a clausal context, within the still larger context of discourse. The following three chapters concern macrocategories both at a clausal and supraclausal level. Each section contains some prototypical structures, but also other marginal ones, one consequence of which is that the chapters sometimes overlap with each other.

Syntactic organization is less ideologically obvious than lexical choices, but not less important. It codes and organizes knowledge, working at a more abstract and subconscious level, being at times almost subliminal, and is thus less easily combatted by our critical faculties. Lexical items are more easily remembered, even by non-human animals, and are memorized for a longer time. Syntactic devices are acquired later but are also more all-pervading, as they are applied from episode to episode, from theme to theme, and are cognitively centred on the transfer and processing of knowledge, rather than on the content of the item of information selected.

Several questions are dealt with that are matters of newspaper style rather than semantics. It is often semantically “the same” to report an event in the active voice as in the passive, and it is superficially “the same” to report an event in direct as in indirect speech. But sentences that are different in form usually differ in illocutionary force as well, and style is a part of discourse, although in the case of quality newspaper discourse, what we have is often called an absence of deviations from a generally accepted formal style. “Formality” is characterized by many factors shared by quality newspapers and technical writing alike, such as nominalization instead of verb phrases, elevated Latin-based vocabulary, complex

Chapter 5 Agency

noun phrases and the embedding of clauses within clauses, having the function of noun phrases. Roeh (1982: 67) speaks about deviation and convention as leading to a refocussing on the text. "Grammatical deviations promote responses of novelty. Conventions promote responses of unity - both lead to a refocussing on the text." A deviation from the unmarked forms of expression can be interpreted as a deviation from the norms of society and an act of insolidarity with the group. He distinguishes between two different poles, the "naïve", accepting the world and writing with realism and naturalism, in a straightforward and prosaic way of a world "out there", and the "sentimentalistic", which writes in a more poetic, complex and at the same time committed way, from within the world, as it were.

As a rule, the style of news is the former, detached and impersonal. There is a tendency to avoid stylistic devices which express any point of view, and to stick to a conventional, repetitive presentation. This may restrict access to the text for a large number of people without the linguistic tools to deal with it, or who are daunted by the task of reading it. Also, an accumulation of worn and overused words tends to characterize journalistic style, as a passage invented by Orwell (1950: 167) shows:

"The allies have an opportunity not only of achieving a radical transformation of Germany's social and political structure in such a way as to avoid a nationalistic reaction in Germany itself, but at the same time of laying the foundations of a co-operative and unified Europe."

The same article goes on (p170) to define this kind of language as "designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind."

Within news discourse, feature articles are slightly different, and have a dramatic and stylistic side to them, with greater freedom and creativity. Prolonged attention to a subject is more likely to pinpoint the truth about it. "In-depth" feature articles are more "involved" in events than the neutral, non-emotionally involved, hard news items. Different newspaper

Chapter 5 Agency

sections go hand in hand with given linguistic patterns, which in turn imply a given attitude towards the event under consideration. Hard news is dominantly "serious" and "respectful", as far as content is concerned. In hard news, the SVO pattern is very common, while in features "X says / does what" is less frequent. Non-SVO patterns are less serious, less elite, and instead of opening main clauses there may be subordinate clauses or other elements. If a newsreader begins an utterance "While he was visiting China, Richard Nixon" or "Also visiting China today was George Bush", the likelihood is that he is no longer president of the United States. If he were still president, then the news would read "The president of the United States, George Bush, today visited China."

There are uses of non-topic-first sentences that work in another way: "Despite reports from Baghdad that the diplomatic community is well....", raise the tension and imply drama, and may invite participation by the reader, as in "At the UN Headquarters today.... " There is also more likelihood of non-topic first sentences in alternative, non-mainstream news: "From Baghdad it is reported that....In Basra there has been a gathering of the Ba'athist Party who are opposing.... " In *The Times* there are more topic-first sentences in hard news, and in letters and opinion sections there are proportionately fewer. It is some of these stylistic / ideological questions that make up the following chapters. I aim to pinpoint some matters that would escape the notice of newspaper readers were their attention not drawn to them.

5.2. Agency

This section, which considers "agent" and "patient", also called the "logical subject" or "actor", and "logical object", "goal" or "affected", respectively,¹ will necessarily involve other closely related topics. The term "agency" has been chosen rather than "agentivity" (rare, eg. Cruse, 1973) or "transitivity", as the latter seemed to me very closely linked to the verb phrase. In "agency" I include various matters related to the authorship of actions, and it seems to me clearer, as I also deal with various other matters involving the question "Who

Chapter 5 Agency

by ?”, such as nominalization and some adjectives and adverbs that imply some action or mental process.²

There are precedents for a treatment of various related structures in the same section. Chomsky talks of the question of “agent-of-action” and “the relationships of thematic roles, the assignment of head of a construction and categories dependent on it”, and under this general title he goes on to consider various constructions, including passive constructions, which he calls “rather heterogeneous in character” (1988: 5, 121). Roberts (1987: 256) places in the same argument the passive voice, ergative pairs and middle verbs as well as nominalization, as they all have to do with the dethematization of subjects. Marantz (1984) studies the passive voice, raising verbs, ergatives, nominal derivatives and other constructions together, Lock (1996) considers the ergative pairs as a kind of middle verb, while Grimshaw (1990) compares nominals and passives in argument structure, and closely relates their semantic characteristics.

The following examples illustrate some of the constructions, in which the role of the noun phrase as a theme, starting-point or topic of an utterance, is defined by the predicate that follows it.

- a. “John broke the window”. This is the unmarked active form, with “break” as a transitive verb.
- b. “The window broke.” In (b) “break” is an ergative verb, here in its intransitive use.
- c. “These windows break easily.” In (c) “break” is a middle verb, otherwise called a “pseudo-transitive verb”,³ where it has an active form but a passive meaning. This type of verb is often used in children’s speech to prevent being blamed.
- d. “The window was broken by John.” In (d) the passive construction of a dynamic verb includes the named agent within a prepositional phrase introduced by “by”.
- e. “The window was broken.” This sentence is somewhat ambiguous, as it is possible to interpret “broken” as an agentless passive, as an adjective (Chomsky, 1988: 55), an

Chapter 5 Agency

“adjectival passive” (Grimshaw, 1995: 113) or a “stative passive” (Trask, 1993: 259), as sometimes happens with the passive forms following copula verbs, for example: “John was / seemed / became tired / frightened / worried / concerned / terrified”. The latter can be followed by the prepositions “about”, “at”, “by” and others. These are all more stative than (d), though modifying adjectives may have a past participle form, such as “married”, or “murdered” in “the murdered man”, where the agent of the implied action is suppressed.

f. “The window is believed to be broken / to have been broken.” Sentence (f) has the object “the window” raised to subject status by the verb “believe”.

g. “The breaking of the window took place yesterday.” This contains a nominalization of the verb “break”.

Verbal transitivity and non-transitivity are best considered as a scale rather than as a mutually exclusive compartmentalizing process, and not all questions of transitivity are dealt with in these examples. I have not included here another point on the scale, which would be the contrast between “He is eating” and “He is eating fish”, where the former is considered as less transitive than the latter, which expressly states the object, while both would be more transitive than “He is getting up”. Not do these alternatives necessarily reflect any ideological bias. Certain registers simply use less transitive forms more. Chilton and Schäffner (in van Dijk, 1997b: 225) show how, in an analysis of transitivity in politicians’ speeches, active agency is less frequent for all concerned than in other registers. Analysing a speech by John Major, they find an abnormally large number of passive forms and nominalizations of the verb “change”, and when normal transitivity does occur, it is often hedged by conditional use. However, it is not stated by these researchers whether they believe Mr Major wants to hide the agent to avoid culpability, or that he merely inherits a tradition of the frequent use of these structures in political speeches.

5.3. The Active Voice: “Them”

In active sentences, the primary topic is the agent, which is also the grammatical subject.

Chapter 5 Agency

Saddam Hussein has been noted by other researchers to be the subject and agent in verbs with negative values, such as “offend”, “threaten”, “invade”, “attack”, and “bomb”, while the US and the coalition are generally subjects of positive actions, such as “defend Kuwait”, “present a peace proposal” or “order a ceasefire”. (Martín Rojo, 1995, basing her research on *El País*) This is also true in *The Times*.

The passive voice is used less for the Iraqi side, though it is a feature of quality news discourse as a register to use it fairly often, and this is still true when Iraq is the agent. When Iraq, Saddam or the Palestinians are the agent, then often this agent is given, and stressed, as in “A short time before he was assassinated, by a hit man suspected of belonging to an Iraqi-sponsored renegade Palestinian group.” (January 16th, by John Philips) The impersonal passive expression “is suspected” implies the “we” of consensus as agent, as does the raising structure “is thought” in the following example: “Abu Iyad is thought to have been killed by a PLO gunman working for the dissident Palestinian leader Abu Nidal” (January 17th, by Edward Gorman).

The following verbs are often in the active voice when Iraq, and especially Saddam Hussein, are responsible for the actions carried out, and some can be contrasted with their agentless passive use when the allies are the logical subject (See 5.4.2.). It is pretended as an illustrative, rather than an exhaustive list. Sometimes these come in clusters of verbs in active voice, here “start”, “attack”, “arrest”, “execute”, “use chemical weapons”:

“The UN has never condemned President Saddam for starting the Gulf war, attacking civilian shipping in the Gulf in 1984, arresting and executing thousands of Iraqi citizens for political crimes and using chemical weapons against Iranian troops and Kurds.” (August 4th, by Nicholas Beeston)

a. Attack: The use of this as an active verb is rare, though it occurs more frequently for Iraqi actions than for those of the allies, as in “President Saddam will either attack the

Chapter 5 Agency

all-but-defenceless Emirates....” (August 6th, by Richard Owen) When the allies are acting, the passive voice “was / were attacked” and the agentless nominalization “the attack” are more often employed, as is shown below.

b. Invade: Saddam himself is more often the subject of this verb than Iraq, as in “Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait (August 7th, by Amir Tahari), “After Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait” (January 20th, by Ian Glover-James), “Saddam's forces invaded” or “Saddam’s troops invaded Kuwait” (January 21st, by Richard Beeston). This is part of the personalization spoken of elsewhere. Iraq is also the subject of this verb: “...since Iraq invaded Kuwait three months ago today.” (November 2nd, by Christopher Walker) The only occurrence of this verb with the allies as subject is “the allies are expecting to have to invade Iraqi territory to evict its forces from Kuwait” (January 21st, by Christopher Walker), where it is made clear that it is a moral obligation, against “our” will, and only with a limited objective in mind. That is, the journalist justifies the action. The term “invading troops” does appear with reference to the allies on February 25th, and there is one claim by an Iraqi citizen on the same day that the Americans are invading Iraq, but that is all. This is a clear example of how two actions, similar in the real world, are given completely different names. This confirms the non-representational nature of language in the news, depending entirely on the interpretation given by the writer and the institution (s)he represents.

c. Kill: Saddam, rather than his people or his forces, is responsible for acts of war, and receives the active voice many times: “He....dropped cyanide bombs on a Kurdish village, killing at least 4,000 of his own subjects.” (January 16th, by Alice Thomson) and “The man Saddam killed was his brother-in-law.... he threatened to kill a fellow Iraqi over political differences.” (January 20th, by Judith Miller) This verb, which is a prime example of how responsibility is shifted away from the allies, is used with its logical subject clearly identified with the actor, when it is the enemy: “Baghdad's air force dropped poison gas on the Kurdish town of Halabja, killing 5,000.” (August 11th, by Jamie Dettmer)

Chapter 5 Agency

The passive voice or nominalization could have been used with the same meaning, with “the dropping of poison gas on Halabja”, or “the death of 5,000 people”, but this indirect way of expressing the same idea is generally limited to the allies. Usually only Saddam and his weapons are violent enough to “kill”, in the active voice: “The seven Scuds were intended to damage and kill.” (January 19th, by Michael Evans) Journalists, like allied politicians, demonize Saddam and personalize the conflict on his person.

d. Use: “During that war Saddam indicated that he was willing to use chemical weapons whenever he deemed it necessary.” (January 31st, by Efraim Karsh) Both the verb “deem” and “use” are given a stated agent, again Saddam himself. The target for allied military action is thus set up ready for the kill by the linguistic preference for the active voice for negative actions carried out by the enemy.

e. Wreck: The word is used many times to refer to damage done by Iraqi missiles, in the active voice: “The first blast in Tel Aviv wrecked a dozen or more houses. One missile.... wrecked part of an obsolete power station.” (January 20th, Insight article) When the allies are the logical subject of this verb, the agent is suppressed.

5.4. The Passive Voice

The unmarked, or prototype, position for the agent in English clauses is front position as the grammatical subject, as English is an SVO language, but this role can be occupied by other elements. The passive voice is more complex, is learnt later by children, is less natural and less frequent, and is thus usually the marked voice, especially in conversation. However, in some written academic texts it is the unmarked form, as markedness depends on the genre in which the structure is found. The transformation is easily described in purely mechanical terms, as there are three formal differences. The object of the active sentence, usually the human object, is foregrounded, appearing in the subject position of

Chapter 5 Agency

the passive sentence, and has agreement with the verb “to be” that follows it. Then the subject of the active sentence appears as the agent, the object of the preposition “by”, when it appears at all. This voice, therefore, changes the position of the theme and rheme so that the grammatical subject does not coincide with the agent of the action. Thirdly, the main verb appears in the passive sentence in its “-en” form, and it is the verb “to be” that is marked for tense and person. Thus the changes involved are both morphological and syntactic. The passive voice is more common in English than in Romance languages, which often use the reflexive form instead, and it has more possibilities than in some other languages. In English, one can make the transformation “They slept in the bed” → “The bed was slept in” and “They spoke of the subject” → “The subject was spoken about”, while in Romance languages this is not possible. The syntactic subject may not be the direct object in a passive transformation, as we can make the transformation of “Elmer loaded hay onto the wagon” as “Hay was loaded onto the wagon” or “The wagon was loaded with hay” (Marantz, 1984: 207), and the simple fact that the passive or active voice are used does not guarantee passive or active meaning. “He endured torture” has a passive meaning expressed by the active voice. “God frightens him” and “He fears God” are two opposite sides of the same “event” or situation, but both are expressed in the active voice. Middle verbs, sometimes called mediopassive or activopassive verbs, are an extreme example, as in “Bureaucrats bribe easily”, where the theme of the verb is also its object, but these are very limited in their relevance to this study and are not considered. Not all verbs, for instance copula or intransitive ones, are capable of passivization. The active sentence “John seemed happy” cannot be transformed into “*Happy was seemed by John”, nor “John arrived late” into “*Late was arrived by John”. The “by-phrase” may be followed by some classes of adverbs, though not all, and may not be followed by adjectives, but without the agent the adjective may appear, as in “This boy is considered smart” or “The girl was made sad”.

It is considerably more common in some registers than others, being especially frequent in

Chapter 5 Agency

scientific writing, where the aim is to write in an impersonal and detached way. It may be simply an alternative way of representing an event, but any aspect of linguistic structure may carry with it an ideological charge, and transformations nearly always involve suppression or distortion of some element. In front page newspaper writing, it makes up eight per cent of verb forms, while in sports reporting, with its emphasis on the dynamic nature of its protagonists, it only makes up half of that.⁴ This fact means that different discourses “need” the passive voice more or less. In passive sentences, all three coding devices relate to a corresponding functional component of de-transitivity. The non-agent is promoted to theme status, the verb is stativized, taking on the “-en” form which can be adjectival, and thus made less finite and more of a resulting state, and the agent is demoted to the end of the utterance, when it appears at all.

Significantly for this study, the “by-plus-agent” phrase is optional in English, while no other element is. In most written registers, the agent is not mentioned in occurrences of the passive voice. Indeed, the passive clause is thought to have arisen historically sometimes from adjective predicates, so that “It is big” came historically prior to “It is broken”, which was prior to “It was broken”.⁵ If the agent is not present it is usually simply lost for the reader, as is the case in those few languages where it is simply never expressed, though the actor is theoretically capable of being discovered. In a sentence such as “A large number of civilians were killed, many of them women and children” (February 14th, Leading article), the agent is lost unless the reader makes a conscious effort to retrieve it.

Form and function are often at least parallel to each other, and in media texts the function of avoiding responsibility is often the result of passivization, although in most registers, passivization, by itself, does not change or obscure the meaning, the actual facts represented.⁶ Elsewhere it is usually neutral, often being used because the agent is predictable, or universal, as in “It was known that objects obeyed the laws of gravity”. This is almost ellipsis, with the subject too obvious to be mentioned, or having already been

Chapter 5 Agency

mentioned. It is not mere agentless passivization of the sentence that gives it ideological interest, as there are other features to be taken into consideration, such as what element is given stress instead of the agent. Thus, in the sentence just quoted “A large number of civilians were killed, many of them women and children.” or “They were killed while they were sleeping”. In “I lost my sister, her daughter and her son, aged 15 and 18. They were killed while they were sleeping.” (February 15th, by Marie Colvin, quoting a resident of Baghdad) the stressed element is the adverbial, and the impact depends on this element, which in the latter example is loaded with culpability. This has been a methodological problem difficult to resolve in this study, so I can only speak of tendencies and consistencies, not with absolute exactitude. The job of discovering the agents of agentless passives, though, is not a job usually carried out by the reader, and much less encouraged by the media. It is mainly the latter case, that of agentless passive sentences, which concerns this study. Whether or not the agent is present, the agentless passive is still higher on the scale of agency than nominalization, as it at least mentions the patient, and is more life-like.

5.4.1. Passive Voice with Agent

The “by” phrase in passive constructions has various different meanings depending on the verb used. Thus, the by-phrase can have different meanings, categorized by generative grammar as “Bill was killed by Mary” (agent), “The letter was received by Bill” (recipient or goal), “The package was sent by John” (source), “That professor is feared by all his students” (experiencer), “The window was broken by the hammer” (instrument) or “The painting was noticed by the thief” (theme). Sometimes, too, the different meanings the same verb is capable of conveying give a different meaning to the prepositional phrase.⁷

Focus is sometimes placed on the agent, displacing the theme or topic, where in speech it would normally receive stress. The use of the passive voice can therefore be to stress the agent. When the agent is mentioned, it is given at the end of a new information unit, whose

Chapter 5 Agency

unmarked form has stress just at that point (Downing, 1992: 237, 252). In the texts studied, the passive voice with the agent made explicit by a “by-phrase” is more frequently reserved for Iraqi military actions. Thus, a sentence from the texts such as “He added that an allied pilot had been executed by the secret police” (February 1st, by Hazhir Teimourian), stresses the responsibility of the secret police. Most writers claim that the agent is demoted in passive sentences (Givón, 1993, Vol 2: 54), giving up its position as theme, and certainly from a discourse point of view, that is, over connected utterances, the logical object is topicalized, that is, the information is about recurrent sentence themes. Van Dijk (1977) talks in terms of “salience”, that is to say, if something is important in your mind you will say or write it first, and certainly the grammatical subject of the passive sentence is more salient if we consider the anaphoric referent of a pronoun in a subsequent utterance. “She” in the sequence “A girl was run over by a motorist. She was playing in the road” clearly has as its referent “a girl” and not “the motorist”. It is clearly different to talk about the topic or theme of the sentence than to talk about the focus, which in passive sentences is often on the agent. A clear example is seen in the verb “destroy”.

When destruction is carried out by the Iraqis, the attribution of culpability is generally present, as in “What is left of the authentic city is rapidly being destroyed by workmen charged with creating a modern Iraqi vision of Babylon” (September 25th, by Nicholas Beeston) or “Three were shot down in the area of the republican army, nine destroyed by the Iraqi navy.” (January 18th, by William Cash) This contrasts with the agentless use of the same word when it refers to allied actions. The verbs “invade” and “dismantle” also illustrate the presence of the agent where Iraqi actions are negatively stressed, as in the following quote from the British prime minister: “...the world was not going to stand by and watch Kuwait be invaded and dismantled in the way it had been by Baghdad's forces.” (December 8th, by Philip Webster)

In many passive constructions, stress is given to the agent, as it is in the end-position, despite the common twin claims, firstly, that “topic-first” and active sentences, as they

Chapter 5

Agency

mention the grammatical subject first, give more discursive importance, as the focus and perspective of the utterance are based on it, and secondly, that they emphasize responsibility. "PC shoots boy through heart" is said to be less favourable to the police constable than a passive sentence such as "Boy shot through heart by PC". (Fowler, 1991: 71-78; Givón, 1993, Vol 1: 95) But that very much depends on the context, how the sentence is read aloud, and what part of the sentence constitutes new information, as in cleft sentences, responding to an implied question or contrasting with what went before. Often the end position is stressed (predicate stress) in spoken and written discourse.

5.4.2. Removing Responsibility: Agentless Passives

Even when the agent is absent from passive utterances, it may be present by implication. Roberts (1987: 30) and Lock (1996: 235) claim that this is because, unlike in middle and ergative verbs, there is an "-en" element which gives rise to there being this "implicit argument". Agentless passives, which make up four out of five passive constructions in written English, do not invariably open the door to just any agent, nor do they necessarily remove responsibility from that agent. Thus, to say "Every man was killed" may have an obvious agent that can be easily retrieved from the context, and in fact can imply a plurality of personal agents, and this same structure may have other interpretations, so that "No-one was killed" may imply that someone was attempting to kill one or more than one person, that they were in a position to, or that the situation was potentially dangerous, again depending on the context.

However, despite the provisos made above, Western agents are often simply absent in the texts studied, while it is rare to find Iraqi military actions agentless, and even rarer without some adverbial phrase. One exception is "An American diplomat's parked car was set ablaze." (February 10th, by Ian Glover-James) but this is written within the context of rioting in Jordan so that the probable agents are clear to the reader. It is very different to say "The allied troops will attack Iraqi positions" from saying "Iraqi positions will be attacked", as the

Chapter 5 Agency

latter removes responsibility from the allies, the causal connection is looser and thus becomes difficult or impossible to recover, thus losing relevance for the reader. (Hodge and Kress, 1988: 26) This reframing of events, thus diminishing responsibility, is very frequent in these texts. When the War Diary talks of “More than 12,000 allied air missions flown since the start of the war....Forty-one Iraqi aircraft destroyed since start of war, including 17 shot down, two on Monday. Forty-five Iraqis killed” (January 24th), the agent of the actions of flying, destroying, shooting down and killing is clearly the allies, but is suppressed. As Grimshaw has pointed out (1990: 132) the substitution of a by-phrase, which are optional in every known language, by any other element, such as “since the start of the war” in the above example, is significant, as it tends to take intrasentential stress, substituting that of the agent and making that agent almost redundant.

In the following section I shall consider, in alphabetical order, twelve key verbs and the significance of the use of the agentless passive voice. These twelve verbs do not form an exhaustive list.

a. Accelerate: The “progress” towards the land war is pictured as something out of anyone’s control, being “accelerated”, but nowhere is it said by whom. The allied offensive is treated almost exclusively in the passive voice, and enemy deaths have no apparent author, in “.... progress towards a land offensive was being accelerated after the deaths of up to 300 civilians in the Baghdad bunker bombing.” (February 15th, by Peter Stothard) and “In the immediate future it was more likely that the ground war would be accelerated, Pentagon officials said.” (February 26th, by Peter Stothard) This verb is used in the active voice on two occasions with “the Americans” as the logical subject, but never receives a human agent in the passive voice.

b. Attack: The passive voice is often used implying there is consensus among “us”. In the following examples the passive voice has an agent that is “understood”, that is, “us”. It is used to reveal that there is agreement and joint action among the allies, but without directly

Chapter 5 Agency

stating the agent. "...one Soviet-built Osa-class vessel was attacked..." (January 31st, by Jamie Dettmer) and "...the rail and motorway bridges....around Basra were attacked in the second week of the war.... the vast traffic of lorries.... could still be attacked...." (February 16th, by Edward Luttwak) When Iraq is the agent, it is often mentioned even in passive constructions, as in "Britain is ready to help defend them if attacked by Iraq." (August 16th, by Andrew MacEwen)

c. Bomb: In "The town of Mosul has been bombed...." (February 15th, by Michael Evans) and in dozens of other instances, the effect is to shed responsibility. "Baghdad was bombed for the third night running." writes Ian Glover-James (January 20th), but the agent is suppressed.

d. Destroy: From January 15th to mid-March, the period which spans the allied air and land attacks, journalists and the allied armed forces they report avoid stating that they are destroying anything. Typical of the type of sentence found are: "... a third of Iraq's artillery forces in Kuwait have been destroyed." (February 15th, by Peter Stothard, quoting Peter de Billiere, British Commander-in-Chief), "Yesterday up to ten more mobile launchers were located and three were destroyed. Sources said that a "significant number" of fixed Scud launchers had now been destroyed" (January 22nd, by Martin Fletcher), and "Its (Kuwait's) important road and rail bridges all will have been destroyed" (February 3rd, by Robert Harris). There are twenty-five references to things being "destroyed" by allied aircraft, Patriot missiles or allied bombing, but they are all enemy missiles, chemical weapons and rocket launchers. The only time the allies are the unmediated human agent during this two-month period is in "... the bridge linking the two halves of the city has been destroyed by the allies." (February 5th, by Richard Beeston)

In this period well over half the mentions of "destroy" are in passive voice, and of these about half are found without an agent. In those that mention the agent, only the direct instrument, the missile or bomb, or the "mediated instrument",⁸ that is, the more complex

Chapter 5 Agency

mechanism, the ship or plane from which it came, are mentioned. There are no cases of “we” (animate agent) destroyed “them” (animate patient). The nearest is that “Lieutenant-General Walt Boomer, commander of the Marine expeditionary force in the Gulf said ‘My aviators said they had destroyed 15 vehicles’” (February 1st, by Patrick Bishop), while there is sometimes a mention that “the allied air campaign” or “allied forces” have destroyed something. In “a destroyed water tanker” (March 3rd, by Richard Ellis) and other instances, the past participle of “destroy” appears, functioning as an adjective, without the possibility of stating the agent.

e. Kill: This verb has already been commented on several times in this chapter. It must be said that writers and the speakers they report sometimes use the active voice, as in: “Maria Fyfe.... told MPs: ‘It seems to me incredible that.... you kill and maim innocent Iraqis....’ ” (January 22nd, Anonymous parliamentary report) Even some writers in favour of the war effort use it with frankness: “As usual when great armies are drawn up ready to start killing each other....” (January 14th, by George Hill) or when General Colin Powell is quoted speaking candidly: “ ‘Our strategy for dealing with this army is very simple. First we’re going to cut it off, then we’re going to kill it.’ ” (January 24th, by Martin Fletcher) Some state clearly what war is all about “What it would be criminal to do in peacetime, killing another, is thought to become admirable.” (January 19th, by Clifford Longley) But the idea that our forces are “killing” is usually taboo, and we will largely look in vain for the verb “kill” in the active voice during the allied offensives in the air and on land, though that is what was happening. The mention of this word is unpopular: “To some barracking from the Tory back benches, Labour MP Clare Short asked if he would tell them honestly about the level of suffering and killing.” (January 18th, by Peter Mulligan)

In the two months from January 15th to March 15th, when reporting the allies’ military actions, *The Times* uses “kill” in the passive voice two hundred and eighty times, eighty-one in January, sixty-five in the first half of February, seventy-eight in the second half, and fifty-

Chapter 5 Agency

five in the first half of March. This verb in the passive voice outnumbers the active voice in a ratio of about ten to one or more. The agent is usually omitted, as in: “...some Pentagon experts believed that between 100, 000 and 250,000 Iraqis may have been killed.” (January 20th, Anonymous Insight article) Sometimes vague phrases such as “in battle” or “in combat” shield the agents in anonymity. “Some 30 Iraqi soldiers were killed and about 400 taken prisoner in the two-day battle for the town” (February 2nd, by Michael Evans) This figure of casualties is hidden away towards the end of a long article. Even the mere mention of Iraqi civilians being killed is too much for a sensitive American public opinion, which was outraged by the following headline, which carefully shielded the actors: “... the Philadelphia Inquirer.... published the headline: “Iraqis: 400 civilians killed.” (February 16th, by Charles Bremner) It is pictured as Saddam’s fault in that that he has led his people to destruction: “He has let 100,000 of his people be killed or maimed in pursuit of an utterly pointless war.” (March 3rd, by Norman Stone) This sounds as if the ultimate responsibility lies with the Iraqi leader, not with those who actually carried out the attacks.

f. Reduce to Rubble: Although the context makes it very clear that it was the allies who reduced a house to rubble, or wrecked an air-raid shelter, the agentless passive is preferred for both these verb phrases in this extract, which is their only occurrence: “... in Karrada, an entire two-storey house was reduced to a heap of bricks.... At one air-raid site, an entire two-block souk (market), an hotel and several blocks of flats were wrecked.” (February 2nd, by Richard Beeston)

g. Resolve: In “The war may not have to be resolved through attrition; if it is, there will be thousands of casualties”, (January 17th, by Michael Evans) “we” are the hidden agents. Just as the media talk of the death penalty being “carried out”, not of the prison guard “killing the prisoner”, this expression is a euphemism to avoid anything that smacks of militarism, and is also agentless. “The type of peace-keeping force that should remain in the area after the conflict, regardless of whether it is resolved peacefully or by war”,

Chapter 5 Agency

(January 6th, by Marie Colvin and David Hughes) makes the agent of such a resolution simply “war”, without any human actors.

h. Ruin: Although members of the peace movement are ostensibly opposed to the ruining and the wrecking of humanity and property alike, it is usually they, or the disunity of the allies, which is referred to as the logical subject of this verb. Even when the country ruined is Iraq, this verb is impersonal, as in “The alternative is the ruin of his country by economic sanctions” (November 5th, by Michael Howard), “He allows his country to be ruined by sanctions” (December 1st, by Sir Anthony Parsons), or “A lasting peace must be built on the ruins of war.” (January 17th, Leading article) We can see how already, by December, the responsibility for this ruin was being placed firmly on Saddam Hussein, “a bungling psychopath who has ruined his country.” (February 3rd, by Robert Harris) “Ruined” can be used as an adjective, though with the past participle form, in which case the agent is suppressed, as in “Beneath his ruined palace” (January 20th, by Ian Murray) or “the ruined bridges” (February 8th, by Michael Evans), referring to the palace and bridges bombed to ruins by allied attacks, as in “Television pictures of ruined churches.... are designed to influence Western audiences.” (January 29th, by Michael Binyon)

i. Target: The armed forces and the media spoke of “targets”. “Target”, whether as a noun or a verb, is a word that turns hospitals, munitions stores, civilians and anything else into legitimate objects of allied attack. The press even talked of a “target-rich environment”, where animate and inanimate are blurred. “Target” is used over three hundred times from January 19th to 27th alone in the texts chosen, usually with no reference to whether human targets are involved or not. It is admitted that “... the shelter bombed in Baghdad on Wednesday was an innocent civilian target” (February 15th, by Nicholas Watt), which ostensibly puts the reader on the side of the innocent victims, and that “There can be little doubt that the shelter was purposely targeted.” (February 14th, by Marie Colvin) “Purposely” is quite strong, but nevertheless, neither here nor on most other occasions is it

Chapter 5 Agency

stated who it was that purposely targeted the shelter.

j. Use: Weapons or force “will be used”, but who will use them is frequently suppressed: “During the second stage, the American A10 Thunderbolt “tank buster”.... will be used against Iraq's tanks” (January 17th, by Michael Evans) or “US Apache helicopters, firing anti-tank missiles, and British Army Air Corps Lynx helicopters with Tow missiles will also be used.” (January 17th, by Michael Evans) The human agent of the action is the pilot handling the weapon, but (s)he is conceded anonymity.

k. Wound: The verb “wound” would sound extremely strong in the active voice, and so is avoided: “The number of soldiers killed or wounded was ‘very high’....” (February 15th, by Peter Stothard, quoting British Commander-in-Chief) or when a journalist says: “Unconfirmed reports said four more Iraqis had been injured and another five killed.” (January 20th, by Patrick Bishop) However, the passive voice plus its corresponding “by-phrase” is never used with this verb during the whole period. “Wounded” is far removed from the allied agent, and in the following example it is in a past participle form that can be considered adjectival rather than verbal: “Television pictures of.... wounded children in hospital are designed to influence Western audiences.” (January 29th, by Michael Binyon)

l. Wreck: The agent of the wrecking is usually the enemy, as in “Kuwait City was wrecked, horrible” (August 19th, Anonymous article, quoting British escapees), and “The prime minister’s.... vital speech.... would be ‘wrecked by anti-war elements of the Labour party’.” (January 16th, Leading article) This word rarely describes the effects of Western attacks. As in the case of “ruin”, the past participle often masquerades as an adjective, as in “A wrecked powdered milk factory” (February 4th, by Richard Beeston), “a wrecked house” (February 18th, Anonymous article), “A junkyard of wrecked Iraqi tanks” (March 1st, by Philip Jacobson) and “Wrecked cars and burnt-out tanks littered the highway” (February 28th, by Christopher Walker), thus suppressing the agent of the wrecking and burning.

5.4.3. “Non-Negative” Agentless Passives

In some contexts, the effect of the suppression of the agent is not, or not only, to remove responsibility from the allies, but to reinforce the impression of a global consensus on “our” side. The effect is very similar to that produced by the non-negative nominals referred to below (5.6.2.).

a. Allow: “Mrs Thatcher said yesterday that if the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait were allowed to endure other small countries would never feel safe.” (August 3rd, by Peter Stothard) It is not explicitly stated who will allow or not allow the occupation to continue, but it is assumed to be “us”. This expression leaves unstated both the agent and the type of action which might be used to prevent it from continuing. Or “‘These actions cannot be allowed to go unchallenged,’ said John McCain, a Republican senator.” (August 5th, by James Adams) It is assumed that “we” have the right to allow or ban whatever we want, without any moral yardstick but our own. This verb is very frequent in its passive form, and is nearly always agentless, as in “I am certain that he is wrong and that he will not be allowed to keep Kuwait.” (December 1st, by Anthony Parsons)

b. Ban: In “....stopping the airlift of banned cargo to Iraq” (September 27th, by Nicholas Beeston), the adjective is also a past participle form with passive meaning. Considered as either, it has the same effect, to make the action universal, with the “we” of consensus as the unnamed imposer of the banning, The logic of this type of use is that, for example, Iraqi aircraft cannot overfly their own territory because there is a ban, or because it is banned.

c. Enforce: “Sir Geoffrey Howe said.... that sanctions on Iraq would have to be rigorously enforced.” (September 6th, by Philip Webster) The West is the probable agent of enforcement, but by not stating so openly, it appears that such authority is taken for granted by the whole world.

Chapter 5 Agency

d. Exclude: In everyday life, expressions like "Excluded area" hide who is excluding and who is excluded, thus giving more authority through mystification. The hidden meaning is "Excluded for you but not for us". (Fowler, 1991) In "Sir Geoffrey Howe said....The military option had not been excluded...." (September 6th, by Philip Webster) and "Jordan's support for the loser has left it excluded from the diplomatic manoeuvres" (March 12th, by Adam Kelliher) the agent of such exclusion is unstated, making it appear that it happened by itself or because Jordan has excluded itself.

e. Permit: President Bush is quoted by Peter Stothard on two occasions, in "Iraq will not be permitted to annex Kuwait" (September 13th) and "The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand" (October 2nd) using this veiled threat, though the agent is not stated. The moral authority for permitting is assumed, seldom stated openly.

f. Persuade: The agent of persuasion is sometimes suppressed, as in "Historians may one day dispute whether Saddam Hussein could have been persuaded to withdraw from Kuwait." (January 2nd, by Michael Howard) The consensus and joint decisionmaking is taken for granted, as the allies are presented as equal partners in the operation.

g. Prohibit: As with "excluded", the agent of official prohibition is hidden, as in "All travel into restricted areas without official escort or written permission is strictly prohibited".(January 26th, by Christopher Walker, quoting a Saudi communiqué)

h. Trust:The expression "cannot be trusted" in the following quotation: "Jan 30. Battle for Khafji.... Iraqi tactics, in pretending to surrender and then firing on allied troops, strengthen the suspicion that Saddam cannot be trusted." (March 1st, Gulf War Diary) means that "we" cannot trust "him", the "suspicion" being implicitly "ours", though it also implies by extension that nobody in the world can trust him.

Chapter 5 Agency

The agentless passive construction is frequently used. Its popularity seems to be partly due to the effort of journalists to shield their readers from the crude realities, the consequences of military actions. However, it also has other ideologically significant results. Firstly, there is the way the seeming consensus idea of the military action is encouraged. Though most air and land attacks were carried out by the British and Americans, the use of the agentless passive makes it appear that participation was general among members of the thirty-nation-strong coalition. Secondly, as has already been mentioned in each case, responsibility for having carried out these actions is removed by this device.

5.4.4. Interest in the Reportee: “Ask”

Another important function of the passive voice is slightly different from those already studied, that of transferring the interest of the reader from the agent to the object of the action, the subject of the utterance in passive voice. Thus, with reporting verbs, the focal point, for example in “MP’s asked the prime minister several questions” is in the MP’s, while in the sentence “The prime minister was asked several questions” the interest is in the prime minister.

“Ask” has two meanings, the first of which does not concern us here.⁹ It is only when information is being sought that concerns this study. Elite figures are often centre of interest, as in “Mr Heath / Mr Baker / Mr Major / Mr Hurd / Mr Joseph Luns, a former Nato Secretary General / Tom King, the Defence Secretary was asked...” though not exclusively. “The evacuees, interviewees in each country, a Frenchman, one young man, a veterinary student aged 21, a theatre sister, 87 per cent (of Belgians), churches was/were asked”, tends to disprove the hypothesis that it is only elite figures that interest the media when they speak. Only on one occasion is the grammatical subject Saddam Hussein, still an elite figure: “No doubt he will be asked to do such things.” (December 12, by Conor Cruise O’Brien) and once Mr Tariq Aziz. Thus during the whole period only twice is the

Chapter 5 Agency

formula “X (an Arab person) was/were asked”.

However, the formula is often along the following lines: “Asked / When asked...., X (elite figure) said....”, as in “Asked if British troops could be committed to battle under direct American control without reference to London, de la Billiere said: ‘No’.” (October 12th, by Jon Swain)¹⁰ This latter formula, displacing the grammatical subject from its unmarked position, stresses the importance of the figure asked, even more than simply “X was asked”, and in the texts is reserved almost exclusively for elite figures on the allied side,¹¹ presumably partly because they are asked more than one question and this is a useful stylistic device to avoid repetition. But it does seem to make for a certain intimacy between reporter and reportee as well. Apart from those already mentioned, there are the Israeli chief of police, Mr Hurd (twice), Mr Bush (thirteen times), Mr Gorbachov, a Pentagon spokesman, various different percentages of the American and British people (four times), the Israeli Prime Minister and Ministers (four times), the deputy commander of US forces and other top army people (twelve times), Mr Major (three times), Mr King, the UN Secretary General (six times), Israeli generals (twice), the British ambassador in Baghdad, the French Defence Minister (twice), a British MP (twice), a Soviet general, the Iranian ambassador to the UN, Mr Quayle, Marlin Fitzwater (three times) and the Crown Prince of Kuwait. The only non-Western persons this formula is used for are Iraq’s minister for information (five times, three on December 28th, by John Holland), “Arab diplomats”, Mr Tarik Aziz, an Iraqi ambassador, King Hussain, and a “presumed terrorist chief, Mr Hassan”.

I find a marked difference between the early and later period of military confrontations. At the start of the conflict, in August, the reporting is far more neutral, and active and passive voice are mingled when describing the actions of each side, in a more balanced way than in January, for example, when there is widespread use of the active voice for Iraqi actions and agentless passive for the allies.

5.5. Raising Constructions

This is a peculiarly English construction, with few other languages having a similar one corresponding to it. The noun phrase is commonly termed a “raised object”. Semantically, it has the role of subject of the non-finite verb, but syntactically it is raised from the non-finite clause to function as object of the superordinate verb.¹² With these verbs the active voice may use the subject form for the object of the verb “consider”, as in “I consider he is a genius”, apart from the more normal active form with the object form, as in “I consider him to be a genius”. With these verbs, there needs to be some additional element, otherwise the utterance has no meaning, as in “*He is thought.” or “*He is considered.” The passive form uses the subject position option, as in “He is considered to be a genius”, or its more impersonal anticipation, “It is considered that he is a genius”, the extraposed construction, which has also been included. The latter is the only form possible when the syntactic subject is a lengthy one, as in “It was also announced that the 7th Armoured Brigade, due in Saudi Arabia by the end of this month, will be located with the American marines” (October 2nd, by Michael Evans). The active alternative “That the 7th Armoured Brigade, due in Saudi Arabia by the end of this month, will be located with the American marines was announced” is awkward and is avoided. The grammatical subject of raising structures can be the agent or the patient, as in “Iraq is thought to have destroyed the weapons” or “Iraq is thought to have been destroyed.” There are other raising structures, such as the raising adjectives “likely” and “certain” (Graziano-King, 1994: 203) as in “John is likely / certain to be late”, while “there” constructions are sometimes also considered to be raising devices.

There are some verbs with the patterns “Object + bare infinitive”, “Object + ‘-ing’” and “Object + ‘-en’”. The ones that concern this study are those in the most numerous group, that is, the ones with the “Object + to + infinitive” or “It is ‘-en’ that” pattern, although those where there is ellipsis of some element have also been considered, as in “Kuwait City was reported quiet yesterday” (August 7th, by Juan Carlos Gumucio), where the infinitive “to be”

Chapter 5 Agency

is omitted, and “Saddam's wife reported to have fled” (January 19th, Headline, Anonymous article), where the verb “is / was” is omitted, as in many headlines. Semantically they can be divided into the following groups, based on Quirk (1985: 1203) and on my own observation. I have listed only those that will be considered in this study:

(i) Speech acts: announce, report, tip, repute, rumour, say. “Repute” and “rumour” only ever appear in passive voice. (ii) Mental acts: assume, believe, consider, expect, feel, find, hold, hope, know, observe, perceive, presume, reckon, see, suppose, take, think, understand. (iii) Intention: intend. (iv) Authorization: authorize, entitle, oblige, require.

All the above verbs are peculiarly sensitive to the agentless passive option. If a reporter says, for example, that “X is thought/ said / believed to...”, then the implication may be that it is thought, said or believed, by everyone, by “us” or by a majority of us. It is no coincidence that statistically this construction is found more often in news sections of newspapers than in any other register.¹³ The raised noun phrase is typically either the subject of the headline or of the few sentences preceding the construction. What concerns this study most is the vagueness of attribution of the “assumed”, “reported” and “understood”, which often beg the question “reported by whom?”, “assumed by whom?”, “understood by whom?” Sometimes these statements are made on the basis of very little concrete evidence, as in the following extract: “In diplomatic circles, the speech was seen as proof of President Saddam's isolation.... The appeal from Baghdad was believed to have been encouraged by demonstrations....” (August 11th, by Christopher Walker) The switch from being seen by “diplomatic circles” to being believed by everyone in general is made within a few lines, making it appear that the two viewpoints converge. The following extract also includes the same elements.

“General Khazraji was reported to have been executed with seven other senior officers. It emerged yesterday that an unnamed senior Iraqi air force commander has also been executed.... Although there has been no official confirmation, it is understood that the execution was ordered after a report appeared....” (December

Chapter 5 Agency

13th, by Michael Evans)

Despite the censorship in Iraq, the report makes rumours appear to be facts. The general “was reported” to have been executed, with the reports having no named source, but in the next sentence “it emerged” that another senior commander has “also” been executed.

5.5.1. Speech Acts

The Times rarely violates the norms of good reporting and rarely bases itself on hearsay evidence and unfounded rumour. Only those instances where the source of the rumours or reports is unnamed are included.

a. Announce: Some examples of agentless uses of this verb are the following: “New ship deployments to the Gulf were also announced yesterday” (August 4th, by Martin Fletcher), “It was also announced that the 7th Armoured Brigade, due in Saudi Arabia by the end of this month, will be located with the American marines” (October 2nd, by Michael Evans), and “Mr Major said that plans for an “appropriate welcome home” for the troops would be announced soon.” (March 8th, by Philip Webster)

Having traced instances of this verb throughout the period, it must be said that it is never used vaguely, but that the announcer is nearly always specifically mentioned, if not immediately, then in the context, which shows us in all the cited cases who is doing the announcing, here the United States government and British Ministry of Defence. “It was announced that more Iraqi aircraft had flown to Iran” (February 8th, by Michael Evans) is the only example I have found where the actual source of any announcement is not made clear.

b. Report: “Report” is often used as a nominal, impersonally, it being common to read “there are reports that / of...”, without a source being mentioned. It is common also to read “unconfirmed reports”, but this way out is not chosen by many journalists, as it takes away

Chapter 5 Agency

dramatism from their accounts. There are many cases where the ultimate source is given, for example, “The Pentagon is reported to have ceased hostilities....” (January 19th, by Michael Evans) but the immediate source is not given.

The emotive force of “reported”, as opposed to “rumoured” or “purported” is that a “report”, almost by definition, is semi-official and reliable. So, in “Its (Iraq’s) uncompromising stance was made clear by the reported troop build-up....” (August 1st, by Michael Theodoulou), and “British and American forces at the Saudi port of Jubail were put on “yellow” air raid alert after reported Iraqi troop movements.” (November 5th, by James Bone), though here “reported” acts more as an adjective, and implies that the reports are true, otherwise they would not make anything clear, the source of the act of reporting is not mentioned. “Between 100 and 200 people were reported to have been killed or injured in battles across the country” (August 3rd, by Michael Theodoulou) is a double passive, implying the truth of the report. “Saddam.... was reported to have moved forces into a neutral zone south of Kuwait” (August 5th, by James Adams) This report was false, as was later made clear, but was never rectified. The very fact that these reports appear in the media gives them prominence and credibility. “Libya is reported to be airfreighting such supplies, including equipment for chemical warfare, to Baghdad.” (August 27th, Leading article), but evidence is lacking for such reports, which often makes their inclusion little more than propaganda.

c. Repute / Rumour: The verb “repute” is very rare, only appearing in its “raising” function in “General Shaaban.... is reputed to serve the Iraqi leader with slavish loyalty” (September 1st, by Michael Evans) A quality newspaper is unlikely to admit to basing its reports on hearsay evidence, so the number of times this word appears with this function is very small. It sometimes refers to events in Arab countries, especially in Iraq, but very seldom, as in “Army officers (in Egypt) are rumoured to have been called up and detailed plans are said to have been prepared for sending forces to Saudi Arabia.” (August 11th, by Christopher Walker), but no other instances have been found.

Chapter 5 Agency

d. Say: There are hundreds of reports which lack a named sources for what is said to have happened. This practice makes it impossible to retrieve the original speech act on which the report is based, though in the thick of battle and given the limitation of movement, this was inevitable. But all too often, rumours about “them” are rather scurrilous, while those about “us” and “our” leaders are favourable. Thus “both the Queen and Major are said to want to avoid any suggestion of triumphalism” (March 1st, Anonymous “Diary” article) is in principle as baseless as “He is said to have supervised the mass looting of Kuwaiti assets” (March 3rd, by Ian Glover-James, about Udai Husein), “Hundreds are said to have been shot on the streets while demonstrating” (March 10th, by Richard Ellis) or “Udai was said to have committed acts of particular barbarity against Kuwaitis” (March 5th, by Hazhir Teimourian), or again “In Kuwait, the Iraqis were said to have executed and mutilated 200 Kuwaitis aged between 15 and 20” (February 25th, by Michael Evans), and “Some (mines) are said to contain nerve gas and other chemicals.” (February 16th, by Nigel Hawkes) Only a tiny minority of these reports are given a named source, making this a particularly tendentious way of reporting, and it often betrays hidden attitudes concerning the two sides in conflict. The leading figures in the West are attributed generally favourable characteristics anonymously. It is often said that “Mr Bush is said to be certain / determined / concerned / worried”, as in “He is said to be increasingly certain that President Saddam Hussein will not be driven from Kuwait without a land assault” (January 24th, by Peter Stothard), and vague sources such as “It is said by Western intelligence....” are frequently mentioned.

e. Tip: There are only two instances of this verb in its impersonal “raising” use in the texts. “Olara Ottunu, tipped as a possible successor as UN Secretary-General....” (August 6th, by James Bone), and “General Powell has been tipped as a possible running mate for President Bush in 1992.” (December 5th, by Susan Ellicott) Both of these lack named sources, but this verb is usually agentless in most contexts.

Chapter 5 Agency

5.5.2. Mental acts

The reader of the press generally passes over a series of “understood” subjects of the following verbs in his/her daily reading of the press. Underlying them all is the same identity, the mainstream “we”. The examples quoted in each case are merely illustrative of many more that appear of the same verbs in the texts considered.

a. Assume: When something is “assumed” without an expressed agent in *The Times*, it is the West which assumes it. Thus, if it is said that “He (Saddam) is assumed to be roaming between his command bunkers” (January 20th, by Marie Colvin), or “It is widely assumed that Iraqi use of non-conventional weapons.... would be enough to provoke an Israeli attack” (January 27th, Anonymous article), this means that “we” assume it. This expression is rare, and only occurs in the latter part of the conflict, precisely when the battle lines were clearly drawn up and “we” and “they” were clearly defined. So, when we read “It had been assumed that Saddam had confined himself to his bunker from where, it was imagined, he would be directing Iraqi counter-attacks.” (January 20th, Anonymous Insight article), both “it was assumed” and “it was imagined” have “our” forces as the unnamed agent.

b. Believe: The agentless use of this verb usually implies that either “everybody” or “everybody in the West” believes something. In “Thirty-one of Iraq's 100 or so Mirage F1’s are believed to bear anti-ship Exocet missiles.” (January 28th, by Jamie Dettmer) the implication is that “we” believe this, and the authority consulted is certainly the allied side, but this is left unstated. Similarly, “The Iraqis are believed to have developed anthrax and mustard gas” (January 30th, by Nick Nuttall) is a belief that was actively fomented and never proved, but was rumoured and widespread enough to make it believed everywhere in the West. Some articles contain clusters of non-attributed beliefs and reports. Thus in the following article we find:

“An Iraqi patrol boat was reported to be leaving Bubiyan island.... two more boats, believed to be Soviet-built Polnochny D-class vessels, were spotted.... It is believed

Chapter 5 Agency

that one Soviet-built Osa-class vessel was attacked.” (January 31st, by Jamie Dettmer)

In this case, the reporter, part of the press pool, is stationed on a British frigate, so his only source is the allied side, but this is usually left unstated, so that there is a veil of independence maintained in the most unlikely of circumstances. “The Americans are believed to have destroyed two landing craft in addition to the four attack craft believed sunk on Wednesday” (February 1st, by David Cragg) contains two more examples of the way the agent of this verb is hidden. “Underground cells of Islamic extremists were believed to be active in some US cities” (December 24th, by Andrew MacEwen), without mentioning who believes it, is manipulative, as it assumes the truth of those who spread rumours about terrorism.

c. Consider: There are several occasions when the passive use of this verb is neutral, as it is fairly clear from the context, though unstated, who will be considering, as in “Mrs Thatcher warned Iraq yesterday that any threat to Turkey as part of the Iraq crisis would be considered a full threat to a member of the Nato alliance.” (August 7th, by Peter Stothard) and “The rule of the royal family is considered essential to US policies of encouraging Arab toleration of Israel.” (August 8th, by Peter Stothard)

The subject is often omitted, as it is taken for granted that “we” are being referred to. Here, journalists seem to make their identification with the allies clear: “.... accept an Arab solution; or stay where he is and dig in for a war of attrition. The first two are now considered unlikely” (August 12th, Anonymous Insight article) or “Unrelated tensions.... must also be considered.” (September 25th, by Anthony Parsons) In the following examples, weapons are considered “dangerous” or “a threat” by “us”. If the weapons were ours, they would probably be considered “effective”: “The Soviet-built Osa-class boats are considered the most dangerous.... Iraqi mines are also considered a threat to allied naval forces.” (January 25th, by Jamie Dettmer)

Chapter 5 Agency

d. Deem: It was seen above (5.3.) how this verb is used in the active voice when Saddam is the subject. The impersonal passive use of this verb rather begs the question of who “deems”, in “The British government could not risk allowing the United Nations to veto the use of force in the Gulf if that were deemed necessary, Douglas Hurd made clear yesterday.” (September 8th, Anonymous article) and in other instances. Again, the in-group is the hidden logical subject.

e. Expect: This passive form is frequently used to refer to what the Iraqi side is expected to do, as in “As a first step, they (Arab leaders) were expected to try to persuade Iraq....” (August 1st, by Michael Theodoulou), “President Saddam Hussein cannot be expected to behave in a logical manner” (August 3rd, by Andrew McEwen) and “... the (Iraqi) invasion is expected to reinforce national unity.” (August 4th, by Peter Mansfield) This means the Arab leaders were “expected to” by us, though their reactions are unpredictable. These expressions are used mainly for the Arabs and especially Iraq, but allied plans are also unknown and the hypothetical structures are also for them: “The B52Gs, which are expected to be flown from Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean....” (August 9th, by Michael Evans), and “The cabinet committee is expected to meet again at Downing Street today.” (August 9th, by Philip Webster) The following agentless instances of this verb show that the people “expecting” are on the allied side whenever adverbials or “by” phrases make no indication to the contrary. “Turkey, Jordan and Egypt are expected to be the main beneficiaries (of American aid)” (September 11th, by Philip Webster), “Roland Dumas spent the weekend canvassing the degree of support that could be expected from friendly Arab governments” (January 14th, by Richard Beeston), and “Losses to the allies had been less than expected.” (January 20th, Anonymous Insight article)

f. Feel: The impersonal use of this word is very infrequent, the following being the only instance found, where it indeed implies a Western agent: “It was felt that any moves

Chapter 5 Agency

against London-based diplomats might provoke tit-for-tat action.” (August 20th, by Michael Knipe)

g. Find: The utterance “But if it was found that the sanctions weapon was not going to liberate Kuwait....” (September 10th, by Michael King, quoting Mr Waldegrave) though agentless, takes for granted that the subject of this verb is the allies.

h. Hope: On many occasions, especially in leading articles, the newspaper makes its own hopes extendible to the whole of the West. “... force used for this purpose would have behind it the authority, it would be hoped, of the United Nations.” (August 9th, Leading article) and “It is to be hoped that there are still Iraqi army leaders who are able to draw the right conclusion and sweep the tyrant away.” (February 24th, Leading article) Semantically, this is equivalent to “hopefully”, considered in chapter 7.

i. Judge: This is quite rare as a raising verb, but when it is said that “The attack on Israel was judged to have failed and to have revealed the secret missile sites in western Iraq....” (January 26th, by Richard Owen), it is clear that both those who do the act of judging and the people to whom the missile sites were “revealed” belong to the West, though it is unstated. Similarly, in “What is taking place is a punitive expedition against a state that is judged to have breached international law” (January 31st, Letter from Mr David Sinclair), the writer feels it unnecessary to mention the agent of the verb “judge”.

j. Know: Neutrality is abandoned without the writer realizing it on some occasions. Here the “Whitehall source” becomes the suppressed agent “we” within a few words: “The ambassador's claim puzzled a Whitehall source.... Egypt is known to have contacted a number of countries” (August 3rd, by Andrew MacEwen) It is understood that the subject of the verb “know” is Whitehall. The same happens in “Exactly what effect this would have on the Iraqi conscripts is not known.” (January 13th, by James Adams) This information is not “known” by the allied forces, but again the agent is suppressed.

Chapter 5 Agency

k. Presume: This verb in agentless passive structures, generally appears in fixed military expressions, as in "... two British planes lost, presumed shot down by the Iraqis" (January 20th, by Jon Swain), and "Four British aircrew downed, presumed dead." (January 20th, War Diary) On other occasions it has an expressed or clearly implied agent, usually given by the context.

l. Reckon: "The army is the biggest in the region and is reckoned to be a match for Nato powers." (August 5th, Insight article) The unnamed source for this information is undoubtedly Western, and the reckoning is understood to be done by "us".

m. See: In "The call for the Arab peoples to turn against their governments was seen as confirmation that President Saddam's ambitions stretch far..." (August 11th, by Christopher Walker), though the agent is suppressed, it is certainly not the Arab peoples or Iraqis, but "we" in the West who see it as confirmation of Saddam's ambitions. "See" is used here in the sense of mental perception. "If Germany's preoccupations can be seen as a legitimate apologia for its position on the Gulf..." (February 1st, by Janet Daley) means that Germany is to an extent excluded from the in-group, as its commitment is not seen to be as wholehearted as "we", that is the British and Americans, would like it to be.

n. Suppose: The sentence "The aim is supposed to be to impress the Iraqi dictator with the hopelessness of his isolation" (January 1st, Leading article) means that "we" suppose it to be the aim. "Closer EC union was supposed to bring a stronger voice in foreign affairs" (January 6th, by Norman MacRae) implies that this was Europe's intention and that "we" in Europe also supposed it.

o. Take: In "The creation of a puppet government should be taken as evidence that Iraq

Chapter 5 Agency

intends nothing less than” (August 3rd, Leading article) and “The defection of a handful of Iraqi soldiers to Saudi Arabia cannot be taken as a prelude to military revolt” (August 15th, Leading article), and on other occasions, this impersonal use of the verb “take” in the sense of “consider”, has the implied logical subject “we”.

p. Think: In “Though Mr Bush did not identify the missiles, they are thought to include Soviet-made Scud-B missiles” (August 9th, by Martin Fletcher), the context here shows who was thinking, but it is left unstated, contributing to the identification journalist / American administration. “Iraq is thought to have inspired the Iranian embassy siege in 1980” (August 11th, by Stewart Tandler) means that “we” in Britain think they inspired it. “Iraq is also thought to have enough sugar and cooking oil for several months” (August 13th, by Andrew MacEwen) means that they are Western calculations. Quite frequently, the actor understood is “we”, the general public: “Richard Solomon, US Deputy Secretary of State, is thought to have urged China to join the boycott.” (August 6th, by Andrew McEwen), and “Up to four thousand troops were thought to be flying overnight to Saudi Arabia.” (August 8th, by Juan Carlos Gumucio) But the bulk of the references are found to refer to enemy actions, in the sense that “we” think that “they” did something.¹⁴

q. Understand: “Although there has been no official confirmation, it is understood that the execution was ordered after a report appeared....” (December 13th, by Michael Evans) There seems here to be an identification between the journalist reporting and his sources of official confirmation. Similarly, “Many frontline Iraqi troops are understood to be carrying their own masks....” (February 9th, by Christopher Walker) means that we on this side of the lines understand it to be the case.

5.5.3. Intention

Intend: The context of the instances when verbs of this type are used in their agentless passive form generally makes the agent clear. “The British naval force was intended merely

Chapter 5 Agency

to ‘monitor’ shipping.” (August 15th, by Andrew MacEwen) and “The Security Council was intended from the first to organise the policing of trouble-spots” (December 27th, Letter), for example, make it abundantly clear that the founders of the UN and the British government are the agents of the “intending”. This verb in passive voice is closely associated with the United Nations, with many references to its “intended role”, “the function it was intended to fulfil”, and so on.

5.5.4. Authorization

These authoritative terms often beg the question “by whom?”, as it is often not clear who the agent is, but it is understood to be “by us”, as if “we” were able to exercise moral authority.

a. Authorize: This verb, which is usually associated closely with its logical subject, even when it is not stated, as in “Britain joined the United States by announcing that its three warships in the Gulf were authorised to use force” (August 19th, Anonymous article), nevertheless refers at times to some unnamed author or authority, as in “Journalists who are not part of the official reporting teams have gathered here in the hope of filing unauthorised stories.” (February 24th, by Andrew Neil) Frequent phrases such as “Diplomatic sources said they were authorised to take ‘measures of constraint’” (August 21st, by James Bone) do not make it clear whose authority is referred to, though it is normally understood to be the United Nations, which appears as the agent on dozens of occasions, throughout the conflict, as this was the channel of authority chosen by the coalition forces.

b. Entitle: It is usually left unstated on whose authority the “entitlement” is granted. Thus, when the Israeli premier Mr Shamir says “He said all parties to the peace talks would be entitled to present any demand or proposal they wished” (February 16th, by Richard Owen) he is taking on an authority not granted in principle by anyone. Usually the entity entitling

Chapter 5 Agency

some action is the United Nations, but often it appears to be some higher unnamed moral authority. "In the event of war, the authorities should be entitled to place individual Iraqis and others under scrutiny." (January 7th, Leading article)

c. Oblige: It is preferred not to attribute authority to those who oblige, so that "French journalists, who will be obliged to wear uniform...." (January 13th, by Brian MacArthur) are obliged by some unnamed authority. Both "obliged", "requested" and "required" are common expressions when applied to a call-up, and are used with relative frequency, with military authorities as the agent understood: "...they are therefore obliged to turn up if requested." (December 30th, by John Davison and Caroline Lees)

d. Require: This term is frequently used in military jargon, so it comes as no surprise that an expression such as "called up when required" should have no agent, as it is understood to be "required by the government". Often, the agent is unstated, but can sometimes be retrieved from the immediate context, so that in the following example: "Britain's proposal to serve notice on Iraq that it will be required to pay reparations for its aggression against Kuwait had a mixed response at the UN" (November 1st, by Marc Weller), it is fairly clear that the UN will also be the organisation responsible for exacting payment. The agentless form of this verb is frequent, and can be criticised as being too vague to be objective. "Britain is not yet convinced that the military option is required" (August 5th, by James Adams), and "A full land-air battle will be required to force the Iraqis out of Kuwait" (December 11th, by Michael Evans), leave unstated by whom it is thought to be required. In "Other (American) troops will fly in as required" (August 10th, by Martin Fletcher), rather as with "necessary", it is left unstated who or what requires the action, but it is probably the practical demands of the situation on most occasions, in order to reach the goals set by the military. Fundamental issues are not dealt with but only the day-to-day practicalities.

The conclusions vary according to the class of verb used. If it is one of class (i), the

Chapter 5 Agency

implication is often that the source of the rumour can be trusted by both the journalist and his/her readers. The implication of those of class (ii), when used in their “raised” form or its impersonal alternative, is that if something is “understood”, “we” understand it, there being complicity of the journalist with the mainstream “we” of consensus, and also that everyone can reasonably understand it. The agent of many raising verbs is taken for granted, identifying the journalist and the allied forces. In “A mysterious sequence of events that is not fully understood by allied war chiefs, a puzzle that may not be solved until long after the end of hostilities” (February 3rd, Insight article), there is a stated agent to the verb “understood” which can be safely assumed to be the same as the subject of “solved”, but the implication is that when “hostilities” are over then “we”, the victors, including the journalist who is writing, will find the solution to the puzzle. Those of class (iii), “intend” and “mean”, on the other hand, do not always imply “us”, as the logical subject is often that of the United Nations or some unnamed higher moral authority, but its identity is left vague. Those verbs in class (iv) are only applied to allied actions, never to Iraqi ones, and the authority is implicitly justified as both necessary and fair. The semantic distinction between “it is required” and “it is necessary” is a small one.

5.5.5. Raising Adjectives

This structure, whose grammatical subject must be one with definite reference, is related by some to raising structures.¹⁵ “This violin is hard to play”, “the text is hard to understand”, and the alternatives “It is hard to play this violin” or “It is difficult to understand this text” are all examples. This structure sometimes attributes the main verb to an expressed agent, as in “This will make it particularly difficult for the US convincingly to threaten Iraq” (August 9th, by Nigel Hawkes), “Outsiders find it hard to calculate” (August 22nd, by George Hill) and “It is not hard, at this moment, for them (the Palestinians) to see Saddam Hussein as the chosen agent of God's will” (August 14th, by Conor Cruise O'Brien), and on other occasions Mr Bush, the British government and Iraq are all mentioned as agents of the action.

Chapter 5 Agency

However, on many occasions the indefinite “someone”, playing or understanding, and to whom, at the same time, it is easy, hard, awkward, difficult or important, is suppressed. In Chomsky’s famous pair “Mary is easy to please” / “Mary is eager to please”, the first is the one that concerns this section, as it means that Mary is the object of the action. We can also use the alternative sentence “It is easy (for someone) to please Mary” with “it” anticipating the clause. This occurs in the texts under consideration with the verb “believe”, in “It is difficult to believe that Turkey would accept the establishment of an autonomous Kurdish region.” (March 15th, Letter from Mr Jean M Nater) The implication is that “we” find it hard to believe this. Similarly, “A Security Council resolution on this basis.... would be difficult to achieve” (August 14th, by Andrew MacEwen), takes it for granted that “we” want to achieve some specified UN resolution, and that by implication the “we” of consensus all agree on its usefulness. “To organise action under Article 42.... by members of the UN, could be awkward.... even now unanimity might be difficult to obtain” (August 18th, by Rosemary Righter), and “The more the US is seen as the agent of the international community, the easier will be the isolation of Saddam” (September 6th, by Michael Howard), also imply that “we” are the agents of the “organizing”, “obtaining” and “isolating”.¹⁶ “It will be important to explain to world opinion why war against Saddam is necessary” (August 19th, Leading article), implies that it is “we” who will have to explain, and it is important to us. It must be said that this construction is relatively rare, the examples given here being most of those that appear in the texts.

5.6. Nominalization

Nominalization can be studied from morphological or syntactic points of view, and here is seen from the latter, partly because morphology is not always involved. “Possession” and “height” are not morphologically related to “have” or “tall” but can be considered semantically as their only nominal equivalents. It involves several formal changes, as it is the substitution, usually of a verb phrase, by a noun phrase, or may be the reduction of a whole finite clause to a noun phrase. Historically, nominals are those nouns that are

Chapter 5 Agency

derived, sometimes from adjectives, but usually from verbs, and the ex-verb always occupies head position. (Givón, 1993: 287; Lock, 1996: 60; Quirk, 1985: 1288) Other adjustments also take place. Adverbs from the verb phrase, especially those of manner, become adjectives, as when “The city was destroyed deliberately” becomes “The city’s deliberate destruction”, or “the destruction of the city was deliberate”. We see in these last examples how the “s” or “of genitive” are also features of nominalization, and how possessive determiners and articles may be present, substituting the subject of the verb phrase. Nominalization is often carried out by adding a suffix to a verb, especially the suffixes “-al”, “-ing”, “-ism”, “-ment”, “-sion”, “-tion” and “-ure”, when it is from a Romance verb. The ones that mainly concern this study are those with an associated “argument structure”, known as “complex event nominals”, which are semantically close to their respective verb phrases, such as “examination” and “translation” in “John’s examination of the patient took a long time”, or “the translation took a long time”, rather than those termed “result nominals”, as in “John’s examination was long”, or “the translation was published ten years later”. (Grimshaw, 1990: 47-59)

Nominals are more limited than their respective verb phrases in some respects. Firstly, they do not by themselves reflect tense, aspect or modality, and secondly, and more significantly for this study, they may involve the omission of the agent. “Screams for help were heard” gives no indication of who could have made them, while “His screams for help were heard” although not as direct as “He screamed for help” or “He screamed “Help!””, does. Likewise, “The artist could not bear the hostile reception / criticism / behaviour” hides the identity of the critics who carried out these acts, just as “the closure of the factory” hides who did the closing, and “study”, “requirement”, “assembly” or “thought” hide the identity of those who are studying, requiring, assembling or thinking. The process depersonalizes, is impersonal in style, and can be vague and ambiguous, so that if we talk of “your selection”, it is not clear whether “you are selected” or “you selected”, whereas the corresponding verb phrase would do so. With careful analysis the agent can often be retrieved, but this is not

Chapter 5 Agency

encouraged by the press. By this means the process itself gains in interest, but the specific identity of the participant(s) may be almost or entirely irrecoverable. Also, the change from verb to noun means a process becomes a state, and a specific, concrete activity becomes an abstract object. Fowler draws attention to the way a “hive of activity” like a university community, or in this case an army, comes across in many reports as an inanimate object by “the avoidance of transitive verbs, the use of abstractions as subjects and pervasive nominalization” (1979: 8), whereby vitality is drained from the activities of the agents concerned. Nominalization is characteristic of all formal English, not only news discourse, when it has normally no parallel pragmatic significance. For example, it is a feature of more stative formal academic prose, as against more dynamic speech or fiction. (Biber et al, 1998: 60-63)

In *The Times* it is used relatively frequently for both sides in the conflict. It is often simply a formal stylistic device, used widely in all formal texts in “educated” English, along with clause embedding, and a scarcity of intensifying adverbs, with the effect of making a statement more concise, and changes neither the meaning nor the implication of an utterance. It is often merely a convenient device for linking statements about an action, summing up what has been said about it in previous utterances and moving on to make further remarks on the same subject.

The ideological implication, when there is one, is often the suppression of responsibility for some action. This is noted, for example, by Downing (1982: 493), who shows the ideological difference between “The government spent more money”, which has a negative nuance, and “Government spending showed positive growth”, which has the opposite implication. Nominalization is closely connected with the passive voice. “The subject of a nominal shares with the passive by-phrase the interesting characteristic of being optional”.¹⁷ Just as in a passive sentence like “Twelve people are killed in rioting” means the responsibility is hidden and in some way justified by the uncontrolled nature of the

Chapter 5 Agency

circumstances in which the killings took place, so nominalization is equally effective in hiding the agent. So “The allies will take Kuwait” becomes “the taking of Kuwait”. In the latter “we” are not named. “The allies have bombed the Iraqi army for two weeks” becomes “a fortnight of continuous bombing”, “We are advancing quickly” becomes “The advance is progressing with dramatic success”. The same happens with the word “force”, as in the statement “Force may have to be threatened in a blockade.” (August 9th, Leading article)¹⁸ “The government is censoring us” is reduced to “censorship”. Some effort is required on the part of the reader in order to unpack these dense forms.

There are examples of where nominalization is combined with euphemism, as when the newspaper talks of the so-called war of “attrition”, and the “resolution”, or sometimes “military solution” of the conflict, though the latter term is much more frequently tied to “diplomatic” or “peaceful”. These are found in “The war may not have to be resolved through attrition; if it is, there will be thousands of casualties” (January 17th, by Michael Evans), “We cannot stop one inch short of successful resolution” (January 3rd, by Martin Fletcher, quoting Mr Bush), and “There was no criticism at Westminster of the increasing emphasis on the military solution.” (February 25th, by Ronald Butt) The use of nominalization is so frequent that instances of it are often clustered together in the same sentence. In “‘Soft’ attacks, implying containment, can be as effective as destruction to remove a threat” (January 19th, by Michael Evans), which has as its context the allied air attack, there are three nominalizations, all of which remove the agent from the attack, the containment and the destructive act. “An essential preliminary to the Kuwait assault is the destruction of power centres in Baghdad” (January 19th, Letter from Sir Richard Dobson) uses a definite article which effectively shields the allies from responsibility for the assault and the destruction. “The liberation of Kuwait must be accompanied by steps which ensure the destruction of Iraq’s chemical and nuclear facilities, and bombing alone might not do that, the substantial scaling-down of Iraq’s military capability and the securing of Iraqi war reparations for the rebuilding of Kuwait.” (January 20th, Leading article) includes “the

Chapter 5 Agency

liberation”, “the destruction”, “bombing”, “scaling down”, “securing” and “rebuilding” which are all agentless nominals derived from their corresponding verbs.

5.6.1. “Negative” Nominals

The following nominals have been selected, as they illustrate the purpose of much nominalization in news discourse, that is, to avoid giving direct responsibility to the participant, by packing a clausal process into a single lexical item. They have been listed in alphabetical order. I find especially pertinent those nominals that end with “-ing”, “-sion” and “-tion”, which also happen to be the most currently productive. Those with “-ment” suffixes are more associated with mental states, such as “amazement”, and mostly do not concern this study. Both active and passive nominals have been used to illustrate my argument. The latter are those which, by adding a prepositional “of-phrase”, we give the object of the action, and examples among the following nominals are “annihilation”, “banning” and “destruction”.

a. Action: This word, often a euphemism for “attack”, is frequent when the actions are carried out by the allies, especially when combined with “military”,¹⁹ but less so when the action is by the Iraqis, though they do exist.²⁰ In August it is used eighty-three times to refer to the allies, the West, the UN and Israel, and only three to refer to Iraq. In September the figures are fifty-nine references to the allies, only three to Iraqi actions. In January there are fifty-nine references to “military action”, all of them referring to the allies. “Action” is also frequent on its own with the same meaning, as in “Much of the action will take place at night” (January 16th, by Michael Evans). It is frequent to find the expression “military action” without an agent.

b. Annihilation: “He (President Assad) does not favour the annihilation of Iraq's armed forces” (January 16th, by David Bradshaw). The agent of the annihilation is shielded from culpability. Talking of Western public opinion, editorial comment foresees that “They (the

Chapter 5 Agency

people) will become increasingly uneasy at the annihilation of Iraq's conscript 'poor bloody infantry' from the air." (February 11th, Leading article) The agent is clear, but phrases such as "from the air", and the impersonal nominalization of "annihilate" distance it.

c. Attack: Some instances of this word as a nominal have been mentioned above. It is used without mentioning the participant, for actions on both sides. It is used as a nominal rather than a verb on over ninety per cent of occasions even when it is the Iraqi attack on Kuwait that is referred to, which may be because moral closure against the Iraqis had not occurred at government or media level in August 1990. As a nominal, it is far likelier to have the participant pre- or post-modifying it if the agent is Iraq than if it is the allies, as in expressions like "an Iraqi missile attack", "an attack by the Iraqi tank divisions", "an Iraqi attack on Saudi Arabia".

d. Ban: This nominal is usually given an agent by being included in phrases such as "the EC ban", "the US government has imposed a ban", or else makes the participant clear from the context, as in "A proposal by the United States for a total ban on oil imports from Iraq." (August 4th, by Richard Owen and Juan Carlos Gumucio) However, this nominalization often means, as here, a global ban, with the US leading the way.

This, however, is true for both sides, and the context usually makes it clear who the agent is, as in: "... to reverse an earlier ban on the Western media." (September 12th, by Christopher Walker), where the agent is clearly Iraq. The verb "ban" is found both with and without agent, and is generally neutral in this sense, but is sometimes unattributed. When Saddam is mentioned, this verb, with negative connotations, is usually in the active voice, though it very rarely appears with "them" as agent: "He (Saddam) banned all political activity and carried out mass arrests." (August 5th, Insight article)

e. Bombing: "Bombing" is found frequently in news discourse, for example in the following

Chapter 5 Agency

extract from the *Sydney Morning Herald* of March 4th, 1991, after the attack on retreating Iraqi soldiers on the road north of Kuwait. The headline was "The fleeing army that died of shame".²¹ The passive is consistently used, thus removing responsibility from those who cause the massacre. Newspaper stories place the less important items further from the beginning, and here the "US", the prime agent of the bombing, appears on line 69 of the article. Such phrases as "Saddam Hussein's road to ruin.... the dead are strewn across the road.... trapped by allied bombing of the road..." appear. Allied bombing is thus portrayed as directed against the road rather than the troops.

In *The Times*, the active voice is used, though infrequently, for "bombing" in verb phrases: "They are bombing obviously from quite a height" (January 17th, by Robin Stacey, quoting *CNN* reporter Peter Arnett). Spokespersons and journalists themselves try to find other ways to express bombing. "Air support", "visiting a site", and then "revisiting" it,²² "mission" and "armed reconnaissance" and, when it is saturation bombing, "terrain alteration" are sometimes used. Some journalists comment on this: "Grilled by US correspondents.... a spokesman whinged, 'Bombing, bombing, it's not bombing. It's air support.'" (August 29th, by Jonathon Green)

Nominals ending in "-ing" have some unique characteristics. They are typically "complex event nominals", and do not generally admit the indefinite article or the plural form. Unlike other nominals, they cannot take the patient as genitive modifier, as in *"Baghdad's bombing", with Baghdad as the patient, the so-called objective genitive. They are more commonly and more closely linked to the agent than those with other suffixes, in phrases such as "allied bombing.... American bombing". (February 9th, by John Philips) On a scale of finiteness, "-ing" nominals are often high. So, sometimes, the use of this word is distanced by other devices which soften the impact, as in "The allied use of precision bombing is so far dictating the war" (January 17th, by Michael Evans). There are many examples of "bombing", which make it seem that the bombing is happening without an

Chapter 5 Agency

agent at all, among them, those that appear in the chronology at the beginning of this study.²³ I find that responsibility for the bombing and its consequences is consistently removed from the pilots and is either assigned to the planes they flew, or is called “allied bombing” or else just “bombing”. It is even said that the allies “will face a bombing campaign” (February 9th, by Michael Evans), as though they were suffering its effects themselves. The bombing is seen as something divorced from their will. The frequent juxtaposition of “bombing” and “mission” is striking.²⁴ Elsewhere, the implication is that the hardship will be gone through by those who carry out the bombing rather than those who suffer the consequences.²⁵ In the following example: “Allied bombing during the next week will have to take this possibility into account” (February 9th, by Michael Evans), “bombing” is nominalized and anthropomorphic, to the extent that it is portrayed as realizing the human activity of taking something into account.

Clearly stated agents, for example in reports of the attack on the bomb shelter at Amiriya, are signally lacking. “Bombing” is mentioned one hundred and fifty-two times in the second half of February alone, many of the references being to the Amiriya bunker attack, but of these only forty-two are attributed to the allies, with “allied bombing” being mentioned in thirty-three cases, and the other nine “bombing by the allies”, “RAF bombing missions” or “American bombing”. The expression “American bombing of a building in Amiriya” is used, but never “the Americans bombed a shelter in Amiriya”. There are mentions (February 17th, by Marie Colvin) of “bunker hit”, but never “the pilots hit the bunker”, “the Baghdad bunker bombing”, but never “the Americans bombed the Baghdad bunker”, “precision bombing”, but never “they bombed it with precision”. Elsewhere there is mention of “the explosion”, “the use of certain weapons”, “an air strike”, and so on, but not of those who targeted the shelter, either by genitives or “by-phrases”. Blame for the results of the action is thus never laid squarely on the allies.²⁶

f. Confrontation: If the media speak of the “confrontation” as appears in the texts many

Chapter 5 Agency

times, seventy-four in January alone, in various collocations, “the Gulf confrontation”, “this confrontation”, “the hot confrontation”, and so on, this makes lifeless and agentless what was in fact full of real coordinated movement and real decisionmaking by governments, confronting Iraq on behalf of real countries composed of real people. Only once in this month full of allied military activity does the agent appear with this nominal, in “our confrontation with Iraq.” (January 15th, Letter from Reverend Baynes)

g. Containment: This noun hides the agent of the containing, which is itself a euphemism. “Further efforts at containment will be called for later” (January 17th, Leading article), means that “we will have to contain them later”, but, as is the case with other passive nominals, the sentence lacks an agent.

h. Decision: “The decision to attack Iraq” and “the decision to send forces to the Gulf” shield the decisionmakers from responsibility, but also may be neutral as journalists simply take the agent for granted. The “-ing” form would not be acceptable, as it is more closely linked to the agent, so “*the deciding to attack Iraq” would be ungrammatical, while “their deciding to attack” would not. “The decision to send minehunters was taken because of the possible threat of Iraqi mining” (August 10th, by Michael Evans) is impersonal. The decision was taken by the British government, although this is not mentioned in the immediate context, here probably because it is simply taken for granted.” “The decision to compel Iraq to leave Kuwait was near unanimous, in the Arab world and beyond.” (January 16th, Leading article) Again, the precise agent is hidden from the reader.

i. Declaration of War: This hypothetical declaration of war, though eventually debated in the American Congress, was never in fact made. “Mr Bush said that he would not recall Congress to debate a declaration of war” (December 1st, by Peter Stothard) includes no hint as to who would declare it, and this is the case whenever it is mentioned in the texts.

Chapter 5 Agency

j. Defeat: “Defeat” is a non-Romance verb, and can change to its nominalized form without suffixing. “The defeat of Saddam” seldom has a stated agent. “The allies’ defeat of Saddam” is hardly ever mentioned or even retrievable from the context. This may be due to the wish to exercise restraint and avoid triumphant messages in the quality press. “In the air, which by general consensus is the key to a decisive defeat of Saddam Hussein’s forces” (January 16th, by Michael Armitage) is a typical example of this depersonalization.

k. Destruction: The use of nominalization does not necessarily involve the loss of responsibility for an action. The agent may be actually present, as in “The barbarians’ destruction of the city”. Not all passive structures can be similarly transformed into nominals with equal ease. Thus “the city’s destruction” is not paralleled by such sentences as “the play’s enjoyment” or “the penalty’s fear”. Also, even when there is only the determiner “the”, for example in “the destruction of the city“, the context normally shows us the agent. Roberts gives the example of “the destruction of the city”, where “the” may act as a “hidden pronominal” (1986: 253) as in “the implementation of their plans” or “The realization bothered him”, meaning that the implementation is theirs and the realization is his.²⁷ Some uses of the determiner “the” exclude certain agents, as for example in “The destruction of the city made the Romans angry”, which makes it clear that the Romans were not the agents of the destruction.

However, here I consider those cases where the word “destruction” in the texts removes responsibility by concentrating on the result of the action rather than on the action itself. “Non-participants can understand the elimination of airfields, the destruction of command centres, the killing of soldiers.” (January 23rd, Leading article) The writer thereby hides the agents of destruction by nominalization, as in dozens of other cases during the allied air and land attacks, such as “Allied military commanders hope that such destruction might even precipitate a surrender or coup.” (February 5th, Leading article)

Chapter 5 Agency

I. Deterrence: Chomsky pays a considerable amount of attention to the implications of this word, as the title of one of his works indicates. (Chomsky, 1992) Apart from being a euphemism, and presupposing an aggressive intention in the enemy (See 4.6.5.), “deterrence” also nominalizes the verb “deter” and so removes the agent, as in “Tanks and artillery, which are not only essential for any credible deterrence, but which indeed we ourselves would encounter from other forces if deterrence were to fail” (August 7th, Letter from Air Marshall Bramall), and “(Nuclear) deterrence must also play a part in the present allied confrontation with Iraq.” (January 11th, by Michael Evans)

m. Exclusion: There is a tendency in the media to talk of the airspace above the north and south of Iraq as “no-fly zones”, “exclusion zones” or “the exclusion area”, at the time of writing, without specifying who is excluding or even who is excluded, that is, the United States and Iraq respectively. At the time of the Gulf conflict this idea is not very prominent, and only appears in “If war breaks out, there will inevitably be a wide exclusion zone for commercial aircraft” (January 13th, by David Wickers), though there is also talk of Jordan’s “exclusion” from the diplomatic manoeuvres due to its friendship with Iraq, without mentioning that the allies were the ones who excluded that country.

n. Fighting: Expressions such as “If fighting starts....” (December 1st, by Sir Anthony Parsons), and “The date for fighting grows closer” (December 11th, by Peter Stothard), make it appear that fighting begins by itself. In the first example, the verb “start” is ergative, in that it can be both transitive and intransitive, appearing with or without an agent, and in the second, the avoidance of the verb with its corresponding subject means that “we” need not do the actual fighting. It is made to seem a state, as static as “war”. In fact we could substitute “fighting” by “war” in the above quotations without any change semantically, as does in fact occur in the following text: “No one believes that there is American heart for a long war. If the fighting stretches on for months....”(January 5th, by Peter Stothard)

Chapter 5 Agency

o. Force: “Commanders of the three Royal Navy warships in the Gulf.... have been authorised to use force to back sanctions.” (September 11th, by Michael Evans) Both “force” and “sanctions” are agentless impersonal nominalizations, though the context makes it clear who will use them on this occasion. The word “force” is used only infrequently when applied to the allies.

p. Intervention: There are many instances of this euphemistic nominal of the verb “intervene” linked to adjectives that make the agent clear, such as “American / Nato / British / allied / Western / superpower intervention” all found here. These are in fact the majority, but there are also cases where the agent is suppressed, most strikingly those just before or during the conflict, such as “The military situation demands intervention” (December 17th, Letter from Sir Yehudi Menuhin), and numerous occasions where it is called “armed intervention against Iraq” (January 26th, Anonymous article), “military intervention”, “outside military intervention” or simply “intervention”. The term is applied to Saddam Hussein once, in another historical context, but never with reference to military actions carried out by “them” in this conflict.

q. Invasion: When the texts talk about invasions, they are concerned with the Iraqi one of Kuwait, while, as I have already commented elsewhere, allied troop movements into Iraq are called “crossing the frontier”. The use of the word “Iraqi” before the word invasion is very common, and means that transitivity is retained, as in “repelling an Iraqi invasion of Saudi Arabia.” (August 6th, by Martin Fletcher)

r. Occupation: The occupation that took place of parts of Iraq by the allied forces is only mentioned in the following quotations. The agent of this occupation is never mentioned, and it is always hedged about with modality devices, as in “.... detailed plans for the occupation of parts of Iraq” (February 20th, by Christopher Walker), where it is stressed that the occupation will be of “parts of Iraq”, not the whole of it. Twice it is stressed that the

Chapter 5 Agency

occupation, again agentless, is only temporary: “.... with Iraq's territory under temporary occupation” (March 1st, Leading article) and “.... the partial if temporary occupation of Iraq” (March 1st, Letter), while in the only other mention, plans for a long-term occupation are denied, so the assertion is a negative one: “.... government plans did not include.... the occupation of Iraq.” (February 22nd, Anonymous parliamentary report)

s. Operation: This word has connotations of the medical profession and healing people, quite the opposite of its military meaning, as does the expression “surgical strikes”, which became famous during this conflict. The military campaign waged by the West was officially called “Operation Desert Storm“, which by itself is a non-violent expression. The term is variously linked to the allies, the West, the British, and weapons themselves, in this somewhat anthropomorphic reference: “On their first operation in the Gulf war, the Tornados had to refuel in mid-flight.” (January 19th, by Janet Stodard) ”The operation would involve up to 20,000 service personnel”, it is reported on January 3rd by James Bone. This is impersonal and agentless, though the context, on this and other occasions, usually makes the actor clear. It is never used with the Iraqis as the agent, in the meaning of a military operation.

t. Reaction: Allied military action is usually seen as a reaction, not as taking the initiative, as sometimes even the verb “react” is avoided: “.... he is emboldened when there is no reaction to his outrages.” (August 3rd, by Martin Fletcher) It is seen as another action without agency, as when the Home Secretary is reported: “It was against that background that he was worried about the reaction to the threat of world terrorism today.” (January 30th, by Harvey Elliott) “The” reaction means “our” reaction.

u. Restriction: When the agent of restriction, which is a word with negative connotations, is Iraq, it is given and sometimes stressed doubly: “Restrictions preventing foreigners from leaving Iraq and Kuwait were imposed by President Saddam Hussein himself.” (August

Chapter 5 Agency

16th, Anonymous article) When the agent is Western, it is sometimes missing: "Iraqi citizens applying for US visas would face new restrictions." (August 28th, by Martin Fletcher and Susan Ellicott)

v. Sanctions: "Washington.... warned of possible economic sanctions against Baghdad." (August 2nd, by Michael Theodoulou) This noun is generally used without saying who is applying the sanctions. "The continuation of sanctions against Iraq in an attempt to destroy its capacity for making chemical, biological and nuclear weapons." (January 6th, by Marie Colvin and David Hughes) The context of this last sentence makes no reference to any agent of either "continuation", "sanctions" or "attempt".

w. Shooting: My attention was drawn to this word by an article by van Dijk, (1997a: 172) which refers to a mention in *The Times* of "the shooting of a West Indian woman", without saying that it was the police who shot her. The same word is sometimes used similarly in the texts under consideration: "Because even if America is not involved in a shooting war.... if and when the shooting starts" (August 12th, by Norman MacRae), "to find out for them whether reports of the shooting-down of an Iraqi aircraft in the Gulf were true" (August 21st, by Susan Ellicott), and "The Security Council passed a resolution condemning Israel for the Palestinian shootings." (January 16th, by Susan McDonald) It must be said that the word is sometimes used in a critical way: "It would be counter-productive if "turkey shooting" were to become an accepted catchphrase of the war." (February 5th, by Michael Evans). Also, the active voice is sometimes used for the allies: "Corporal Matthew Speese, aged 27, said: '... the guys we are shooting at may include old men and children'" (January 31st, by Nicholas Watt), and it is also used without an agent when it was someone unknown from the Iraqi side who did it. The euphemistic expression "when the shooting starts / begins / finishes" is found on dozens of occasions.

x. Threat: "The threat" or "the military threat", used impersonally, are much more frequent

Chapter 5 Agency

than when attribution is made to the allies as a whole or to individual members of the coalition. “The military threat must therefore be implemented before it ceases to be credible” (January 2nd, by Michael Howard), removes responsibility from the negative action of threatening. The word “warn” is more frequent when referring to an allied action, but seldom refers to Iraqi actions or words.

y. Use: This nominal is seen in many set phrases, especially “the use of force”, “the use of minimum force”, “the use of sophisticated electronic equipment” (August 26th, by James Adams) and “the use of military force”, which are referred to on many occasions, such as “... all steps, including the use of force.... the use of military force if necessary....” (August 21st, Letter). There is also the collocation “the use of nuclear weapons”. Premodifying, with “the allied use of force” or “the British use of force”, on the other hand, are expressions never found in these texts.

One must be careful of making sweeping conclusions from the data selected, especially in this case, as the choice of nominals is very frequent, has a variety of meanings, and often has no ideological intentions. For example, “operation” is ambiguous, sometimes referring to military and sometimes to humanitarian operations. “Application” is used to refer both to “the application of armed force” (November 27th, by James Bone) and to sanctions, but also to the application of special arrangements and of certain principles (March 10th).

5.6.2. “Non-Negative” Nominals

Although they appear to be very much like the non-negative agentless passives spoken about in previous sections, non-negative nominals are different, in that they imply that the subject / agent of the verbs is “us”. The distinguishing nuance, though here with the agent clearly expressed, can be seen in “The allies' political and emotional agonizing over Wednesday's loss of civilian lives in Baghdad will comfort Saddam.” (February 15th, by Michael Evans) Here the agent of “lose”, whose nominalization appears in the “loss of

Chapter 5 Agency

civilian life”, is hidden, as if there had been an accident, but the identity of the agent of the “agonizing” is made clear. This is consistent with the general rule that more “finite” nominalizations such as those ending in “-ing” are also more “referential”, that is, more closely linked to the agent, than the more “non-referring” nominals with other, or no, suffixes.²⁸

It is consistently made to seem as if the consensus built among members of the coalition were a solid bloc, often making it unnecessary to state the agent behind nominals. If a journalist writes that there is “a/the fear”, “the ability” “the belief”, “a need”, “the knowledge”, “the reliance”, “the worry”, “the concern”, “the suspicion”, “the temptation”, “the treatment”, or alternatively “the fear (etc) exists”, (s)he is inferring that the subject is “we”, that the feeling is “ours”. There may also be connotations that there is some justification for such feelings. The writer may be inferring that (s)he shares in these feelings to some extent.

a. Attempt: “Attempt” is an example, like “defeat”, of how the verb and its corresponding nominal can be the same word. Nominals are sometimes preceded by adjectives which draw the attention away from the agent of the hidden action and make it understood. Thus we can find “the valient attempt / repeated attempts / constant attempts to negotiate with Saddam”. So in “There would be “no negotiations, no compromises, no attempts at face-saving and no rewards for aggression” (January 4th, by Martin Fletcher and Michael Evans), the agent is always understood as “we”.

b. Belief: To write “The army /The West believe that Iraq will withdraw” is neutral, but to write “The belief that Iraq will withdraw....”, or an impersonal passive construction like “It is believed that Iraq is about to withdraw”, or “Iraq is believed to be about to withdraw”, is not. In this case I disagree with Chomsky (1988: 103), who contends that “in the sentences ‘John is widely held to be a liar’ and ‘The belief that John is a liar is widespread’it would be a mistake to suppose that in such agentless passives.... there is a suppressed phrase

Chapter 5 Agency

'by....' or something of the sort...." I hold that such is indeed the case. John Cassidy (January 13th) writes that "Confidence that Saddam would pull his troops out of Kuwait at the last minute has been replaced by a growing belief that the Iraqi dictator has decided to try to withstand an allied air strike". Though the journalist is writing with the context of Washington, unattached "belief" and "confidence" hide the agent of the corresponding verbs.

c. Concern: The context usually makes clear who it is that feels this emotion, as has been shown in 4.6.3. "There is growing concern", "There is a tremendous amount of concern" or "Concern has been fuelled", are impersonal expressions often used to express the idea that "we" are concerned, and imply as well a threat of the negative consequences if our concern is not lessened. The term is frequent in its impersonal use, as in: "Concern grows as fate of servicemen still in the balance" (Headline), or "There was concern yesterday that the Iraqis might have ulterior motives for seizing the men.... There remains concern that they could ultimately be used as bargaining ploys." (August 6th, by Michael Evans) The impersonality of the term makes it more justified in the eyes of the reader, as if any reasonable person would also be concerned.²⁹

d. Conclusion: It is often stated that "this conclusion" or "the conclusion" is inevitable or "has been reached", without specifying who has reached it. Thus the phrase "At times the conclusion may appear irresistible" (August 17th, by Michael Howard), although the writer is critical of bellicose Western decisionmaking in this article, makes it clear that "we" are the actors in the action of "concluding".

e. Confidence: "Saddam Hussein's appeal to Iraqis to eat less has raised international confidence that economic sanctions will weaken his domestic support." (August 13th, by Andrew MacEwen) Here "international" means "our confidence", in this case the international community.

Chapter 5 Agency

f. Discovery: “Discovery of the triggers indicated that that estimate might be wrong.” (August 11th, by Hazhir Teimourian) This quotation, in a context where the triggers of weapons of mass destruction are involved, leaves the implied verb “discover” agentless, and also infers that in “our” hands the triggers are in some sense safe, whereas in those of the dictator they will not be. “The discovery last September that a branch of the Italian Banca del Lavoro in Atlanta, Georgia, had advanced Baghdad an unauthorised \$3billion line of credit” (August 19th, by David Rose) The use here both of “discovery” without an agent and “unauthorized” as agentless passive make the assumption that there exists a unique authority and discoverer, whose identity is clearly that of the West, as does “The mission was prompted by the discovery that the Iraqis had modified SAM missiles.” (January 13th, by James Adams)

g. Fear: This word has already been considered due to its close association with “anxiety” (4.6.3.) When the text says that “In Washington.... there was growing fear over the safety of the 30,000 US citizens” (August 4th, by Martin Fletcher), the implication is that the concern and fear that are felt are justified. “Fear” is a key word at the beginning of the conflict, appearing 164 times in the texts in August alone, and throughout the period it refers almost exclusively to allied fears, even in the midst of the allied attack. “The greatest fear is that the ground attack could become bogged down” (February 23th, by Michael Evans) “The fear is” and “there are widespread fears” hold the implication that the fear is rational and justified, and that it is shared by the person who writes as well as those (s)he is writing about. The vagueness of the identity of the people who are supposed to feel this fear, with the mention of “diplomatic circles”, highly respectable but equally anonymous, is striking.³⁰

Impersonal expressions such as “....prompted fears of....” (August 11th), “It is feared....”, “Fear of Khomeinism....” (August 7th), “Fears grow....” (August 9th), “The main fear is that....” (August 6th), “Fears increased....” (August 13th), “An Islamic backlash is widely

Chapter 5 Agency

feared....” (January 11th), “the world’s most feared terrorist leaders” (January 13th), do not mention who it is that feels this emotion, that is, generally elite persons.

h. Knowledge: “The knowledge” usually means “our knowledge”, the fact that “we” know something, without mentioning this fact in the text, and thus making it appear that everybody on “our” side shares this knowledge, as in “The original estimate was based on the knowledge that Iraq was short of uranium.” (August 11th, by Hazhir Teimourian)

i. Need: As a noun, this is often used so that the person or persons who felt the need are hidden, as in the following example: “Commanders are clearly justified in attacking the main supply routes from Iraq to Kuwait by the need to shorten the land war.” (February 9th, Leading article) Within the context of the commanders’ war aims, such a need is justified, but the substitution of the possessive “our need” by “the need” is significant. When Michael Evans (February 9th) reports that “Independent military experts.... spoke of the need to attack the main air bases in southern Iraq”, the people feeling such a “need” are likewise unmentioned.

j. Permission: The agent is sometimes clear, as when the newspaper says “The Saudis have given permission”, “Spain gave permission yesterday”, and elsewhere the context makes it clear whose permission or refusal to give permission is referred to, as in “congressional permission” or “permission would be required from the energy department”, “permission to use Turkish airbases”, and so on. But when the permission is refused officially, the agent is hidden, as in “travel into restricted areas without written permission” (January 26th, by Christopher Walker, quoting a Saudi communiqué). In the texts selected, there are no other examples, but it is often said in the media that Iraq has been denied permission to overfly its air space, without specifying the agent of this refusal of permission.

k. Pursuit: This word is rarely used, but is semantically similar to “hunt” in the Gulf conflict.

Chapter 5 Agency

The implication in the following “The pursuit of the Scud ballistic missile launchers has been more successful” (January 22nd, by Martin Fletcher), is that the allies are pursuing the missile launchers.

I. Success: The word “successful” is examined later in this chapter. “Success” generally means that “we” succeed. The agent is often made clear by the context, as when Susan Ellicott (January 19th) says “During the first stage of the allied forces' Operation Desert Storm to liberate Kuwait, success depends largely on the effectiveness of the air missions”, and occasionally the subject is the enemy, as in “Saddam's success in reaching Israel with his explosives”. (January 20th, by Tony Allen) We see here how both the specific action and the agent are made clear, as is the case with all the Iraqi actions. In other cases, when the agent is the allies, often neither are. So while it is true that “the success of the allied air attacks / mission / raids / Tornado attacks ” is mentioned on occasions, the appearance of other unattributed nominals is slanted favourably towards one side. Thus “So far the Gulf war is proving to be a great success” (January 20th, by Norman Stone) mentions neither the agent nor the specific action involved, but talks vaguely about the Gulf operations being “a great success”, with the implication that it is our side that is succeeding, just as when Robin Oakley on the same day talks about “his (Norman Schwarzkopf's) caution about the early successes”, assuming the identification of the journalist and his audience with the allied commander cited.³¹

m. Suspicion: “The identity of the new Kuwaiti government had still not been disclosed last night, which strengthened suspicions that it was an Iraqi invention.” (August 3rd, by Michael Theodoulou) Whose suspicions are being referred to is not stated, but they are clearly those of Western governments. Such anonymity would not have been possible had the writer said that “The West is more and more suspicious” or “The West suspects more and more strongly”. “There were suspicions that Iraq might use the men, members of a 66-strong British military training team in the country, as hostages” (August 5th, by James

Chapter 5 Agency

Adams) has a similar inference. There are many other instances, especially in the earlier part of the conflict.

n. Temptation: When “the temptation” is mentioned, the inference is that it is felt by us and our representatives. “The temptation.... is to forbear from hostilities now in the hope that the more dreadful tomorrow will never come.” (December 27th, Leading article)

o. Worry: Michael Jones (February 9th) reports that “Even more worrying, his responses to allied attack have been clever and calculated”. The identity of who exactly finds his responses “worrying” is shielded from the reader, or rather, is understood. Similarly, “There were worries about what would come out of that meeting” (Marie Colvin, January 6th), referring to a peace move made by the European Community which led to a meeting with the Iraqis. The pro-war party are the only people to feel these worries, but they are the invisible element behind the nominalization.

5.6.3. Nominalization and “Them”

Iraq is not given the opportunity to hide behind the anonymity afforded by agentless nominalization. Apart from the repeated use of phrases such as “Iraqi aggression”, which is echoed hundreds of times in these texts, and the constant association of this nationality with negative terms like “dictator”, there are numerous examples of nominalization where the action is clearly attributed to the Iraqi side, from which I have selected the following.

a. Attack: Although the presence of an agent is only one of the ways of giving responsibility, it is striking how many times this nominal is given the adjective “Iraqi, ”the Iraqi attack“ (August 3rd) where the adjective “allied” is often missing. “Nick Jarret.... said that the biggest difference was that the main threat now was from Iraqi air attacks.” (August 16th, Anonymous article)

Chapter 5 Agency

b. Destruction: While nominalization makes allied agents anonymous, the same is not true when the agent is Iraq, as in “These refineries will also be targets of Iraqi destruction.” (January 23rd, by Martin Barrow) as well as in the oft-repeated phrase, “Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction”. “Iraq’s development of weapons of mass destruction” (January 7th, by Martin Fletcher) and other expressions linking the words “destruction” and “Iraqi” or “Iraq’s” are frequent, whereas those associating the allies with destruction are very rare, even though most of the destruction was carried out by “us”.

Significantly, the above phrases include double genitives, thus linking “Iraqi” agents doubly, with the action of destroying and with the patient, functioning as a post-nominal genitive modifier, as happens with “destruction” in “the devastation caused by Iraq’s destruction of the oil wells”. (March 9th, by Michael Evans)

c. Invasion: The following are a few examples. “The initial response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was a welcome sign....” (August 16th, Letter), “The Islamic world would forget the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait” (August 17th, by Michael Howard), and “Iraq invasion of Kuwait” (August 17th, Headline, Diary article). The Western media prefer to use other terms, such as “incursion”, “entering”, “entry” or “crossing the border” to refer to allied army movements into Iraqi territory. We see again the use of the double genitive which closely links “Iraqi” as the agent of a specific invasion “of Kuwait”, a device which seldom appears in the reporting of allied actions.

d. Invention: “The identity of the new Kuwaiti government had still not been disclosed last night, which strengthened suspicions that it was an Iraqi invention.” (August 3rd, by Michael Theodoulou) In this extract, the “suspicion” is “ours” and agentless, while the invention has a named agent, that is, “them”.

Chapter 5 Agency

e. Occupation: One instance is “If the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait were allowed to endure... to force Iraq to end its occupation.” (August 3rd, by Peter Stothard) The word “occupation” is often used to define Israel’s presence in southern Lebanon. It does not refer directly to violence, and it is used for both sides. However, the possessive adjective and double genitive used here for the Iraqi occupation are used only rarely for the allies.³² It is so closely associated with Iraq that it is often given the “unique” use of the definite article, being called many times simply “the occupation”.

f. Threat: “The new Iraqi threat came only hours after....” (August 18th, Anonymous article) The term “warning” is preferred when the West utters similar words before military action.

g. Use: Among the instances found are “Iraqi use of chemical weapons” (August 17th, by Martin Fletcher) and “Iraqi use of Soviet weapons to attack Kuwait” (August 18th, Anonymous article). Whereas it is frequent to find “the use of weapons” when referring to the allies, references to the Iraqi side link the nationality with the negative expression proportionally much more frequently.

h. Violation: Iraq is not shielded by anonymity: “The Iraqi violation of the territory of a full UN member” (August 3rd, by Peter Stothard, quoting Mrs Thatcher) and is exclusively the agent of such actions during this period, it being suppressed when referring to the coalition partners.

There is an almost complete absence of impersonal terms such as those included above where “attempt”, “discovery”, and so on were discussed, with Iraq as the suppressed agent, unless it is made very plain by the context that it is Iraq which is referred to. As is seen above, the juxtaposition of “Iraq”, and “Iraqi” with terms expressing violence is very frequent.

5.6.4. Nominalization in Headlines

Chapter 5 Agency

Headlines and lead paragraphs, which ease the reader's task of finding out what the article that follows will be about, and in fact help him/her to remember it afterwards, also do a lot of the categorization and ideological work for readers. Roeh (1982: 149) shows how headlines lacking verbs create tension, meaning that one should read on if one wants to know more, as in "More petrol price rises", or in our texts "British pledge in Gulf" (August 16th, by Andrew McEwen).³³ One of the functions of headlines in the press is to establish a macrostructural representation which will guide and sometimes bias understanding of the rest of the news report. Headlines and lead paragraphs have to achieve a lot in a very limited space, and have their own grammar for doing so, which differs from that of other registers. Unattached nominals are common, announcing simply "A Christmas wish" or "No decision yet" without mentioning the hypothetical agent of the hidden verb.³⁴

In our texts, there are many verbless headlines that are ideologically neutral, where omission of the verb, usually the verb "to be", has no significance other than the need to express an idea in as few words as possible, but there are two ways in which nominals work in headlines that interest this study. Firstly, the way in which the nominals "alarm" and "call-up" are agentless in the following headlines: "Alarm over Iraq agenda for talks" (December 2nd, by Ian Glover-James and John Cassidy), "Gulf call-up for the TA" (December 16th, by James Adams), "Middle East build-up" (August 20th, Letter) or "Moving up" (August 21st, Anonymous article). The complete version would be "We are alarmed...", "We are calling up the Territorial Army", "We are building up our forces" and "We are moving up our troops". In all of these headlines, the people who feel alarm, who call up, and so on are clearly members of "us", as the context shows. Positive nominals have as understood agent those whom the media call "we", while those with negative connotations have "them" as the understood subject, such as "Rape of the Gulf" (August 5th, Anonymous article) It is generally perfectly clear which side is being referred to by the nominal used, but verbless headlines like the above can be used to hide the referent.

Chapter 5 Agency

Secondly, in some verbless headlines with nominals it appears that an imperative is implied, so that “Sanctions by sea to beat Baghdad” (August 8th, by David Owen) seems like a suggestion that sanctions by sea should be applied by “us”, an appearance that is borne out by reading the article in question, just as in “Stopping Saddam” (August 12th, Leading article),³⁵ the suggestion is that “we” should stop Saddam (See 6.3.7d.).

5.7. Ergative and Intransitive Verbs

Ergative verbs derived historically from the transitive, for which argument there is both morphological and syntactic evidence.³⁶ In fact, it might be better to talk of “ergative pairs”, when the same verb is used transitively or intransitively, or “ergative uses” of verbs, rather than simply “ergative verbs”. This is when verbs such as “break”, “sink”, “fly” or “bounce” are used in a transitive or intransitive sense, a construction that is rarer in other languages, such as Spanish, where the reflexive is used for the intransitive, as in “romper” (transitive) / “romperse” (intransitive). Ergative verbs are classified as a passive structure by Roberts (1994: 2961), but with two differences. The first is that the verb form remains unchanged, and the second, of great significance here, is that, unlike in the core passive voice, the use of the intransitive ergative necessarily involves the elimination of the agent, or rather, the agent is the logical subject of the sentence. Ergative verbs are related to nominalization and agentless passives, in that they express the existence of a state of affairs without naming the agent responsible for it. Thus, if we say “The crisis has deepened”, “the size of the ozone hole has increased” or “the rate of ozone loss has accelerated” we give an idea that the crisis, the hole and the ozone loss have no author but have simply happened by themselves.³⁷ Ergative verbs are very productive in modern-day English, as is witnessed to by the enormous number of neologisms that are ergative verbs, such as many of those ending in “-ize”, like “militarize”, “normalize” and “Americanize”.³⁸

I have included ergative verbs together with intransitive verbs in this section. Both have a similar significance for this study, that of removing or blurring the question of agency from

Chapter 5 Agency

verbs, usually when some negative action is being referred to.

a. Accelerate: This verb, in “It is believed in Washington that concern for the Soviet position may be an important factor in accelerating Operation Desert Storm.” (February 7th, by Pater Stothard) is transitive, but significantly the allies are not accelerating the operation. Responsibility is given instead to the concern generated by the Soviet Union.

b. Arise: Military action simply “arises” or “might arise”: Sir Crispin Tickell, Britain's permanent representative at the United Nations, said “... to avoid the circumstances in which military action might otherwise arise.” (August 14th, by Andrew MacEwen) This means that “military action”, itself a euphemism, might just happen without anyone carrying it out.

c. Break out: “War broke out...” seemingly by itself. (January 23rd, by Philip Jacobson) The expression is common in news discourse. It is not used when the Iraqis invaded Kuwait but when the allies are involved in military action against Iraqi-occupied Kuwait by air and land. The pragmatic significance has already been noted many times.

d. Deepen: The verb “deepen” works in this way in the following example: “... may incur further increases in premiums if the crisis deepens” (January 13th, by David Wickers) On another occasion, Christopher Walker (August 11th) reports that “the meeting had failed in its declared goal of finding a diplomatic solution to end the deepening Gulf crisis”, which implies that the crisis is out of our or anyone else’s hands.

e. Deteriorate: When “Mr Baker said that hopes of a peaceful solution were deteriorating” (January 15th, by Martin Fletcher) the situation is made to appear to be deteriorating by itself, without all the negotiations towards a peaceful solution having animate protagonists.

Chapter 5 Agency

f. Erupt: The word “war” receives a privileged front position in “War erupted in the Gulf just before midnight when the American-led allied forces launched devastating air strikes on Baghdad.” (January 17th, Anonymous article) The first part of this sentence makes it seem that war just erupted like a volcano, while this word was never used at the time of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

g. Head: This verb again implies that the region is rolling downhill by itself: “... serious indications that the confrontation in the Gulf may inexorably be heading towards all-out war.” (August 13th, by Juan Carlos Gumucio)

h. Increase: Examples such as the following: “With the deadline only days away, no signs of compromise, and international tension increasing....” (January 7th, by Martin Fletcher) make the tension apparently increase of its own accord.

i. Move: Journalists ascribes an inactive role to the West. On the eve of the allied air attacks “The Gulf is moving towards war” (January 13th, by James Adams) in the sense that nobody is provoking it. “War in the Gulf is moving inexorably closer in the eyes of both the British and the American governments.” (December 22nd, by Robin Oakley) This report removes responsibility from the governments involved, which do none of the “moving” themselves.

j. Slide: Journalists sometimes talk of the region “sliding towards war” or “sliding into war”, for example: “....some fear that the region will slide into war” (January 6th, Leading article). This implies that nobody makes it happen, but that it simply happens of its own accord.

k. Swing: The headline “Pendulum swings back towards war” (December 16th, by John Cassidy) takes away any responsibility there might be for this swing on the part of either

Chapter 5 Agency

side, and gives the process a kind of inevitability.

It is seen that these verbs are used exclusively when allied plans and military action are described. They remove responsibility from allied actions, being necessarily agentless. There are other ergative and intransitive verbs that also appear infrequently, but with the same effect, such as “approach”, “...as the hurricane approaches” (January 5th, Leading article) “emerge” and “materialize”. There are also present some compound forms like “If it comes to”, as in “If it comes to conflict, then he will bear the consequences.” (November 13th, Anonymous article, quoting British Defence Minister) and “If it comes to war, I suspect Bush will press it firmly” (January 6th, by Richard Brookhiser).

Another interesting case is that of the pseudo-passive verb “involve”, a frequently-used one in news bulletins. This can be considered as an instance of varying transitivity, according to the operator placed before it. If the verb is “get / become involved in”, there is more transitivity than “be involved in”, which removes the will to act as well as having a more passive-looking surface structure. Thus, one can “be involved in” an accident, while one usually “gets involved in” a war. There are often clusters of impersonalizing devices that include this verb. In “The deployment of such a force has involved America in strains” (January 2nd, by Michael Howard), America has neither the specific role of actor in the “deployment”, through agentless nominalization, though it is easily retrievable, nor through its object role after the verb phrase “has involved”. It appears to be the object of an impersonal force. Similarly, in “The operation would involve up to 20,000 service personnel” (January 3rd, by James Bone) the nominalization “operation”, without a stated “operator” and personnel in the passive role of being “involved” both remove creative activity from the allied forces. This pattern is repeated on numerous occasions. The verb can also be used in a reflexive way: “The British government has involved itself militarily up to the hilt.” (January 7th, by Ronald Butt)

Chapter 5 Agency

More “passive” examples are those with “get” or “become”, and are very frequent as a euphemism for possible Israeli military action, sometimes nominalized as “involvement”: “Israel yesterday played down the likelihood of its getting involved in a Gulf war” (January 8th, by Richard Owen), or “.... if Israel became involved in a war” (January 10th, by George Brock), where the role assigned to Israel by the journalist is a non-belligerent one, despite the nature of the action referred to. Examples with “be involved” are perhaps the most “passive”, but are often followed by phrases which make it possible to retrieve the kind of action the allied forces are actually involved in: “The 1st (British) Armoured Division is expected to be involved” (January 14th, by Michael Evans) would seem partial were it not for the fact that it is followed by “with the US marines in attacking weak points in the Iraqi defensive line”, as do “There were no reports of B52s being involved in the waves of aircraft.... Four nations were involved in the air attack....This will involve a multi-pronged armoured assault.” (January 17th, by Michael Evans) In most cases, the context allows us to see clearly the activity the forces were involved in, though the structure itself is a way of hedging.

5.8. Weapons as “Instrumental Agents”

The depersonalization of the enemy which took place is paralleled by the personalization of weapons, which is at times almost anthropomorphism. Nuclear weapons have from the beginning been domesticated by names, the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki being named "Little Boy" and "Fat Man". “Nukespeak” of this sort covers up the crude realities of war, and cloaks the real destructive capability involved.³⁹ The names of some of the deadliest weapons are given comforting homely names, such as "Cruise" missiles, suggesting leisurely travel, the MX missile, called the "peacekeeper", "Star Wars", the project designed by the Reagan administration, which was also a science fiction film enjoyed by children. (Chilton, 1985; Fowler and Marshall, 1985) The names "lance", "rapier", "harpoon", "trident", "tomahawk", are weapons of traditional individual use, not of mass-destruction. American weapons often have no connotation of lethal violence, with the names of heroes, such as Pershing, of gods, such as Titan or Poseidon, animals such as

Chapter 5 Agency

Hornet, Sparrow and Tomcat, all being used. An air of technical expertise is increased by using acronyms like SALT and CSBM's. In the Gulf conflict, as reported in *The Times*, the US Secretary of State writes his name on a missile bound for Iraq, probably a "smart bomb", a name which is another example of anthropomorphism.⁴⁰ Missiles were personalized by calling them the "new generation" of weapons, which meant that responsibility was removed from those who sent them, sometimes making it appear that the weapons found their own way there.⁴¹

An inanimate object, an "instrument", that is, "that which is used by an agent.... anything that serves or contributes to the accomplishment of a purpose or end" (*OED*) can be made into an agent, or at least "patient-subject" by avoiding mention of the human agent. There is said to be a hierarchy of preference for subject position, following Fillmore, whereby the human agent is nearly always chosen as subject before all other grammatically possible choices. Although this may be observed to be globally true, and evidence exists that in some languages it is just not possible to use the instrument as the subject of a sentence, in English it very much depends on the pragmatics of the utterance. In the texts under consideration it is very often the weapons themselves that are the only agents mentioned. Although agents are usually defined as conscious instigators of actions, Cruse (1973: 11ff) shows how the agent of an action need not necessarily be wilful, but simply needs to "do" something, and, in more detail, Schlesinger (1989: 191) shows how instruments are often used as both syntactic and logical subjects of sentences, as in "A mine wounded him", and how "attention is drawn to the instrument by means of which an action is performed and consequently away from the instigator of the action". This process he calls "agentivalization", showing how mechanisms, and especially the more complex larger mechanisms, are more often agents than inanimate non-manufactured objects.⁴² It is also found that the ships or planes that shoot missiles or drop bombs are often used as the agent rather than the bombs or missiles themselves.

Chapter 5 Agency

The effect, whether intended or not, of placing the instrument in the subject position is to remove responsibility from the human agent. By inference, the instrument is made subject of a transitive verb. That is, it becomes more agent-like, somehow responsible for the event.⁴³ The responsibility for the deaths of Iraqis, in the Amiriya bomb shelter attack and elsewhere, is often given to the weapons used, or vague agents like “air support” or “helicopter strikes”, often with indefinite articles, the unmarked form with instruments. There are many examples of this. “The marines called in air support which, according to Reuters, killed an estimated 40 Iraqi soldiers and destroyed or damaged Iraqi artillery” (January 20th, by John Cassidy), “US says helicopter strikes have killed 40 Iraqis” (January 20th, War Diary), and “Nobody was at home at the time the missile struck...” (February 2nd, by Richard Beeston).

Responsibility is made out to be of the “air support”, a widely-used euphemism for bombing.⁴⁴ “The allies have killed” is never said once during the conflict, whereas “the allies have captured” is acceptable. Responsibility for the deaths in the Amiriya bomb shelter is placed on the missiles, not on those who fired them, even less on those who gave the order or the mistaken information leading to the attack. It is even blamed on the fire, which is the instrument of death but whose cause is shielded from us “... the ghastly death by fire of several hundred women and children.” (February 15th, by Philip Howard)⁴⁵ This is in keeping with the tradition in which floods, hurricanes and other natural disasters are often given agent status.⁴⁶

In the following extract, from an article entitled “Hi-Tech Rescue”, the Warthog, a mobile anti-tank weapon, is seen as the agent of death, whereas the crew that decided the destruction of the Iraqi lorry is the agent in the phrase “they were trying to save”. In this way, the service personnel are the agents of a positive act, and the responsibility for death is shifted to the mechanical device: “... the crew.... decided that the lorry.... could not be allowed to continue its journey. It appeared to be heading directly for the man they were

Chapter 5 Agency

trying to save. One of the Warthogs banked, straightened up and directed a burst of cannon fire at the truck.” (January 22nd, by Nick Nuttall)

The longer the agent stated the more responsibility is implied. Thus, if a sentence takes the following form: “The people were killed by waves of fighter-bombers swooping down from a great height”, this construction would give the attackers more responsibility than simply “The people were killed by a fighter attack”, or “US marine killed by cluster bomb” (February 2nd, Anonymous War Diary) and in speech this final element receives more stress the longer it is prolonged. It is never found during the allied attacks, whereas “A Scud missile was.... destroyed by an American army Patriot anti-missile-missile” (January 20th, by Jon Swain) is acceptable, as the target is an inanimate object.

5.9. Stative Predicates

Current copular verbs, or “stative copular verbs”, like “look” and “sound”, can be considered “pseudo-passive” or “raising verbs” in that they can take anticipatory “it” or alternatively the grammatical subject. They are more limited in some ways than other raising verbs. For example, “Elmer seems sick” contrasts with “Hortense considers Elmer sick” to show how the latter can retrieve the logical subject more easily. (Marantz, 1984: 84) But these verbs have been shown to be more frequent, statistically, than other raising constructions.⁴⁷ If something “seems” or “appears”, logically it must seem so to someone, as in “It seems to me”, “It seemed to Mr Mubarak”, “It seems to us in the West”, or “Maria Fyfe.... told MPs: ‘It seems to me incredible that.... you kill and maim innocent Iraqis....’ ” (January 22nd, Anonymous parliamentary report). It is semantically not dissimilar to say “It seems to me” from saying “I believe” or “It is my opinion”. But this hidden agent, here stated, is often left unmentioned, as will be shown in the following paragraphs, a device which linguistically cloaks subjectivity with objectivity.

a. Appear: “Appear” is less frequent than “seem” in this type of construction, and is used

Chapter 5 Agency

in an impersonal sense that is vague about the hidden person to whom something “appears”. This word is hardly ever used with the hidden meaning “It appears to Baghdad”, and nearly always with that of “It appears to us / to the media / to me the journalist”, or more impersonally “to the world”. On the allied side it is used with Mr Heath, Mr Hurd and the Americans, but never Mrs Thatcher, perhaps because her style is more direct. But it is more frequent when it means “they appear to us”, applied to the other side, full of shady “implications”, “hints” “suspicions” and “designs”, and is used to refer to Saddam, the Iraqi government, the citizens of Baghdad, and the Iraqi foreign minister in this way.⁴⁸ So “Baghdad appears to have convinced itself that it can withstand an attack.” (January 16th, by Richard Beeston and James Bone) This means that it appears so to “us”.⁴⁹ “Although the number of official “hits” appears low, military commanders say they remain satisfied with the allies' air campaign.” (January 22nd, by Martin Fletcher) Presumably, the number of hits would not appear low to those who suffered them, but only to the West.⁵⁰

b. Be likely to: “Likely” and “unlikely” are very common as modal devices in the press, and here are very often used in combination with “seem”, which is why this construction is included in this section: “Saddam seems unlikely to respond to two United Nations officials.” (August 19th, by James Adams)⁵¹ I have found this combination “seem(s) (un)likely to”, referring to the Egyptian people, the UN Secretary General, Gorbachov, and Syria, none of them solid reliable figures, in the opinion of the mainstream British press.

When used without “seem”, the construction is rather like the adjectival structures in the following section: “Other Arab heads of state are likely to mediate.... they are likely to resort to a secondary strategy.” (August 3rd, by Roger Owen) “Likely” is also used with the allies as a subject, as in “The allies are also likely to be using the three Nato-3 and one Nato-4 communication satellites” (January 15th, by Nick Nuttall) and without a human subject “They (sanctions) are even less likely to work in Iraq.” (January 13th, by Robert Harris) The effect of constructions with “likely” is rather similar to those with some adjectives (5.10.).

Chapter 5 Agency

c. **Seem:** In the following extract, apart from calling Saddam Hussein's message "provocative", the reporter uses "seemed" as though placing himself in the position of a typical Western reader. So in "... the provocative message read by an announcer on Iraqi television.... seemed carefully timed to sabotage mediation efforts by King Husain." (August 13th, by Juan Carlos Gumucio) the hidden person to whom it "seemed" that this was the case is veiled by anonymity. The use of this verb often begs the question of "to whom does it seem ?", sometimes implying that the persons to whom it seems or appears is to be identified with the West. Thus, if it is said that "... It seems that President Saddam's appeal was not an act of desperation....." (August 11th, by Christopher Walker) it is not made clear whether the appeal "seemed" so to the journalist reporting, or to the "us" of consensus. This is part of the vision of the Arab world as if from a superior plane, looking down on it as if "we" were not subject to the same laws.

This verb frequently implies that "they" seem to "us". When someone is an unknown quantity, it is likely that a journalist will use "seem" about their actions and emotions. "She seemed pleased" is more likely to be written about someone we do not know very well, just as some quotations imply that "they should in my Western opinion have been more concerned about international controversy / war".⁵² There are numerous impersonal references that are usually understood to refer to the journalist and the readers in general on "our" side, such as "That may seem like a dream", "It seems to be forgotten", or "It seems unlikely that war will be delayed", where "It seems" often means "it seems to me / us / the West", though it is also used sometimes with the grammatical subject of the coalition countries and their leaders, especially President Bush, over a dozen times in August and September, and military advisers on the allied side, with the meaning of "Our leader seems to me the journalist, and probably to the reader too": "This is what President Bush initially seemed to be doing in the Gulf." (August 17th, by Michael Howard)⁵³

Chapter 5 Agency

“Seem”, meaning roughly the same as “may”, generally has the Iraqis and the Arab world as a whole as grammatical subject, as with other modal expressions considered in chapter 7, partly because access to the allied side is more direct, but also in part because Arab reactions are seen to be less reliable.⁵⁴ Thus, as a general conclusion to this section it can be said that raising constructions are used in a way that suppresses the agent. Rather as another study found “raising to subject involved, in all cases, an unspecified underlying agent.”⁵⁵

5.10. A Note on Adjectives

Adjectives have been studied at length in chapter 4 (Part Two). The following two sections on adjectives and adverbs are placed here as, despite dealing with lexical items, the ones selected have a special link with the question of agency. The adjectives included here sometimes have a clear reference, speaking of “acceptable to Egypt”, “clear to the President”, “understandable to most Westerners”. But there are other references where it is far from clear whose point of view is reflected, and identities are hidden behind impersonal constructions. Expressions such as “wrong”, “unwise”, “unexpected”, “hopeful”, “good news” and so on are used with the “we” of consensus in mind, while at the same time hiding it. The “‘best’ / ‘right’ course of action”, for example, seemingly innocent common-sense, hides the subjective “we” of consensus as the hidden standard of value-judgments. There is often a verbal root behind such adjectives, whose agent is usually left unstated, as it is by nominalization (See 5.6.2.). So both “acceptance” and “acceptable”, alone, leave agentless the unexpressed verb “accept”.

a. Acceptable: This is the commonest word ending in “-able” and implying an unnamed subject. Sometimes “acceptable” has an expressed agent, as in “a settlement acceptable to all sides” (January 1st, Leading article), but usually it is used without stating who is the agent of the verb “accept”, implying “acceptable by us”, just as “necessary” means “necessary for us” (Chapter 4). “Acceptable casualties” means acceptable by those who

Chapter 5 Agency

are not dead or injured, just as "acceptable unemployment" means "acceptable for those who have a job". This word is often so used, for example in "Margaret Thatcher told Yevgeni Primakov that no political face-saving arrangement would be acceptable." (October 22nd, Anonymous article)⁵⁶ Leaving aside politicians' reported words, journalists are also apt to assume the identification of the writer and his/her reader with mainstream, majority acceptability: "Precision bombing of Iraqi air bases.... would be a more acceptable operation." (October 31st, by Michael Evans) Journalists, even in hard news items, take the correctness of the mainstream Western viewpoint for granted.⁵⁷ So "unacceptable" implies that "we" cannot accept it, as in "Saddam's first withdrawal offer had many unacceptable conditions attached." (February 23rd, by Michael Evans)

b. Alarming: "The dismemberment of Iraq, and its alarming consequences" (December 30th, by Mike Graham) are said to be causing Mr Bush some headaches. It is assumed that the alarm is felt, by extension, by the rest of the coalition. The subtle use of such terms as "worrying", "alarming" and "ominous" makes it hard to opt out of the collective "we". Again, in "Another report was more alarming: the Saudis said the Iraqis were...." (February 3rd, by Richard Ellis), the journalist clearly aligns himself with the allies' alarm.

c. Apparent: "The Foreign Office was last night trying to obtain an official Iraqi explanation for an apparent ban on flights to Baghdad by Western airlines." (September 4th, by Andrew McEwen) This means that it appeared so to the Foreign Office, but also, by extension, to the news source. It is equivalent to the stative predicate verb "appear".

d. Clear: If something is "certain" or "clear", "known", "believed" or "expected", classified together by Chomsky (1988: 58), it is so to "us", but the question of whether such clearness and certainty are universally shared is seldom if ever broached. In these texts, clarity and transparency are shown as qualities of the West, while deception and obscurity are characteristics of the Arab countries. The allies send "clear signals" and "clear messages".

Chapter 5 Agency

There is a very frequent use of the word at the end of the land war, in March, when the talk is all about “clearing the area of mines”, “clearing up Kuwait city”, “when Kuwait is clear of Iraqi troops”, and so on. They make “a clear response” and have “clear aims”. Quotations like the following are typical: “President Bush offered another clear warning to King Hussein” (August 16th, by Martin Fletcher) “... a concerted attempt to send a clear message to Iraq” (August 25th, by Martin Fletcher) or “The allied governments have clear aims” (February 17th, Leading Article), while the hypothetical sentences “King Hussein offered another clear warning to President Bush” or “Iraq sent a clear message to the West” would be unlikely to be found. The word “clear” nearly always implies “clear to us”, either to the West, Britain or the implied reader. “Events have already made ominously clear what might be the ‘worst case’ outcome of the past week's events.” (August 9th, Leading article) So, if the journalist writes that “Iraqi intentions are unclear” this means that “we” cannot see them clearly.

e. Desirable: “... supposing that a mission were desirable.” (January 1st, Leading article) Behind this adjective lies the verb “desire”, and the implication is that “we” need to desire something in order to make it “desirable”. It would be very strange to read that an Iraqi military mission were desirable, as this action takes place in the context of Western identification with the allied military cause.

f. Enforceable: “Enforceable arms control and proliferation deals are considered essential.” (February 3rd, by James Cassidy and Michael Evans) It is clear that those who enforce and consider in this case are the allies.

g. Essential: The expressions “Cuts in government spending are essential”, or the even more impersonal “Essential cuts in government spending” leave unsaid who it is that considers them essential, but in news discourse usually imply that it is an accepted truth rather than an opinion. The use of this “essential” in front position makes it especially

Chapter 5 Agency

“unquestionable”, forming a framework of reference that is extremely powerful in positioning the reader. By saying that “It was essential that Washington once again should be seen to be dominating events” (January 6th, by Marie Colvin), journalists often place events within an unspecified moral framework, without indicating to whom the action appears essential. “In all his foreign trips, Mr Major has concentrated on a few essentials” (January 10th, by Robin Oakley), means that the things he has spoken about abroad are essential to “us”, to Britain in this case.

h. Ominous: If an article says “There are reported to be ominous troop movements in the north of Iraq” (heard on BBC World Service), such an item begs the question “Ominous for whom ? and why ?” In these texts I have found only the following example: “Familiar ring to Baghdad's ominous threats.” (January 31st, Headline, by Efraim Karsh)

i. Predictable: From this side of the battle lines, things look the same way as the generals see them. The words are the official voice of the allies on many occasions: “Brent Scowcroft, the American national security adviser, said the firings underscored the fact that this is a man of unpredictable behaviour” (December 3rd, Anonymous article), but journalists assume this official British and American point of view: “Saddam's initial tactics have been predictable, although the Pentagon and the Ministry of Defence claim to be surprised....” (January 19th, by Michael Evans) That is to say, “(un)predictable” means “(un)predictable by us”.

j. Preferable: “Seven in ten said civilian deaths were preferable to American military casualties.” (February 16th, Charles Bremner) Preferable means that someone, in this case American public opinion, prefers it, but this agent is often hidden behind a cloak of impersonality.

Chapter 5 Agency

k. Recognizable: “In few countries is there a functioning model based on any recognisable form of law, human rights, democracy or legitimacy.” (March 2nd, by Michael Binyon) This means that “we” cannot recognise it as anywhere approaching our model of these things.

l. Right: “... both governments were right to pre-empt security council action” (August 14th, Leading article) This use of “right” begs the question as to the moral standards used for such a value judgment. There is an apparently consensus view on what is good and bad, right and wrong, a consensus which probably never held in the real world but was constantly referred to in the press.

m. Successful: The War Diary on January 20th reports that “RAF Jaguars successfully attack Scud missiles.” The words “successfully attack” is biased. It would never have been used for an Iraqi attack. “Destruction of communications facilities... had been highly successful.” (January 22nd, by Martin Fletcher) combines the nominalization “destruction” with the impersonal “successful”. It is never in doubt whose success is being referred to in phrases such as “the successful conclusion of the war in the Gulf.” (January 23rd, Letter) A sentence such as “The attack on Kuwait by the Iraqi forces was successful” would never appear.

n. Understandable / Regrettable: These adjectives often have as the unnamed agent “us”. It is taken that the reasonable viewpoint is that held by “us”, the West. Thus, if it said that “If there is to be war, they want to get on with it and go home. That attitude is understandable among soldiers sent to Saudi Arabia at short notice.” (September 17th, by Michael Evans) The soldiers’ attitude is understandable from our point of view only, though it is written as an impersonal common-sense generalization. Again “That (British government) compulsion has been found necessary is regrettable but wholly understandable.” (December 31st, Leading article) The justification for the editorial opinion expressed here is unstated, but again appears to spring from an attitude that common

Chapter 5 Agency

sense tells us it is the case.

o. Unforgivable: Though “intolerable” has not been found in these texts, it has been heard in many broadcasts with the meaning that “we” cannot tolerate something. In a similar way, “What he has done is unforgivable” (December 22nd, by Robin Oakley, quoting Mr Major) means that “we” cannot forgive Saddam for it, without mentioning the agent of the verb that lies behind this adjective.

p. Vital: “Prompt action was vital” (August 14th, Leading article), but it was vital, not objectively nor abstractly, but for the achievement of allied goals. The term “our vital interests” is a common expression, and is often a representation of the real world whereby wants and needs are indistinguishable.

Thus, subjectivity is a mark of many adjectives used. “Our” moral attitudes are assumed to be the best yardstick. This section overlaps somewhat with the next chapter. For example, to say that something is “right” is equivalent to saying that it “should” be done.

5.11. A Note on Adverbs

The adverbs formed from some of the above-mentioned adjectives have the same implication as they do. This is the case of “ominously”, “alarmingly” and “worryingly”, all found in the texts, which indicate an identification of the journalist and the allied cause. The agent is hidden by the impersonal form chosen, in the same way as with the non-negative nominals listed in 5.6.2., that is, when it is said that “alarm exists” or that “worry is felt”. There are other modal terms such as “preferably”, “hopefully” and “ideally”, which always mean that “we” prefer or hope that they will happen, or that it will be ideal from the allies’ point of view. As above, the agent of the action is usually the West. “Saddam should be either (preferably) killed by precision bombing and missilery.... “ (August 12th, by Norman MacRae), “He must be stopped, preferably through comprehensive economic sanctions “

Chapter 5 Agency

(September 7th, by Philip Webster), “American precision bombing.... preferably combined with a coup” (October 21st, by Norman MacRae), “Diplomacy, sanctions, and the deterrent force will hopefully pressurise Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait”(September 5th, Letter), “Ideally, the allies should win the war as quickly as possible to limit destruction.” (November 21st, by Michael Evans)The frequency of “preferably” is far greater than that of the other two.

5.12. Conclusion

There thus seem to be two extremes, at the ends of which are situated the two sides in the Gulf conflict. The agentless passive, which removes responsibility on many occasions, is applied almost exclusively when the allies are the agent of the action. Ergative verbs remove most of the blame, especially from the allied side. At the other extreme there is the passive voice with the agent included, which gives a great deal of blame for military actions, mostly to the Iraqi side. Towards the upper end of more responsibility is also found the active voice. While Iraqi actions are mostly verbalized, very often allied actions are nominalized. Nonetheless, when the nominalization is of a verb that has positive connotations, the allies are more likely to appear as agents, while if the nominalization has negative connotations the Iraqi side will inevitably appear as the agent. This means that, consistently, the allies receive treatment which foregrounds them within utterances when the action mentioned is positive, while if the action is negative the allies are backgrounded, exactly the opposite treatment from that given to the Iraqi side.

The last two linguistic features considered, raising constructions and adjectives, straddle this and the following section, in that, although they are about agency, they are also about modality, with opinion (right), obligation (vital) and hedging being important factors in their being chosen. The following chapter will deal with this area of modality and how it contributes to the development of the theme of this study.

Chapter 5 Agency

NOTES

1. The agent is “One who (or that which) acts or exerts power, as distinguished from the patient , and also from the instrument.” The patient is “a person or thing that undergoes some action, or to whom or which something is done; ‘that which receives impressions from external agents’ (*OED*), often called in functional grammar the “goal”. For the term “logical subject”, see for example, Marantz, 1984: 23, 46. “Agency” is also called “agentivity” by some authors.
2. Halliday (1994, 168f, 172) uses the term “agency”, though he only does so occasionally, while he reserves the more usual term “transitivity” almost wholly for the verb phrase itself (pp174-5).
3. Downing, 1992: 75
4. Givón, 1993, Vol 2: 53
5. Givón, 1995: 73, 105
6. Palmer (1995: 123) gives the examples “Many arrows didn’t hit the target”, and “Many men read few books” which may not be the same semantically as “The target was not hit by many arrows”, and “Few books are read by many men”. Roberts gives the ambiguous example “Two languages are spoken by everyone in this room”
7. The above classification is based on Marantz (1984: 25, 129), Jaeggli (1986: 599) and Roberts (1987: 27)
8. Schlesinger, 1994: 200
9. those suspected of hoarding food were asked to return it to the shelves. (August 12th, by Tim Rayment)
.... before Americans were asked to die. (January 12th, by Martin Fletcher)
10. Asked a second time to congratulate her predecessor, she (Mrs Thatcher) contrived, a second time, not to. (October 26th, by Matthew Parris)
Asked on Wednesday if he would regard a refusal by Iraq to allow the supply of the embassy as provocation, Mr Bush said.... (November 2nd, by Susan Ellicott)
Asked about reports of a joint Jordanian-Iraqi air squadron, General Shahak said: “It exists and flies.” (October 5th, Anonymous article).
When asked if a Palestinian was allowed to shoot back if fired upon Mr Sharif said.... (October 12th, by Penny Gibbons)

Chapter 5 Agency

11. Only two non-elite figures are reported on in this way. One is an RAF pilot: “Asked if he would go again on another bombing raid into Iraq, Long said with a grin: ‘If I have to.’” (January 20th, by Jon Swain)

12. Quirk, 1985: 1202f

13. Givón, 1993, Vol 2: 231

14. The bulk of this force is thought to be formed by President Saddam's own “popular army”. (August 6th, by Juan Carlos Gumucio)
.... they are thought to include Soviet-made Scud-B missiles.... (August 9th, by Martin Fletcher)
They are thought to have received favourable treatment because Poland is not involved in the multinational Gulf protection force. (August 11th, by Andrew McEwen)

15. Chomsky, 1988: 309; Givón, 1993, Vol 1: 128; Vol 2: 39, 223

16. Actual recapture of Kuwaiti territory by military means would be hugely difficult. (August 20th, Leading article)
A prolonged blockade will be difficult to sustain. (August 24th, by Jeane Kirkpatrick)
Force has to be used, as is increasingly hard to avoid. (August 21st, Leading article)
An air embargo will be more difficult to enforce than a naval blockade. (September 27th, Leading article)

17. Grimshaw, 1990: 107

18. The taking of Kuwait may involve such a conflagration that an attack on Iraq may become inevitable anyway. (August 26th, Leading article)
After a fortnight of continuous air raids the civilian toll is beginning to mount. (February 2nd, by Richard Beeston)
“The offensive is progressing with dramatic success.... So far we're delighted with the progress of the campaign.” (February 25th, Anonymous article, quoting General Schwarzkopf)
22.09: Iraq says allied air raids have killed 31 troops. (January 20th, War Diary)
02.12: US says helicopter strikes have killed 40 Iraqis. (January 20th, War Diary)
Whether he succeeds will depend on the strength of opposition. American military intervention is unlikely, and sanctions would be difficult to arrange, he may pull it off (August 3rd, by Roger Owen)

19. Britain will have little alternative but to reject military action (August 3th, by Michael Theodoulou)
Their choices are military action, political and economic quarantining, and acquiescence.... It is

Chapter 5 Agency

- difficult to imagine military action being taken.... (August 3rd, Leading article)
President Bush had alerted Nato allies that he would consider taking military action in the Gulf.... force President Bush's hand, leaving him no option but to take retaliatory military action. It was claimed that American public opinion backed US military action against Iraq, (August 4th, by Martin Fletcher and Michael Evans)
Washington had informed the alliance that military action might be used (August 4th, by Michael Evans, quoting Nato officials)
America would take military action if Saddam's troops marched into Saudi Arabia (August 5th, by James Adams and John Cassidy, quoting Mr Bush)
Israel is prepared to help America in the present crisis, it has no intention of taking military action against Iraq. (August 5th, Anonymous Insight article)
20. "Military action condemned by Thatcher" (August 3rd, Headline, by Peter Stothard, US Editor, in Aspen and Philip Webster, Chief Political Correspondent)
The Iraqi leader....knows that military action against Saudi Arabia will force the Americans to come to its rescue used (August 4th, by Michael Evans)
....warn Iraq that the US would not tolerate military action.(August 3rd, by Martin Fletcher)
21. Hodge and Kress, 1979: 166
22. William Lutz, in Mascull, 1995: 177
23.and the city's lights were on when the bombing began. (January 17th, by Richard Beeston)
....as the bombing came closer, he and fellow reporter Peter Arnett realised that the raid was real (January 17th, by Robin Stacey)
Oil refineries.... were hit in five waves of bombing in the first hour....the first wave of bombing was comparatively short, perhaps 20 minutes (January 17th, by Robin Stacey)
Only "very convincing" evidence that he planned to pull out all his troops would stop the bombing, Tom King, the defence secretary, said. (January 18th, by Michael Evans)
"Precision bombing sends signal to Arab world" Military Strategy - The allied use of precision bombing is so far dictating the war (January 19th, by Michael Evans)
Until now allied bombing raids have targeted military, industrial and communications targets (January 19th, by Richard Beeston)
24. The combination of high-altitude bombing by American B52s.... (January 17th, by Michael Evans)
.... the involvement of British forces in the bombing missions. (January 18th, by Richard Ford)
.... a route the allied planes take on their bombing missions into Iraq. (February 24th, by Andrew Neil)
25. "Allies face long and bloody war: Bombing to last ten more days" Large numbers of

Chapter 5 Agency

repeat bombing raids were necessary.... (January 20th, by John Cassidy, James Adams and Richard Ellis)

26. The precision missile attack on the Iraqi air raid shelter in Baghdad, which killed an estimated 200 people.... (February 14th, Leading article)

“Bombing of bunker hastens land war” (February 15th, Headline, by Peter Stothard and Michael Evans)

.... the way the bunker bombing was reported only widened the gulf between the media and the public.... (February 16th, by Charles Bremner)

The decree spoke of the “barbarism” of war, and the use of certain weapons as leading to “horror and wickedness”. (February 18th, by Clifford Longley, quoting Cardinal Basil Hume)

.... a slow funeral procession of pick-up trucks carrying the coffins of victims of an air strike on a neighbourhood bomb shelter.... (February 15th, by Marie Colvin)

27. This passive nominal is commented on extensively elsewhere, for example Jaeggli, 1986: 606, 618.

28. Givón, 1993: 297

29. There is a tremendous amount of concern and there was a desire to do something. (August 5th, by James Adams, quoting Ministry of Defence spokesman)

An Iraqi radio statement fuelled concern over the 3,000 British civilians in Kuwait. (August 6th, by Martin Fletcher)

30. there are widespread fears that a clampdown on exporting technology to the country (Iraq) has come too late. (August 4th, by Nicholas Beeston)

The fear is that, after the first thrusts have been made into Kuwait, the allies will face a fierce counter-attack. (February 24th, by Andrew Neil)

Last night, there were fears in diplomatic circles that the men may be held hostage.... The main fear is that although the UAE has yielded to Iraq by agreeing to cut.... (August 5th, by Maurice Chittenden)

31. The air war against Iraq started with almost total success....The unembroidered success of the early days' raids.... (January 20th, by Jon Swain)

.... a celebration of success in the sand (January 25th, by Peter Stothard)

32. The expression “Saddam’s occupation of Kuwait” is used as an example of this construction by Givón (1993: 291)

33. Quirk, 1985: 1022

Chapter 5 Agency

34. Halliday, 1985: 372; Van Dijk, 1988a: 24
35. See chapter 6 for “-ing” form in headlines.
36. Roberts, 1986: 228
37. Stubbs, 1994: 212
38. Keyser and Roeper, 1994: 390 give over thirty examples.
39. The glorification of weapons was such that in *The Economist* during the Gulf crisis a McDonnell Douglas advertisement showed a fighter loaded down with bombs and missiles, saying: “You’re carrying 4 tonnes of explosives and people are shooting at you”. Explosives are harmless toys. (Scarry, 1993: 65)
40.one of the bombs Richard Cheney, the secretary of defence, had inscribed with the message “To Saddam with affection”. (February 17th, by John Cassidy)
“To Saddam. Lots of love, 31 squadron armourers,” was daubed on one of the bombs dropped on the Iraqis. Another bit of bomb graffiti: “Dear Saddam, have a really shitty day, love from the Plumbs” (RAF slang for armourers). (January 20th, by Jon Swain)
41. The general showed how a laser-guided “smart bomb” found its way through the narrow airshaft of a military installation. (January 19th, by Susan Ellicott)
42. It is very different to say “Aali cut the tree with an axe” or even “An axe was used to cut the tree” from “An axe cut the tree”. (Marantz, 1984: 245) “The car hit the lamppost” is more likely to be found than “The skates hit the lamppost” or “The hammer hit the lamppost”, as there is an element of deliberation, one of the constraints on agency, meaning that a sentence such as “The president was killed by the bullet” or “The bullet smashed John’s collar-bone” (Cruse, 1973: 16), is possible, while “The president was murdered by the bullet” would be unthinkable. (Schlesinger (1989: 191)
43. Givón, 1993: 112
44. RAF Jaguars successfully attack Scud missiles.....US says helicopter strikes have killed 40 Iraqis. (January 20th, War Diary)
Allied planes bomb Iraqi cities, Basra and Faw....Forty-one Iraqis killed, 191 wounded, in air and missile attacks in first six days of war. (January 24th, War Diary)
.... Lynx helicopters from three ships attacked Iraqi patrol boats. Allied planes destroyed 24 Iraqi tanks.... Allied aircraft shot down another Iraqi MiG 23 plane. Republican Guard units again hit by allied forces. The allies have captured 109 prisoners of war. (January 30th, War Diary)

Chapter 5 Agency

45. The two missiles left six-foot wide holes in the roof. (February 14th, by Marie Colvin)
The bombs which killed them were precision weapons. (February 14th, Leading article)
.... the civilian victims killed by allied planes. (February 14th, by John Philips)
46. Schlesinger, 1994: 201
47. Quirk, 1985: 162, 1172; Givón, 1993, Vol 1: 104; Vol 2: 234
48. a new map of Kuwait which was produced in Baghdad yesterdayThe implication of the map appeared to be that President Saddam was offering a compromise. (October 16th, by Michael Evans)
.... the Iraqi foreign minister appeared to be trying to highlight the difference between his position and the tough stance of Margaret Thatcher. (October 21st, by Marie Colvin)
.... the Iraqi leader appears to believe that Baghdad's once close ties with Paris. (October 23rd, by Philip Jacobson)
The Iraqi strategy appears to be designed to reduce the population (October 27th, by Nicholas Beeston)
49. Mr Bush said that he was prepared to take “the extra step” because President Saddam appeared still not to understand the seriousness of his position. (December 1st, by Richard Beeston)
.... the two waves of air attack in Baghdad did not initially appear to dent Saddam's resolve. (January 17th, by Richard Beeston)
Iraq appears to have been less seriously battered than might have appeared on the opening day of hostilities (January 21st, by Philip Jacobson)
The Israeli defence minister, said: “It appears that Iraq possesses the capability to employ chemical warheads.” (January 22nd, by Richard Owen)
50. Mr Hurd appeared to go further than at any time in the ten weeks since the Iraqi invasion in signalling the readiness of America and its allies to use force (October 12th, by John Winder)
The US strategy appeared to be to send a UN-flagged ship to Kuwait laden (October 17th, by James Bone)
.... there appears to be no immediate plan to send the Independence home. (November 3rd, by Michael Evans)
Washington and London appear to have decided to handle Soviet reservations with care and patience.(November 21st, by Michael Evans)
51. At present it seems that Saddam is unlikely to make the first military move. (August 26th, Anonymous Insight article)
Unlikely as this would have seemed until recently September 22nd, by Michael Evans)
Even if, as seems likely, there is a hostile debate in the next few days. (January 5th, by Peter

Chapter 5 Agency

Stothard)

52. None seem concerned about the international controversy. (August 16th, by Christopher Walker, about Filipino lorry drivers in Iraq)

In Baghdad, people seem more worried about bread than war. (September 23rd, by Marie Colvin)

53. President George Bush seems determined to go to war. (January 5th, Leading article)

Almost everyone in Israel seems to assume that a US-Iraq war will break out. (August 23rd, by Philip Owen)

54. "Iraq's biggest concern seems to be cash...." a Western diplomat said. (August 1st, by Michael Theodoulou)

Saddam is older by almost 16 years and seems impatient to realise his dream of dominance. (January 16th, by Hazhir Teimourian)

No evidence has yet emerged that Saddam Hussein has come to believe himself to be the incarnation of divinity. But he seems to be making rapid progress in that direction. (August 13th, by Hazhir Teimourian)

55. Givón, 1993, Vol 2: 234

56. Israeli threat to take military action of its own against Iraq in the event of an "unacceptable" US-Iraqi deal. (December 6th, by James Beeston)

"Anything less than full compliance with UN security council resolution 678 and its predecessors is unacceptable". (January 10th, by George Brock, quoting Mr Bush)

57. The White House thinks Saddam.... will come up with an acceptable date for Baker's visit. (December 16th, by John Cassidy)

Baghdad appears to have convinced itself that it can.... cause unacceptable losses to the allied forces. (January 16th, by Richard Beeston and James Bone)