

1324

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

IDEOLOGY, ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS;

THE GUILDFORD FOUR

IN NEWSPAPERS

A Pro Gradu Thesis

by

Tiina Mälkki

Department of English 1998

HUMANISTINEN TIEDEKUNTA
ENGLANNIN KIELEN LAITOS

Tiina Mälkki
IDEOLOGY, ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS;
THE GUILDFORD FOUR IN NEWSPAPERS

Pro gradu -työ

Englantilainen filologia

Joulukuu 1998

113 sivua + 4 liitettä

Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää brittiläisen, erityisesti Englantilaisen lehdistön asennetta 1970 -luvulla IRA:n terrori-iskusta epäiltyyn ja tuomittuun *Guildfordin nelosina* tunnettuun ryhmään. Materiaali koostuu *The Guardianin* ja *The Timesin* artikkeleista ajalta 3.12.1974–23.10.1975 sekä tuomion mitätöinnin ajalta lokakuussa 1989. Pääaineistona on kolme artikkeliparia (kolme artikkelia kummastakin lehdestä) prosessin eri taitekohdista: oikeudenkäynnin alku, tuomion julistaminen ja tuomion purku.

Tutkielmassa vastataan kysymyksiin: 1) Onko uutisraportointi puolueetonta ja asenteetonta tiedonvälitystä? 2) Tukeeko ja lehdistö uutisraportoinnillaan voimassaolevia valta- ja arvovakenteita, ja miten se tapahtuu? Lähtökohtana on analysoida asenteita ja uskomuksia sisältäviä kielen käyttötapoja kriittisen diskurssianalyysin keinoin. Tutkimus on laadullinen, koska kyseessä on tapauskuvaus.

Aineistoa tarkastellaan artikkelityyppien kuvauksella ja artikkelien sijoituspaikalla lehdessä, vertailemalla sekä otsikon sisältöä artikkelin ydin-sanomaan että lehtien suhtautumista eri yksilöihin ja instituutioihin: uutislähteiden arvojärjestystä ja *me-ne* -asetelman ilmaisumuotoja. *Me-ne* -asetelmaa tarkastellaan erityisesti kolmelta kannalta: 1) *Nelosten* nimitykset, 2) *Nelosista* luodut stereotyyppit ja mielikuvat ja 3) yhteiskunnallisista auktoriteeteista luodut mielikuvat heihin liitettyjen toimintakuvausten pohjalta.

Vuoden 1975 aineistossa *nelosten* ääni ei kuulu. Viranomaiset ovat kaiken tiedon lähteenä, he ovat aktiivisia ja heistä annetaan positiivinen mielikuva: mielikuvat liittyivät tehokkuuteen ja vastuuntuntoiseen toimintaan molempina tarkastelukausina. Mielikuva *nelosista* ja heidän oletetuista toimistaan puolestaan muodostuu stereotyyppioista: käytetyt stereotyyppit liittyivät pääosin mielikuviin tyypillisestä IRA -terroristista ja irlantilaisuudesta. Oikeudenkäynnin ja tuomion oikeutusta ei lehdissä epäilty.

Tuomion kumoaminen sai tilaa lehdissä suhteellisesti enemmän kuin oikeudenkäynti. Vaikka pääosassa vieläkin olivat valtaapitävät (poliitikot ja oikeusoppineet) ja merkittävät kampanjoijat (entisiä ja nykyisiä pappeja ja piispoja sekä entisiä poliitikkoja) ja aiemmasta poiketen myös puolustusasian-ajajat, saavat *Nelose*t jo toisenlaisen kohtelun: he ovat muuttuneet paatuneista rikollisista viattomiksi oikeusmurhan uhreiksi. *The Guardian* on kriittisissään ja vapautusuutisoinnissaan hieman *The Timesia* suorasanaisempi.

Asiasanat: attitudes. critical discourse analysis. hegemony. ideology. image. interpretation. newsproduction. stereotypes. *us* and *them*.

List of Abbreviations

CDA: critical discourse analysis

DPP: Director of Public Prosecutions

IRB: Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood

IRA: Irish Republican Army

MP: Member of Parliament

PM: Prime Minister

Provisional IRA: Provisional Irish Republican Army

QC: Queen's Counsel

RUC: Royal Ulster Constabulary

UVF: Ulster Volunteer Force

WRAC: Women's Royal Army Corps

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. THE HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BASIS FOR THE PRESENT ANALYSIS	3
2.1 THE ROOTS OF THE NORTHERN IRISH CONFLICT	4
2.2 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS A FRAME- WORK IN ANALYSING ATTITUDE, IDEOLOGY AND BELIEFS	8
2.3 NEWS AS A MEDIATOR OF IDEOLOGY	16
2.3.1 News as a Genre	16
2.3.2 The Production and Interpretation of News	18
News as “the Construction of Reality”	18
The Interpretation of News	21
2.4 THE METHOD OF ANALYSIS	24
2.4.1 The Position of the Articles Discussing the Guildford Case	26
2.4.2 Sources of News	27
2.4.3 The Concept of <i>Us</i> and <i>Them</i>	29
<i>Us</i> and <i>Them</i> in Categorizing People	29
<i>Us</i> and <i>Them</i> as the Means of Persuasion	32
2.4.4 The Concept of Transitivity as a Tool of Analysis	36
3. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE MATERIAL AND THE ANALYSIS OF THE SIX KEY ARTICLES	39
3.1 A FEW REMARKS ON THE MATERIAL	39
3.1.1 The Types of Articles	40
3.1.2 The Identified and Unidentified Writers in the Whole Material	42
3.1.3 The Prestige of Direct and Indirect Sources in the Whole Material	44
The Prestige and Hegemony of the Sources During the Trial	47
The Prestige and Hegemony of the Sources Around the Time of Release	50
3.2 THE GUIDFORD CASE IN THE SIX KEY ARTICLES	52
3.2.1 The Overview of the Data and the Presentation of the Sources	53

An Overview of the Six Key Articles	53
The Presentation of the Sources in the Six Key Articles	59
3.2.2 The Presentation of Speech in the Six Key Articles	62
The Presentation of Speech on September 17, 1975	62
The Presentation of Speech on October 23, 1975	65
The Presentation of Speech on October 18, 1989	69
3.2.3 Naming, Images and Actions in the Six Key Articles	72
Naming of the <i>Four</i>	72
Stereotypes and Images of the <i>Four</i>	81
Actions and Images of the Authorities in the Six Key Articles	89
Actions and Images of the Authorities on September 17, 1975	90
Actions and Images of the Authorities on October 23, 1975	95
Actions and Images of the Authorities on October 18, 1989	104
4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	108
Bibliography	114
APPENDICIES	
Appendix I	118
Appendix II	118
Appendix III	118
Appendix IV	119

1. INTRODUCTION

Patrick Armstong, Gerry (Gerard) Conlon, Paul Hill and Carole Richardson became known as the *Guildford Four*. They were arrested because they were suspected of bombing two pubs in a town called Guildford, Surrey, in October 1974. These explosions were part of the IRA bombing campaign, which had started during the summer of 1974. All four made confessions during the interrogations but denied their participation in bombings as soon as they were allowed to see their solicitors; this happened after they had spent seven days in police custody. Despite the fact that all *Four* made claims that they had made their confessions because of mental and physical violence in the hands of the investigating policemen, and that there was no substantial evidence supporting the statements, the *Four* were sentenced to gaol for life. The minimum recommendation made by the judge was 30 years in prison.

Because of the statements of Gerry Conlon and Paul Hill, so called *Maguire Seven* were arrested and convicted on handling nitroglycerine. These seven people were Gerry Conlon's father, Guiseppe (also known as Joe or Patrick), Conlon's uncle, and his wife and two sons, a brother of the uncle's wife, and one of their neighbours. Their sentences varied from fourteen years to three, and were also given without any indubitable evidence. None of the seven ever made a confession. Guiseppe Conlon died in prison of his long term lung disease.

Without success the *Guildford Four* and their supporters tried several times to get their case into the Court of Appeal. They were not allowed to have another trial even though IRA men, who had been arrested in connection with another case, had confessed in detail the Guildford bombings. Finally, on 19th of October 1989, the *Four* were suddenly released at the end of an emergency session in the Court of Appeal (Kee 1986, Conlon 1990). The suddenness of the release was a surprise to all; the *Four*, their solicitors and the campaigners. In 1990 a film, *In the Name of the Father* (Sheridan), was made about the *Guildford Four* case.

After I had seen the film and written a paper on aspects of violence in the Gerry Conlon's autobiography, *Proved Innocent* (1991), I felt there was still something that needed to be studied. Conlon writes about the forthcoming verdict in October 1975:

So far all the popular press had us convicted. There had been a lot of coverage of the prosecution case and almost none of our defence. Headlines like 'BOMBERS' IN COURT said lot about press fairness. Otherwise a lot of column inches were used in revelling in all the high-security measures of the police against an IRA rescue attempt.
(Conlon 1991:131)

The present thesis is a study of the ideologies, attitudes and beliefs the press conveys in the reports on the case of the *Guildford Four*. The aim is find out whether the claim Conlon makes is true or not: was the press prejudiced against the *Four* or not? In addition to the material from the period of 1974–1975 the present analysis is expanded to study articles about the release of the *Four*, written in October 1989. The aim is to compare the expressions of ideologies, attitudes and beliefs during those two periods.

The news articles about the *Guildford Four* are an excellent subject of an analysis because the conviction was later proved to be based on lies and abuse, a fact that was not officially acknowledged until 1989. In other words totally innocent and unfortunate people received a treatment that was intended to someone else. The ideal conception of justice in the western countries is that one is innocent until proven guilty.

The availability of the material was restricted; the only papers that are available in Finnish libraries from the 1970's are *The Guardian* and *The Times*. Both papers are considered quality papers. The first part of the material consists of articles in *The Guardian* and *The Times* throughout the trial, from the first court appearance in December 3, 1974, to reports about the conviction in October 23, 1975; there was only one newspaper that covered the whole trial: *The Surrey Daily Advertiser* (Kee 1986:197). The latter part of the data concerning the release is also published in *The Guardian* and *The Times* in October 18–25, 1989. The total size of

the material is 78 articles. The material is selected so that in the first phase it includes every article that clearly has an emphasis on the Guildford case are taken in. Texts that perhaps refer to the Guildford case but have an emphasis on other areas, such as the introduction of death penalty or the *Birmingham Six* campaign, are left outside the study. For the closer analysis the number of the articles is reduced to 6; 3 from each paper.

The present analysis is based on *critical discourse analysis*, which is being used in studies on ideologies, attitudes and beliefs in texts (see Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996, eg.). Critical discourse analysis is a way to interpret texts in their own contexts; text production and consumption are tied closely with time and culture.

The structure of this study is the following: the first part (Chapter 2) of the study introduces the historical context of the Guildford case, discusses the critical discourse analysis as a method in analysing ideologies, attitudes and beliefs, as well as news as genre as mediating ideology. The next chapter (3) which is followed by presentations of the method of analysis and material, which are followed by the analysis of key articles. The final chapter (4) includes discussion and conclusions of the results of the analysis.

2. THE HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BASIS FOR THE PRESENT ANALYSIS

The present chapter will present the background of the present analysis. The section (2.1) discusses the Anglo-Irish history and sets the historical context to the later analysis. In section (2.2) critical discourse analysis will be presented as a framework in analysing ideologies, beliefs and attitudes. Section (2.3) presents the news as a genre as mediating ideology. The section (2.4) of the present chapter will discuss the analytic tools used (2.5) in the study.

2. 1 THE ROOTS OF THE NORTHERN IRISH CONFLICT

This section discusses in brief the Irish history and the roots of the Northern Irish conflict in order to give the present study a historical context. In order to understand, even on a general level, the complex Anglo-Irish relations and the part the *Guildford Four* has played it is important to present the events that led to the Guildford bombings and later to the convictions and difficulties to refer the case back to the Court of Appeal.

The English have had an effect on Irish history ever since the Anglo-Norman conquest in the beginning of the 12th century. Since then Ireland has been ruled by English or Scottish kings or queens (English 1991:38). The Irish were not willing to bend in front of the foreign intruders. Irish nationalists, in other words those who wanted to keep Ireland independent, roused rebels in order to push the English back to their own island. Nevertheless, the Irish were beaten time after time. Especially in the fourteenth century there were laws (English 1991:49-53), which forbade the English for example to trade with the Irish, or to marry them. The Irish were not to be given religious rights either. It was not even a crime to kill an Irishman or a woman if an Englishman desired their piece of land.

The gap between the Irish and the English grew even bigger when Henry VIII, due to his divorce, left the Catholic Church (see English 1991:57-72, eg.); the majority of Irish would not abandon their Catholic faith. Catholicism was to be destroyed by restricting the rights of the Catholics. The English attitude was that *Protestantism* equalled to *civilization* whereas *Catholicism* equalled to *barbarism*. (English 1991:72 and Lyons 1979:11.) According to Ranelagh (1983:47) separation from the Catholic Church and the founding of the institution of Anglican Church was one of the most revolutionary events in Anglo-Irish relations. During the sixteenth century Irish nationalism and religious opposition were encouraged by Britain's Catholic

European enemies (Spain, eg.); the tense atmosphere between two religious groups, Anglicans and Catholics, forced the Irish to look for support outside the British Isles.

The organized use of violence in Ireland, in order to get English out of the country, has as long traditions as those two have common history. In 1858 the nationalist *Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood* (IRB) was founded; sometimes it is referred to as the *Fenians* or the *organization*. The aim of the IRB was to create the Irish Republic by force. On the opposite side protestants founded their own paramilitary organization, *Ulster Volunteer Force* (UVF) in 1913 because they opposed the Home Rule (see English 1991, eg.); Protestants wanted to save their own privileges and they were unwilling to give any more rights to Catholics than they already had. The meaning of the Home Rule (see MacDonagh 1975, Hutton and Stewart 1991:39–50) was to keep Ireland under the British Crown but to hand over part of the administration to Dublin. In that same year the predecessor of the *Irish Republican Army* (IRA), the *Irish Volunteers*, was established. (English 1991:88–99.) Finally after long years of fighting and negotiation the *Irish Free State* was established on December 6 1921 in the Twenty-six Counties (Hutton and Stewart 1991:36, Ryan 1994:46) and the Catholics and Protestants of the six northern counties were left to struggle together. The *Free State* was independent to a certain extent; the British controlled areas which were considered of importance, such as economic and defence interests. Later the *Free State* became independent *Irish Republic*.

By 1969 the official IRA had moved from nationalism towards Marxist politics, which was resented by those who did not believe in passive resistance and marches. At the end of the year the movement split into two – those who supported physical force and the use of violence founded the *Provisional IRA*, which is also known as *Provos* or *Provisionals* (Wichert 1991:121). Both the Official IRA – also known as *Stickies* – and the Provisionals had their own political wings, *Official Sinn Fein* and *Provisional Sinn Fein*. They both also had their own youth departments,

Fiánnas (see Eagleton 1995:293, eg.). IRA was rather weak during the division of the movement. "IRA" was joked to be an abbreviation from words "I Ran Away" (Conlon 1991:27, Hill and Hunt 1995:30).

O'Neill, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, had tried to improve community relations by his policy in the 1960's but failed. Protestants were against it because unemployment had started to hit them, too, not just Catholics. Also, they did not lose their privileges in jobs, housing and politics (Ranelagh 1983:254, Wichert 1991:93-94). On the other hand, Catholics thought the improvements were too small and too slow (Wichert 1991:85, see also Ryan 1994:24). Finally the tension grew so strong that it was impossible to avoid serious conflicts. The final confrontation took place in July 1969 in the form of riots. As a result thousands of people, four fifth of whom were Catholics, lost their homes in fires (Wichert 1991:111, see also Ryan 1994:54). Even though most of those who were forced to leave their homes by mobs were Catholics, some Protestants were driven away by Catholics, too (Ryan 1994:126). By August 18, 9 people were killed, and 514 civilians and 226 policemen were injured (*Vuosisatamme kronikka* 1987:980). Both Catholics and Protestants finally created their own areas to live in. Ryan (1994:126) quotes an article in *Irish Times* (August 4, 1973) in which it was estimated that during the first four years of Troubles 30,000–60,000 people changed homes, 80 per cent of whom were Catholics. Segregation was not the only reason to move; there were also economic reasons.

Unemployment has been more common among Catholics than it is among Protestants. Segregation is still strong in Northern Ireland's labour market. Protestants work on the higher level of hierarchy (in higher managerial, professional and administrative positions, eg.) whereas Catholics work in public services (as nurses and teachers, eg.) and in unskilled jobs in building trade. (Ryan 1994:126–127.) Segregation in labour market leads to disparity of income and weakens the possibilities of bright and talented Catholics to gain social status in their own country.

Because of the restless situation in Northern Ireland the British decided to send army troops there in 1969. First the army was welcomed by the Catholics. They thought it would protect them from the protestant groups and the RUC (pro-protestant Royal Ulster Constabulary). But soon the army was seen as the main enemy of the Catholics; its purpose seemed to be their suppression (Ranelagh 1983:259, Wichert 1991:122). More rioting occurred when on the August 19, 1971, Brian Faulkner, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, gave permission to transfer all people under suspicion, especially IRA members, to internment camps. Internment lasted until December 5, 1975. The total number of those interned was 2,158 people. The threat of internment made Catholic people escape to the Irish Republic. And so, by the end of August, 1971 approximately 6,000 people had already fled. (*Vuosisatamme kronikka* 1987:1008, Hill and Hunt 1996:31, Ranelagh 1983:262, Ryan 1994:24.) The violence and unrest finally spread from Northern Ireland to England.

In 1974 the IRA started its bombing campaign in England. Wichert (1991:170) quotes Dathi O'Connell, a leading strategist of the Provisionals, who says that the targets were economic, military, political and judicial. The aim was to create popular support on the main continent for the English military and political withdrawal from Northern Ireland. On October 5, 1974 two bombs exploded in two pubs in Guildford, Surrey. This was the 36th IRA act of violence and one of the most disastrous in England in twelve months time (Kee 1986:10); five people were killed and several were seriously injured. Frantic search to find those responsible began immediately.

Up to this day Northern Ireland has suffered from violent acts. Ryan (1994:3) states that during the 24 years of Troubles (1968–1992) more than 3,000 people have died and several thousands have suffered physical injuries. Despite the cease-fire and negotiations in 1994–1996, and again in 1997 the vicious circle of violence has not yet been broken; each violent act of any group involved in the conflict is followed by series of attacks of revenge.

This far the present chapter has discussed the history of Anglo-Irish conflict in brief to illustrate the historical context for the analysis (chapter 3 below). The rest of the chapter will discuss the theoretical framework of the present analysis. The chapter introduces firstly some principals of the critical discourse analysis, and secondly news as a genre as mediating ideology, as well as the adaptation of critical discourse analysis used in the present study.

2.2 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS A FRAMEWORK IN ANALYSING ATTITUDES, IDEOLOGY AND BELIEFS

After a brief review of the Anglo-Irish history the basics of *critical discourse analysis* will be introduced before discussing the production and the interpretation of news. Critical discourse analysis will be used in the present analysis because attitudes, ideologies and beliefs (see the discussion of these three on page 12 below) are the main focus of the study. van Dijk (in Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard 1996:84) states that one central mission for critical discourse analysis is to clarify the relations between discourse and social power. van Dijk clarifies his point by claiming that "an analysis should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by text and talk of dominant groups or institutions." The present study aims to show and explain the features that can be interpreted as legitimising the power use of dominant groups; authorities, as well as the press. On the other hand, the study will discuss the features of the data that show the existing power structures and attitudes towards people of different status.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has its roots in discourse analysis that is based on various disciplines, such as linguistics, semiotics, psychology, narrative analysis, ethnography and conversation analysis, to mention only a few. Adaptations and applications of discourse analysis have been used in socio-linguistics, pragmatics and text linguistics, for instance. Gradually

discourse analysis has developed into an interdisciplinary discipline of its own (Fairclough 1995ab, van Dijk 1988a:3–8). Fairclough (1992:12) divides discourse analysis into two categories according to the approach: critical and non-critical. The word *critical* implies the attitude with which the texts are analysed; the analysis concentrates on looking for deeper meanings, not just surface structures and meanings. The division between those two approaches is, however, not always very clear. CDA was developed mainly in the University of East Anglia in 1970's (Fairclough 1995a). Media discourse has been one of CDA's main concerns from the beginning (Fairclough 1995a:25). In fact, CDA has been used especially in analysing various media texts, far beyond Austin's *speech act* theories (1962), in manipulating and affecting people and their thoughts, sometimes on purpose, sometimes subconsciously (see Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard 1996, Fairclough 1995ab, Fowler et al. 1979, Fowler 1991, van Dijk 1988ab).

As stated above the analysis of the data in the present paper is carried out by using an application of critical discourse analysis. Earlier the term *discourse analysis* referred to the analysis of spoken discourse texts only (see Coulthard 1977, and Coulthard and Montgomery 1981). However, discourse analysis can be applied to both written or spoken data; Fairclough (1992:73, 1995a:57-62 and 1995b:98) widens the scope of analysis to include even media texts; pictures, movements, sounds and music. He considers discourse a three dimensional phenomenon (see Table 2.2.1 below): (1) written, spoken or visualised (television) *text*, (2) *discourse practice*, which includes processes of production, distribution and interpretation of texts, and (3) *sociocultural practice* which deals with all those social and cultural activities the part of which a particular communicative event is. According to Fairclough (1995b:97) there are number of levels in which a piece of discourse can be found within sociocultural practice. Some of those levels are: the immediate situation of the piece of discourse, institutional or organizational levels, and the societal level; a person can read an interaction between an employer and

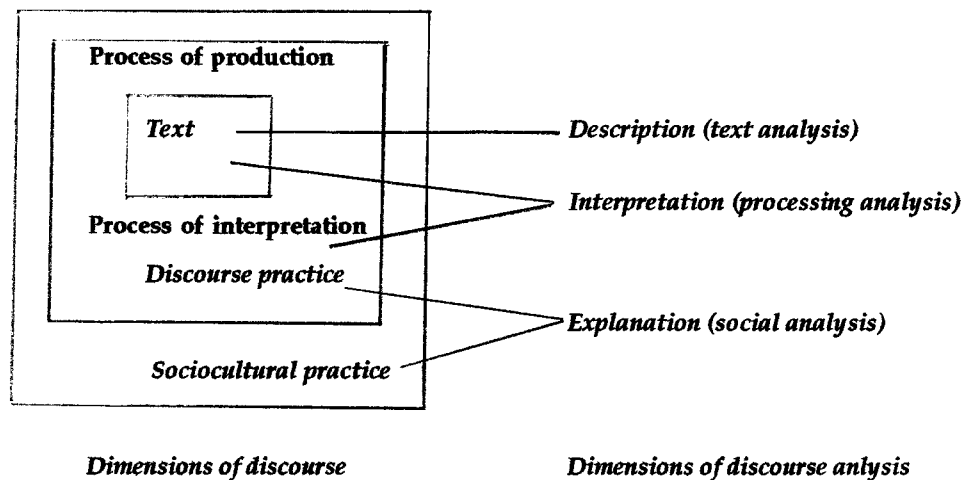
an employee, relationships between members of an institution or an organization, for example. Fairclough (1992:63–64) considers discourse as a mode of action and he claims that there is also a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure. Thus the political effects of discourse are one of his concerns. All those three dimensions discussed here are closely connected together.

Beside the three dimensions of discourse (see Table 2.2.1 below) there are also three *dimensions of analysis*: (i) *text analysis*, in other words the linguistic description of the text; (ii) *processing analysis*, which includes the interpretation of the text: the analysis of production and consumption of texts. According to Fairclough (1995b:97-100) the special feature of the critical approach to discourse analysis is that the connection between the text and sociocultural practice is made by the *discourse practice*: in other words, how the text is produced, interpreted and verbalized by using various discourse practices of appropriate discourse orders is dependent on the nature of the sociocultural practice the particular text is part of. The nature of the discourse practice affects both production and interpretation: in production it gives the form to a text and in interpretation it determines how the surface features are interpreted. The discourse practice of news production (see chapter 2.3 below) – especially those in newspapers – is taken into account in the present analysis in the form of inspecting whether the writers are identified or not, and who sets the order of discourse. The final stage that completes the analysis is the (iii) *social analysis* that explains the results of the two previous stages. The social analysis is concerned with such aspects of discourse as effects of the texts in a given context, hegemonic structures, identities of participants, as well as the representations of their relationships. Social analysis is the way to explain why people with different backgrounds (social, cultural or educational, eg.) can interpret one text in various ways.

A proper analysis must cover all these stages otherwise it is insufficient. However, the writer of the present analysis relies on the view of van Dijk (1988a:18), who claims that in order to reveal

ideological bias a more limited analysis is adequate enough. This study discusses to some extent all these dimensions of discourse and analysis but concentrates on interpretation and explanation. In order to carry out a full analysis the data should be more limited.

Table 2.2.1: Fairclough's approach to the dimensions of critical discourse analysis



(Fairclough 1992:73, 1995a:59 and 1995b:98)

Fairclough (1992:25–26, see also Fowler et al. 1979:185–213) argues that CDA tries to connect the social theory of how language works in social and political processes with linguistic text analysis. The foundation of this combination of theories is in functional linguistic theory and Halliday's *systemic functional theory* (for a brief introduction on systemic linguistics, see Butt et al. 1995). According to Fairclough (1995b:210) systemic functional linguistics is a practical tool in discourse analysis because of its functional orientation to language-learning and systemic orientation to analysis; it helps to find more information about the text and its connection to context. However, the present analysis does not make use of Halliday's theories but leaves them for further studies on the subject.

As stated already, CDA is created basically to reveal ideologies, attitudes and beliefs in texts. According to another

representative of CDA, Fowler (1996:51), it aims, firstly, to demonstrate how language is used to express biased attitudes and concepts in the disguise of objective information and, secondly, to arouse awareness of individuals to monitor their own discourse in order to avoid expressing such social values that they want to resist. Even though it is very hard or even impossible to change the language that is commonly used, it is good to be aware how that language works and what the effects are.

All these factors: ideologies, attitudes and beliefs that are discussed more in detail below, exist in any text. They are realised in several different ways in different textual contexts (van Dijk 1988b, Fairclough 1995ab, Fowler 1991) it is important for a reader to bear in mind that: a) a text can support the existing structures of the society so that it convinces the readers, with the choice of words and expressions, to believe that everything in the society is under control, even in the times of crises; in other words the readers are persuaded to approve the message by means of rethorics; (b) it is also very important to consider, whose voice it is that is actually present in a piece of news (ie. whose message is forwarded to the reading public); is it that of the source, writer or advertisers, for instance. CDA as a method helps to find out various ways to interpret texts and to explain their ideological content. However, any critical analysis of a text can produce several interpretations even though the same theories are applied; interpretation is human activity, and even the aim is to produce objective analysis, the analyst always brings her or his own experiences and world views to the analysis.

Another difficulty in using CDA as a method is that there is no one approach to a text. Applications and approaches must be chosen to fit the data, whether it is written, spoken, seen and heard or only heard text. Another thing to consider when preparing to use CDA is to find out what genre the text or texts belong to. Fairclough (1992:28–29), too, sees some limitations in using CDA: firstly, there is too much emphasis on text as a product and too little emphasis on production and interpretation of texts. Fairclough argues that insufficient attention is paid to

problems and processes of interpretation even though it is claimed that CDA is specifically about interpretation of texts. Hence interpretations are given as being self-evident and straightforward without questioning them. Nevertheless, interpretation is always a dynamic process and it is dependent on the experiences and the resources of the interpreter and the context. The second limitation is related to the active nature of the process of interpretation: when discourse is considered nothing but a reproduction of existing social structures and relationships, the importance of discourse as a component in social and cultural change is overlooked, as well as the importance of discourse as a field of social struggle. The present analyst bears in mind these pitfalls of the method discussed above (the political and social situation in Britain was somewhat different in the 1970's and 1980's than today) and aims to reason thoroughly the interpretations made.

Before going any further in discussing the relation between news and CDA, it should be explained what is meant by ideology, attitude and beliefs in the present study, as well as analyse those concepts. Basically, *ideology* as a manner of thinking which is characteristic to an individual or a group of people. This manner is based on some economic or political system or theory. In Fairclough's (1992:86) analysis frame ideology is part of the social practice; he argues that ideology is a process that is both a property of structures and a property of events, thus ideology is not something that could be simply read out of a text because different people can find different ideologies in a same piece of text (Fairclough 1995b:71-72). This view is supported by the claim that individuals build their personal ideologies (a manner of thinking, acting and expressing oneself) and world view from a set of values (Hirsjärvi and Huttunen 1989:41) around them. According to Hirsjärvi and Huttunen (1989:37) *values* are something that regulate human behaviour and aspirations. Fairclough (1995b:12) claims that in CDA the category of ideology is necessary in order to make sense the practices of discourses; practices can be ideologically charged and the multiplicity of practices can be an

aspect of ideological struggle.

According to dictionaries *attitude* is a mode of thinking and behaving in a way that indicates opinion. Social and political factors influence the use of language in different situations. If readers share the attitudes or world views of the writer they do not usually realise that there are certain attitudes in a text (Fowler 1996:34); meanings are taken as given. When individuals are growing up they learn the ways in which their society expresses attitudes; they become socialized to the attitudes of society they are part of.

Ideology is interlinked with the concept of *hegemony*, originally introduced by Gramsci. Both hegemony and ideology affect the news values discussed above. *Hegemony* refers to economic, political, ideological and psychological leadership and domination. Indicators of hegemonic dominance are, for instance, power, privileges and inequality (Eagleton 1995:27–28, Fairclough 1995b:76). Hegemony put forward the dominant opinion of a society concerning attitudes, manners, political practices, social relations and moral concepts. The view the hegemonic ideology presents is considered the “normal” view (Rachlin 1988:24–25). Dominating groups, those who own the hegemony, legitimize the way language is used through socialization (Fowler 1996:49, see also Fowler et al. 1979:185), which is carried out, for instance, in school and through media. Fairclough (1982:92) argues that hegemony is never total and it is usually lost after a while. Hence there is a constant *hegemonic struggle* between various groups. To maintain or break hegemony requires allies in the fields of finance, politics and ideology. The struggle to achieve or maintain hegemony is a constant process on several levels of society.

The final concept to be introduced here is, *belief* which, according to various dictionaries, means that the existence of something – a thing, fact or a statement, for example – is accepted as true. A belief does not require objective evidence (Rachlin 1988:24, van Dijk 1988:26, eg). If the belief about certain things is strong enough a person finds support to his belief from the experiences of the world around him. As well as attitudes, beliefs

are learned through the process of socialization. In real life, ideologies, attitudes and beliefs are sometimes difficult to separate because they are often interlinked. The present analysis does not even try to keep all those concepts separate because divisions would often be artificial and forced and would only cause confusion. In order to separate ideology, attitudes and beliefs another, perhaps more philosophical study than the present one would be required.

Fairclough (1995a:201–205, see also 1995b:188–189) gives practical guidelines how to read critically media texts in order to identify ideologies, attitudes and beliefs. He states that a reader should find answers to the following four question groups:

1. How is the text designed, why is it designed in this way, and how else could it have been designed?
2. How are texts of this sort produced, and what ways are they likely to be interpreted and used?
3. What does the text indicate about the media order of discourse?
4. What wider sociocultural processes is this text part of, what are its wider social conditions, and what are its likely effects?

The question group one includes two sections: (a) *intertextual features* (genres, voices, direct and indirect speech, eg.). Intertextual analysis emphasises the dependence of texts on present society and history. It shows how texts are made up by choosing between various *orders of discourses* (in other words, conventionalised forms such as: conversations, interviews or narratives) and connects text to social context. The second section in this group is (b) *language* that is divided into three subgroups: (i) representations (presences and absences, and backgrounding and foregrounding, eg.), (ii) relations and identities of the participants and how their voices are constructed, and (iii) image and text (how images are constructed and what is the relation between language and image, etc.) (Fairclough 1995a:202–203).

As a conclusion to the present chapter it can be stated that CDA is based on interdisciplinary disciplin of discourse analysis. The main focus of the method is to find out, interpret and explain the representations of ideologies, attitudes and beliefs found in texts. One of the leading developers of the method and theory of CDA is Norman Fairclough. The most central concepts in critical discourse analysis are the three mentioned above: ideology, attitudes and beliefs that are hidden in text, discourse practice and in sociocultural practice (the processes and social context the text is part of). Because every text is a production of its own time a text should be analysed in its social and historical context keeping in mind that every text can be interpreted in several ways: texts are often ambivalent and the ultimate truth does not exist in critical discourse analysis; the world views and the experiences of the interpreters vary from one individual to another. The present paper continues by discussing the news as a medium that conveys ideology, beliefs and attitudes.

2.3 NEWS AS A MEDIATOR OF IDEOLOGY

In this chapter news as a mediator of ideology will be discussed. The beginning of the chapter presents news as a genre and the remaining pages are dedicated to the descriptions of the processes of production and interpretation of news. This is because the material of the present study consists of articles in newspapers, and the aim of the study is to find out whether the material expresses ideology, attitudes or beliefs. The first part of this chapter deals with the function of news as well as the concepts of ideology, values and hegemony; the second part with the production and the interpretation of news. The approach to the subject is that of the critical discourse analysis that is presented above.

2.3.1 News as a Genre

News have an important role in giving information about the world around us; it is the news that tells us the most recent

developments in the Northern Irish conflict, too. News can be read in a newspaper, heard on the radio, seen and heard on television and received through the internet. Sometimes it seems impossible to avoid news. The present chapter discusses several aspects of news; the structure, values, sources, production, language and interpretation.

News are conveyed by journalists. Their journalistic ideology states that news should be true, fair, objective and balanced (van Dijk 1988a:157). Journalists have a shared professional understanding of several features of news, such as structure, style news values or style of description of individuals or groups of people (van Dijk 1988a:27) despite the channel of distribution. van Dijk (1988a:17) claims that the most simple definition of a piece of news is that it is just a proposition following another. The rule is that the most important things – which are selected by the editors – are always mentioned first, usually already in the headline. The headline tells the core of the whole story; which is repeated in more words in the first paragraph. Each paragraph repeats this rule by expressing its very core in the first sentence (van Dijk 1985:74, 1988a:16, see also Fowler 1991). The best visualization of this form is a pyramid turned upside down. The set structure makes it easy to edit texts further because stories can simply be cut shorter from the bottom. Often stories are also written and edited by a team (Fairclough 1982:78, a more detailed account in van Dijk 1988b); a person who has written the original story does not necessarily edit it to its final form. Before the story ends up to print it has been rewritten several times. The production of news is discussed more in detail below.

News as media texts are used not only simply to inform the public of local, domestic or international current affairs but to convey ideologies (Fairclough 1995a and Fowler 1991, eg.) to readers. The ideology conveyed by each paper is fitted to the political and social views of the publisher and the financiers. One way of putting things in an order of importance, as far as the various pieces of news are concerned, is to evaluate them by their news value; *news values* explain why something is considered

worth publishing and something else is not. News values are not randomly chosen; as news have an important role in maintaining the existing power structures and they also reflect class, gender and ethnicity (van Dijk 1988a:155). Depending on the political standing point of a paper the aim of set values is either to keep a status quo, not to change the society, or incite to some kind of revolution and change. Galtung and Ruge (see Fowler 1991:13–14 and van Dijk 1988a:155) have listed news values. According to them negativeness (accidents, scandals, disasters, etc.), periodicity (elections every four years, eg.), geographical and ideological proximity (events in neighbouring and ideologically close countries, as well as negative events in ideologically opposite countries), intelligibility (news items that are easily understood by majority of readers) and references to elite nations (USA, Russia, etc.), elite institution (parliament, government, judicial system, etc.) or elite individuals (president, royals, bishops, etc.) increase news value. A brief look at any newspaper or news broadcast will support Galtung and Ruge's claim. These deep rooted values (van Dijk 1988a:155) explain why there are so seldom news about positive and happy things.

2.3.2 The Production and Interpretation of News

The chapter above discussed news as a genre and the function of news. Before an event is read or heard in the news the text has gone through several phases and transformations. In this chapter the production and the interpretation of news are inspected in the light of the critical discourse analysis discussed above.

NEWS AS "THE CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY"

Sources are vital to the production of news. The existence of sources make it easier for journalists to do their work. In fact, they are often a starting point to a story by giving hints and tips to journalists. The most frequently used sources in news are so called elite sources, such as officials, politicians and police. These

kind of people have easy access to media because of their position (van Dijk 1988a:155, see also Tuchman 1978:4,68–81). Whitaker (Fowler 1991:21–22) presents a list of the sources journalists make a use of: (1) institutions (government, police, army, eg.), (2) organisations, (3) individuals who give statements; usually people with a certain status or prestige, such as bishops, film stars, politicians. An average citizen is used as a source mainly if he or she is some sort of an eye witness. Because journalism is dependent on its sources, purely objective journalism is an illusion (Fowler 1991:231, van Dijk 1988:155). In criminal cases, as the one studied in the present paper, the police are in a privileged position (Caldas–Coulthard and Coulthard 1995:168) because they lead the inquiry and only they have the access to interview records and evidence. They also decide what information they let go public. Economic factors (owners, advertisers, buyers eg.) and political factors also affect news values (Fowler 1991:122, van Dijk 1988a:19). Newspapers publish the sort of articles that the public wants to buy and read; wide circulation keeps the owners and advertisers happy. As long as the stories are bought by the public it is obvious that the news agencies and newspapers see no reason to change their product.

As stated above the journalistic ideal is producing news that are objective, impartial and unprejudiced. There are several reasons why those idealistic cornerstones of journalism are more like aims to strive to than reality (Fowler 1991:231). To begin with, there is no news without tips and information from sources discussed above. Journalists cannot in the long run keep up the credibility of their agency or newspaper or their own professional reputation by publishing stories they have invented. Another thing that prevents independence and hinders objectivity is the dependence on political and economic factors (Fowler 1991:231 and van Dijk 1988a:19). A paper cannot publish stories that might drive advertisers away or make the owners unhappy and, of course, there are the customers who buy the kind of stories they want to read – Hodge (Fowler et al. 1979:157) states that people read papers that they know will confirm their version of the

world. Newspapers and media altogether have a great significance in transmitting and spreading ideologies; the maximization of circulation guarantees the biggest possible readership of the thoughts the paper in question wants to spread. In order to maintain the circulation it will be in common interest, both economic and politic, that events and things are presented from a certain point of view (Fowler 1991:122). People usually assume that the journalistic ideal discussed above is a fact; news gives impartial and objective descriptions about world events. The truth is, however, more complicated. Fowler (1991:4, see also van Dijk 1988b:7–8 and Tuchman 1978:183) argues that news is just a construction of social reality not the reality itself. In other words, news is created; they tell one version of something that has happened. The experience of the objectivity of a story depends on the reader. Thus it is justified to claim that news are reproduction of established ideas and ideologies of social, political and economic reality (Fairclough 1995a:48, Fowler 1991:231); the political role of the media is discussed more in detail in chapter (4) below. The official policy of the press house guides the policy of an individual journalist's way of writing and the contents of his or her stories. Even the most experienced journalists do not often realise what kind of hidden messages they can send with their articles because they are so accustomed to their professional conventions.

Language plays a major role in constructing reality in news. Language in news is typically neutral in style (Davis in van Dijk 1985:46), and van Dijk (1988a:10–11) claims that the press has grammar rules of its own. For instance, headlines are usually in the passive and the tense is present even though they report past events. Tuchman (1978:106) argues that because of those own grammar rules, news texts are difficult to analyse but she does not specify whether she means grammatical or ideological analysis or both. Hall (cited in Fowler 1991:48) suggests that the language journalists use in their articles is their own version of the language that their target audience uses. Journalists probably assume that their audience shares their rethoric images and so

called common knowledge and assumptions. This assumption may be correct, at least in part. According to van Dijk (1988a:27) most journalists come from the professional middle class as does their audiences; thus their social background, ideology, beliefs and social representations are shared with their audiences, too.

THE INTERPRETATION OF NEWS

In discussing the analysis of news texts it is worth while to discuss interpretation as well as production. According to van Dijk (1988a:24), news production and interpretation are carried out with similar models; readers use various rules, such as linguistic theory, selection, or generalization to make texts meaningful. The results are dependent on the world view and experiences of each reader (van Dijk 1988a:13–14). Using rules does not, of course, mean that a reader is necessarily aware of using them. The keyword to a reader is the *meaningfulness*; the text has to make sense and fit the world view of a reader. The present section discusses some central features that guide a reader's interpretation of texts. Those features are *coherence*, *context models*, *reference*, *implicatures* and *presupposition*.

As stated above, one aspect of a text that makes it meaningful to a reader is the textual *coherence*. A text is thought to be coherent if it describes possible consecutive actions, situations or events (van Dijk 1988a:11–12). This means that individual words in a clause make sense together and clauses form understandable sentences. Further on, every succeeding sentence must have sensible connection, as well as every consecutive paragraph. Experience of the coherence of a text is dependent on a reader's knowledge about the world and his beliefs on what is possible and normal in the world (van Dijk 1988a:12, Brown and Yule 1983:62). The same word or stretch of words can mean different things to different people. Especially cultural stereotypes, in other words shared knowledge (stereotypes are discussed in chapter 2.4.3 in more detail), belong to this stage of interpretation. If a genre is extremely convention-

alised – as news is, for instance – it is easier for a reader to identify its underlying norms (Brown and Yule 1983:63).

Alongside coherence *context models* (van Dijk 1988a:23) affect the interpretation of texts. Context models are memories or images of an event in a certain context. Memories of something that has happened are always affected by individual experiences. For example, person A remembers with embarrassment a situation when she spilled wine on a tablecloth during a dinner party in a fine restaurant. She felt that everybody in the restaurant was staring and laughing at her clumsiness. Person B noticed the spilling of the wine but did not think much about it, whereas person C did not only notice the accident but also got an impression that A is a nice but nervous person. Each of these people experienced the same event but they all have different memories of it. If each A, B and C were to be used as a source of a piece of news dealing with the particular party and the incident described above they would all give their own personal accounts; thus an eye witness statement of a single incident can vary on the basis of the individual experiences and attitudes. It must be added that there are several stages of interpretation in making a piece of news: an interpretation of an event of an eye witness is further on interpreted by one or several writers and editors; the final interpretations are made by readers. According to van Dijk (1988a:22) readers of news create models in their minds while reading. These models include such categories as time, place, circumstances, people involved, the event. Every text concerning the same subject fill in the model. The model itself is based on the knowledge of the reader about similar but previous news. Creating a model on a model a reader makes further generalizations and abstractions. These models are also used in constructing frames of understanding and attitudes toward different constructions the general social knowledge and the system of beliefs are based on. The term *frame* refers to a way of thinking which gives an event such as a wedding party, for instance, set of typical features that represent a reader's knowledge of such an event (Fowler 1996:240).

The last concepts in interpretation of news discussed here are *reference*, *implicatures* and *presupposition*. According to Strawson (as cited in Brown and Yule 1983:28) an expression does not refer to anything but a person can use an expression to do so. This explanation of the term emphasizes the role of an interpreter of a text. Words are just a string of letters or sounds and the persons who deliver or receive them give them the meaning that best suits their world view. *Implicatures* (Grice as cited in Brown and Yule 1983:31) refer to the meanings the addresser (speaker) gives to his or her own words; what the speaker thinks he or she implies to or means by his or her own words and the way the speaker thinks his or her words should be received. For instance, if a speaker uses irony or sarcasm there are always people who interpret the words literally and not the way the speaker has meant. *Presupposition* is in question when some things are taken for granted as a foundation to discourse (Brown and Yule 1983:29). Some words or expressions are automatically understood to entail certain other meanings so they do not need to be explained; for example, a term *football hooliganism* entails several negative presuppositions. Presuppositions are also closely connected to stereotypes (see chapter 2.4.3 below).

As stated above, linguistic codes do not reflect reality neutrally; there is always an element of interpretation and classification of subjects of discourse (Fowler 1996:40). Eldridge (Glasgow University Media Group 1993:332) explains Durkheim's thoughts about interpretation as perceived reality that can be an illusion. Illusion here means subjective mental interpretation of an issue or a thing. He also points out that those perceptions of reality can have real consequences such as, for instance, behaviour towards a certain group of people.

This far the present thesis has discussed the history of Northern Irish conflict, and how ideology, beliefs and attitudes are conveyed through the production and received through interpretation of news. As stated above news production and interpretation are similar procedures with classification, presuppositions, values and attitudes; they are both affected by social

contexts and experiences of individuals. A news text must be coherent and understandable to readers so that they can interpret it.

The approach to the production and interpretation of news in the present study is based on critical discourse analysis discussed above because CDA is at present the most practical tool to analyse values, attitudes or beliefs in texts. The following chapter will discuss in detail how the present analysis uses CDA as a method.

2.4 THE METHOD OF ANALYSIS

This study has above drawn a picture of the history of the Anglo-Irish relations, critical discourse analysis and the production and interpretation of news. The present chapter discusses one version of CDA used as a method in analysing news texts. The aim of the analysis below is to find out whether there are ideologies, beliefs and attitudes to be found in the material analysed. The purpose of the study is also to interpret and explain the findings.

To show ideological attitudes or the lack of them it is not necessary to analyse the texts chosen as material for the analysis sentence by sentence from the syntactic point of view (van Dijk 1988a:18). The main reason for this is that it would be very time consuming because the whole material is so vast. On the other hand, a close syntactic analysis would require a reduction of the data to the absolute minimum; hence the comparison between two newspapers in the different turning points of the case in question would be impossible.

As stated above (see chapter 2.2) media is not a passive documentator of reality because of the production process and the specific schematic form, lexical style and rhetorics; as the texts are rewritten and edited the emphasis of texts can change (van Dijk 1988a:154). The final form a text is dependent on the mental models and attitudes of editors and journalists, who act on the basis of common social attitude.

Because of the nature of the production process, which is referred to above, media texts should be “read in between the lines”, as the saying goes. This means that the texts should be inspected from several points of view. According to Davis (in van Dijk 1985:46) a reader has to keep three questions in mind while reading: (1) WHO is talking in a report? (ie. whose words are used and whose point of view supported), (2) WHAT is being said? (ie. what is emphasized and what is connotated by the words used) and (3) WHAT IS MEANT by the words that are used? (ie. thoughts that are conveyed in the text so that it would make sense to a reader in the context). Because these are the three questions are more simple from those of Fairclough’s (see p.15 above) they lay the basis of the present analysis. The question (question (1), p.15) of how the text is designed and how it could have been designed is left totally aside as it would be time consuming and it would demand drastic reduction of material. In addition to these three the analysis will discuss the effects and indications of the texts (see Fairclough’s questions (3) and (4) p.15 above).

The present analysis concentrates on the following aspects in aiming to find out the ideologies, attitudes and beliefs in the data: (1) the types of the articles and the front page position, (2) the headline and the main topic, (3) the prestige of sources, (4) the concept of *us* and *them* in models of interpretation concerning the naming of the *Four*, stereotypes and the presentation of the images of the *Four*, and the image of authorities. The present analysis is preceded by a brief overview to the whole material including the description of articles, writers and the prestige of sources.

As stated above, the material chosen to the present analysis consists of all the articles found in *The Guardian* and *The Times* from the beginning of the trial to the conviction in 1975, and the days around the release in 1989. The selected data is from three different periods: the opening of the trial, the conviction and the release; this is because a fuller picture of the whole process and of the possible changes in attitudes, ideologies and beliefs can thus be given.

The first stage of the analysis is to present the data selected from the material, and the grounds on which the very data is chosen. In the next stage the presentation of speech is discussed, which is followed by the discussion of the presentation of sources, the presentation of speech, naming and stereotypes of the *Guildford Four*, and finally, the image of authorities. However, the introduction of the concepts of the analysis begins with the discussion of the importance of the position of an article in a newspaper.

2.4.1 The Position of the Articles Discussing the Guildford Case

In a newspaper there are several kinds of articles, such as short descriptions of events; as in the following piece of news:

Eighteen people, including Britons, were feared drowned when an oil drilling platform sank in the Gulf of Suez last night, United States officials said today
(*The Times* Oct. 10, 1974:1)

This piece of news tells about an accident, stating first the number of dead and the nationality of some victims. The next piece of information is the nature of the accident followed by the place of the accident and finally the source of information. There are also editorials, letters to the editor, discussions of an event that is considered important, and so forth. The range of article types in a newspaper is wide; the same event, if considered to be of importance, can be discussed in various types of articles in one paper. It can be assumed that if there is a small time routine crime without any special social importance, joy-riding, mugging or burglary, for example, the article is a brief one and it is placed among other similar small time criminal stories. The articles placed on the front page are considered the most important. This is because the front page, and the headlines in it, are the first thing a reader notices in any paper; the front page is not wasted on secondary subjects. It can also be assumed that if an event is dealt in

several types of articles in a issue it is considered very important.

The news production was discussed in more detail above (chapter 2.2) but let it be repeated that the common rule is that the headline of an article tells the essence of the story (van Dijk 1985:74, eg.). But the headline has other functions as well. One of the functions is that a headline should draw a potential reader's attention to the article; it is a gimmick that raises the curiosity of readers and encourages them to read the whole story. Each newspaper and the editors consider themselves what is important and worth to be printed and in what particular order. The headline is an invitation to a reader.

2.4.2 The Sources of News

From the headlines and the cores of the individual texts the analysis moves on to look at the texts more deeply. It is essential to news production to have sources. It is stated above (chapter 2.3.2) that the usual sources of the news are so called elite sources. The present study looks into the use of sources, especially from the point of using direct and indirect quotations and the way they are used. Direct and indirect quotations are used as a rhetorical strategy to add to the credibility and to legitimize what is reported. The use of direct statements also adds to the vividness of texts (Caldas-Coulthard in Coulthard 1994:303 and van Dijk 1988b:87). There are four types of access of sources to the media: (1) direct access with a person's own voice and wording, (direct quotations); this is the group who often sets the order of discourse (Fairclough 1992:68–69, 1995b:1), in other words: who has the leading role in an event – openly or covertly, (2) indirect access; the message is getting through even though if conveyed by paraphrasing or indirect quotations. The next type of access are (3) nameless sources; usually so called ordinary people, individuals without a special social status, thus their identification is not considered necessary. A nameless source can be referred to as “a passer-by” or “an eye witness”. In some instances the nameless sources are people who want to stay unidentified. The last group (4) consists

of those who have no access to media themselves. They may be present in discussion, but merely as objects. Such groups are usually minority and marginal groups in any society.

The information given by sources can be, for instance, in a written or spoken form. Spoken and written texts show several differences (see Brown and Yule 1983:14–19, Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard 1996:171). For example, authentic speech has false starts, hesitations, dialectical markers, paralinguistic signals, repetition of syntactic structures and words, and slips of tongue. There are certain conventions about how speech is transcribed into written form, in other words quotations are modifications and reductions of what a person has said, presented in quotation marks (Caldas-Coulthard in Coulthard 1994:297). As it is impossible to report an exchange of ideas or an interview as a whole, only those parts that are considered significant are picked out. Quotations are used in order to distance the reporter from the subject and to emphasize the impression that someone else, an expert or an eye witness, for example, is expressing the desired opinions (Tuchman 1978:95); the information that is realised as a quotation is selected from longer statements. This brings the reader and the speaker closer together (Fowler et al. 1979:139, van Dijk 1988b:87). In fact, it is editors and reporters who use their power in picking and selecting the statements and news items that fit the image of the newspaper and create the impression it wants to give about certain events, individuals or groups of people (Caldas-Coulthard in Coulthard 1994:303).

As a conclusion of the present section it can be stated that the use and presentation of sources is very revealing from the ideological point of view. The selection of news items and statements, as well as the status of the sources and in what light all these are expressed reveal the attitude towards the subject. For example, a piece of news usually has a totally different air if the opinions referred to are from the government or from the opposition parties.

The next step in the present chapter is to introduce some concepts that are relevant to the present analysis.

2.4.3 The concept of *Us* and *Them*

This chapter discusses the concept of *us* and *them* in categorizing people, as well as some means of persuasion and the transitivity of texts. These are the key concepts of the adaptation of CDA used in the present analysis.

Another feature that expresses the existing ideologies and attitudes alongside with the selection and the use of sources and the place of the article in a paper, is the grouping of people in two groups: *us* and *them* (Fowler 1991:49–53) and – the idea of consensus in the society. *Us* is understood as an inside group and *they* as an outside group; *they* are usually experienced as creating some kind of threat to *us* – *they* threaten *our* peace and the order of life. A good example of this distinction is the *Cold War* era, when the United States and the Soviet Union created their own ideological blocks: NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Each block considered themselves as *us* (ie. normal) whom the other, *they* (ie. some how different) threatened. An inside group, *us*, strengthens the sense of its members' unity and togetherness and the consensus. It also reduces the feeling of uncertainty through language uses that point out the differences between these two groups. To put it in a pointed way: *us* represents goodness, and *them* evil, and for the purpose of consensus in society this image needs to be maintained.

Us and *Them* in Categorizing People

The distinction between *us* and *them* is presented in the media in several ways. For instance, van Dijk (1988a:156), who has done a great deal of research on racist attitudes, claims that media maintains controlled unawareness about minorities; in other words information given out concerning those minorities is as vague and brief as possible. The briefness rule can be broken only when there is something negative to tell, as negativeness is one of the most important criteria for the selection of newsworthy stories as already stated above (p.17 above). If minorities try to get

themselves heard they are labelled as being troublemakers.

Fowler (1991:49–53) claims that the press helps to legitimize social processes and structures by grouping people in *us* and *them*. If there is a visible conflict between the facts and attitudes and beliefs, the problem is solved by explaining that there is no inconsistency, for example, it is often claimed that immigration itself creates more criminality; in other words foreigners have a more criminal nature than native citizens. However, the facts and statistics do not support the claim, but still those using the claim do not acknowledge the inconsistency. Fowler (1991:49) claims that the English press sees the English as superior to the Irish, the Scottish, and the Welsh; the behaviour of the latter is evaluated according to English standards. Eagleton (1995:3) makes the same observation as Fowler and argues that the English think that it is impossible to teach the Irish to behave like civilized people because they are in some way different. On the other hand, British, especially English, are considered to be so called “ordinary people”.

The rest of the present chapter discusses some realisations of the *us* and *them* distinction that are relevant, as far as the present analysis is concerned: naming, the use of stereotypes, presentation of acts and actors, and other ways of creating images of people involved with the news item given by a text.

According to Fowler (1991:98–99) in the English language naming conveys social values: power, distance, formality, solidarity, or intimacy, for instance. The making of interpretations of namings sometimes needs delicacy; it is not always easy to draw a line between various types of naming (formal, informal, neutral prejudiced) because the context affects to the interpretation. Naming can be used in discriminating people because words have special connotations (Fowler 1991:94): “Mr Bob Jones” is neutral but the “Bob Jones, a freedomfighter” or the “Bob Jones, a terrorist” are strongly biased. Sometimes the context of naming reveals the attitude, for example, if an authority is named as “Former Home Secretary, Sir Michael Cane” and an ordinary citizen as “Jones” in the same piece of news, it is justified to claim

that “Jones” has less value in the eyes of the news house as “Sir Michael”; the message is conveyed to the readers too. The naming and the use of stereotypes can sometimes be seen as similar phenomena – naming can be a part of creating a stereotype – thus the two are discussed here in the same context.

Stereotypes are generalised oversimplifications or conclusions of single individuals or events with which we label people, phenomena, and events, and they are conclusions made from empirical experiences (Gudykunst and Kim 1984:20). They are interpretations, from which it follows that thought becomes uncritical routine and discourse becomes prejudiced (Fowler 1996:26). Stereotypes are a way of members of a society as a group of making sense and of analysing the world by labelling, for example, people, phenomena, or events, with certain characteristics (van Dijk (1988a:25–26, 1988b:109). Newspapers have an important role in creating stereotypes; a startling event confirms stereotypical thinking, and in reverse, the stronger the stereotype the more newsworthy an event is. (Fowler 1991:17.) The use of stereotypes easily reveals the prejudice of their users and at the same time something of their world view.

Each culture creates its own representation models of presenting stereotypes. If this model is negative or based on a lack of factual information it is said that it is prejudiced, sexist, or racist (van Dijk (1988a:25–26, 1988b:109); stereotypes are often used to define those who are considered different from one’s own peer group (see also p.28 above). There is a tacit agreement on the cultural interpretation of each stereotype. Stereotypes that reveal attitudes toward other people can be realised by references made to them. References to people in texts can be made in several ways. Naming, for example, can be official: *Police Constable Andrew Wilkis*, unofficial: *Andrew* or *Andy*, or stereotyped: *blue coat* or *flat foot*. References are not necessarily as clear as in the examples above; they can be complex and hidden in the text. For instance, consider this piece of text:

Mrs Maguire and her husband, who served eight years,
moved to London from Belfast 20 years ago. They are both

catholics but claim to be opposed terrorism.
 (*The Times* Oct. 19, 1989:5A)

The last line conveys a stereotype that the writer has: Irish catholics as a rule approve violence and terrorism. It appears that the writer is surprised that Mr and Mrs Maguire should “claim to be opposed terrorism”.

As stated above the English press has an arrogant attitude toward the Irish, Scots and Welsh (Fowler 1991:49). They are seen as inferior when compared to English, who are seen as the leading nation of the British Isles. The arrogance easily leads to the use of stereotyped interpretations of behaviour whereas individual characteristics are ignored. As three of the *Guildford Four* were Irish, and alleged IRA members, as the bombings happened in England and as the targets were English, it can be expected that the news concerning the case have some stereotypical features. Since Fowler (1991:17) argues that stereotypes are born by startling events, and the stronger the stereotype the more certainly it will be published in news we may expect to find some stereotypes in the data.

The naming and the use of stereotyped models of interpretation have an effect on how the images of the people that are present in texts are perceived by readers. The final section of the present chapter discusses the creation and perception of images (apart from stereotypes) as a part of *us* and *them* distinction.

Us and Them as the Means of Persuasion

There is another way to use the *us* and *them* distinction than just categorization of people; it can be used as the means of persuasion. *Persuasion* is the concept used in explaining the situation when readers willingly believe or agree with the news they hear or read (van Dijk 1988b: 84–85, eg.). Extremely persuasive text shares the ideologies, attitudes and beliefs of the reader, thus the reader experiences that the paper is credible and trustworthy. For instance, a supporter of the Conservative party

would not find the Labour party newspaper trustworthy or persuasive.

Persuasion is realised in the way details, such as numbers, names of places, names and titles of the people giving the information, or names of institutions are frequently used in texts (Tuchman 1978 and van Dijk 1988b) and personalisation (Fowler 1991:91–92), in other words, direct and indirect quotations of the sources: news is delivered as a direct quote or paraphrase of an utterance of a named individual, such as the Prime Minister. All minor details, reinforce the reader's belief in the accuracy and truthfulness of news. According to Tuchman (1978:88) the rule of news production is: the more details the more validity. On the other hand, if there are too many details they all lose their meaning (Fowler 1991:92) and the text only becomes confusing.

Similar means are used in similar purposes in factual writing. Examples of this use of details is presented below (see also appendices I, II and III): there are plenty of figures, such as quantity, age, or amount that are used in order to convince and persuade the reader :

I

At the same time as the economies of the enemy states fell into hands of depression during the war the Soviet Union became able to arm the front with adequate quantity of arms and ammunition and also to gather some reserves. During the last three years of war the tank industry manufactured approximately 30 thousand tanks, guns and armoured cars per year; the aeroplane industry manufactured approximately 40 thousand aeroplanes; the gun industry manufactured approximately 120 thousand guns of various calibre sizes about 450 thousand light machine guns and machine guns, more than 3 million rifles and about 2 million submachine guns; mortar industry manufactured approximately 100 thousand mortars. The quality of the Soviet-made armament was not poorer but in fact even better than that of German.

(Aleksandrov et al. 1948:231; translation from Finnish TM, emphasis added)

II

As the total output of industry was more than doubled during the five-year period, the group A (the heavy industry) almost tripped but the group B (the light industry) grew only 1.5 times bigger (156 per cent compared to the year 1928).

(Kim et al. 1978:336; translation from Finnish TM, emphasis added)

Example I emphasises the huge quantities the Soviet war industry has manufactured. The purpose is to convince the reader to believe that industry is effective but not at the cost of quality. The last sentence of the paragraph even states the superiority of the Soviet armoury over German. According to this statement Germans are industrious and thorough as workers but the Soviet workers are even better; the armoury they have made is far better than that of German. A reader can draw a conclusion that the Soviet system is superior to that of German: it is an honour to be building a Soviet nation. The figures or lists of products manufactured are there only in order to convince the reader. Whether the numbers are correct or not is irrelevant.

Example II continues using figures and amounts. The claim of example II that "the group B (the light industry) grew only 1.5 times bigger (156 per cent compared to the year 1928)" first belittles the achievement but by converting the "1.5 times" into per cents the image is turned upside down. The text implies that the Soviet system can afford to consider the growth of 156 per cent in production is less than could be expected. The Soviet system is described as incomparable to others; both by quality and amount. The exact production figures of 1928 are not told, however.

The details in the examples above do not carry much information themselves but they support the officially approved ideology. As stated above, there is a thin line between the distribution of too many or too few details in a text. The choice is up to a writer or an editor; whether s/he wants to give information or confuse and hide the real issues from readers, or whether s/he wants to give a special emphasis on some issues.

Another way to use persuasion is to present things as self-evident presuppositions. A reader is expected to take the claims made as for granted as in example III below:

III

Everyone knows the indisputably crushing power of the logic of Stalin, his crystal clear mind, his will hard as steel, his loyalty to the Party, his glowing belief in people, and his love for people. Everyone knows his modesty and simplicity and his considerate behaviour, and his unforgiving hatred toward enemies of the people. Everyone is aware that he does not tolerate idle noise, masters of pompous speech or idle babblers, moaners or panic-stricken people. Stalin is a genius and considerate in solving complicated political questions; in there where the consideration of all aspects of positive and negative factors involved is needed. And at the same time Stalin is the greatest master of all in brave revolutionary measures and in rigorous turns.

Stalin is a meritorious continuator of Lenin's work; in other words as we say it in the Party: Stalin is Lenin today. (Aleksandrov et al. 1948:242; translation from Finnish TM, emphasis added. See also Appendix III)

Even though example I is not a news text it is a clear example of an extremely persuasive text. Modern western news texts are likely to be more moderate in expressing persuasion. The excerpt begins with the common supposition that "Everyone knows" and "Everyone is aware" of the incomparable qualities and abilities of Stalin: Stalin "is a genius", he "is the greatest master of all" and "a meritorious continuator of Lenin's work". This is all taken for granted. The text persuades a reader to think that Stalin, the great leader, is able to overcome the greatest obstacles on the way of the nation; a reader can see no choice. If readers can take some things for granted it is easier for them to maintain their belief in structures and peace of society, as well as look to the future without fear.

As a conclusion there are several ways to use the distinction of *us* and *them*. People can be categorized according to their personal or social qualities. Those who are considered normal belong to *us*. Another way to use the this distinction is to

rhetorical means of persuasion; the existing norms are presented as normal. The means of persuasion can vary from modest to extreme.

2.4.4 The Concept of Transitivity as a Tool of Analysis

After discussing the use of *us* and *them* in categorizing people and as the means of persuasion it is time to take brief look into the concept of *transitivity* as a tool of analysis.

According to Trew (in Fowler et al 1979:122–123) the core of expressing ideology is not so much the frequency of references to participants but the distribution of active or passive agent and affected. Fowler (1991:98) claims that those who are in an authoritative position in the society are *subjects* (also called as semantic “agent”) whereas those who have less power are *objects* (also called as “patients” or “beneficiaries”). A good tool in order to inspect the distribution of active and passive *agents* (also called as *actors*) and affected is M.A.K. Halliday’s *systemic functional grammar* (Butt et al 1995:38 and Fowler 1991:69, see also Fowler et al. 1979, Fowler 1996), which divides the functions of language into three: 1) *The ideational function*, which means that an addresser expresses the world around him/her, as well as his/her inner world; thoughts and experiences. 2) *Interpersonal function*, which means that a person expresses him/herself in order to communicate with other people; for instance, a person might need some company and wants some company, or s/he has an important point to make. 3) *Textual function* refers to the language which makes the discourse event possible; a writer or speaker is able produce texts to be received. Part of the textual function are the concepts of *theme* and *rheme* (Butt et al. 1995:92–97). The *theme* is the first element in a clause and the rest of it is the *rheme*; the *theme* can be a single word or a group of words. For example,

THEME

RHEME

The bunny	chased the tiger all around the woods
All around the woods	the bunny chased the tiger
The Tiger	was chased all around the woods by the bunny

In a whole text the first sentence or clause is the theme. As according to But et al. (1995:97) the first paragraph sets the frame to the rest of the text it could be claimed that the first element of a sentence sets its frame.

Compare the following (the activity is underlined and the actor is in bold): 1a) "**The judge** convicted the accused ..." and 1b) "The accused were convicted ...", or 2a) "**Police** lifted charges against Mr Jones", and 2b) "Mr Jones was charged of ...". Examples 1a) and 2a) emphasize the actor whereas in 1b) and 2b) they are effaced to the background. The emphasizing of an actor by naming and especially presenting him or her in the beginning of a sentence, presents him or her as an active individual (or institution or representative of an institution). Depending on the context the emphasizing of actors can add to their positive or negative image; if an act itself is considered negative, murder, for instance, the actor can be clearly present as in "**Mr Paul Jones** murdered Miss Rachel Smith" or effaced "Miss Rachel Smith was murdered by Paul Jones"; "**Mr Paul Jones**" is the theme of the first sentence whereas "Miss Rachel Smith" that of the second sentence. The latter sentence emphasizes more the act and the victim, whether the actor, "Paul Jones", is present or not. The same effect is given by acts of authoritative figures; if their acts discussed are considered somehow disputable, as large half-random raids, they are likely to be referred to in a following way: "large areas were raided" instead of: "**police** raided large areas". On the whole, if a person is to be given an image that the reading public considers positive, the actor is combined closely to the act (in an active sentence), but if the aim is still to present a person in a good light while his or her actions or states of affairs are disputable the actor and acts are effaced. Also, as stated above, the negative aspects can be emphasised in a similar way. The effect is totally up to context. The use of *by* agent structures, as in: "an apple

was stolen *by Peter*", is a borderline case, as it mentions the actor but he is still backgrounded.

Alongside the transitivity of the text it is not insignificant what words are used, when actions are discussed. For instance, "speaking" can be referred to in several ways: "say", "insist", "claim", "state", to mention few. Each expression has its own meaning; "say" is rather neutral, "insist" is used when people are arguing and the other party does not quite believe what the other "insists". "Claim" can be understood to be close to the meaning of "insist" but also a milder version of "state". "Stating" implies that what a person says is a fact. Compare:

- A) Peter said that George took the apple
- B) Peter insisted that George took the apple [and not Peter]
- C) Peter claimed that George took the apple
- D) Peter stated that George took the apple

The sentences B) and C) are stronger expressions than A) and D).

This chapter has given the guidelines along which the following analysis is made. The features discussed, such as the use and importance of sources and the distinction between us and them by the means of naming, the use of stereotypes, naming and references to people, the presentation of activities and actors, and the effect of taking things for granted. The remaining pages concentrate on finding the answer to the question presented on the page 2, above: namely, whether the press was prejudiced against the *Guildford Four* before the conviction, in 1974–1975. To enable comparison the analysis of the attitude of the press is expanded to include the coverage of the release of the *Four* in October 1989.

As the selected data is still too large to carry out a full investigation, sentence by sentence, the investigation of the aspects discussed above had to be restricted: the naming and references, and stereotypes of the *Four*, references to actions or states of the authorities, as well as the image of authorities given in the data. The reason for concentrating on these features rise

from the data itself; they are the most distinctive aspects of the texts, and they enable comparison of the texts.

3. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE MATERIAL AND THE ANALYSIS OF THE SIX KEY ARTICLES

After discussing the historical context, CDA, the production and interpretation of news, and their ideological aspects, the present study has come to the point when it is time to put CDA to the test. This chapter presents first the total material selected for the analysis (this includes the total amount of articles, the types of articles, how many articles are on the first page, how often are the writers identified and the use of direct quotations) and conclusions that can be made from the whole material. The rest of the chapter discusses and analyses more specifically the data chosen.

3.1 A FEW REMARKS ON THE MATERIAL

The material for the present analysis is taken from two English newspapers *The Guardian* and *The Times*. The analysis is based on these two papers because they are the only papers that cover the periods under discussion (from December 1974 to October 1989) available in Finland. Because of the method it is also only reasonable to delimit the sources in two papers that represent different political views; *The Times* is conservative and *The Guardian* is more liberal.

The whole material consists of 80 articles; 42 articles from *The Guardian* (18 in 1974–1975 and 24 in 1989) and 38 articles from *The Times* (16 in 1974–1975 and 22 in 1989). The articles discussed are selected from separate issues two separate periods: December 3, 1974–October 23, 1975 and October 18–25, 1989. The principle was to include every single article that discusses the case of the *Guildford Four*. Those articles that only named the *Four* but mainly discussed other things (the *Birmingham Six*, eg.) were

excluded, however. Because the material on the whole is so vast, only some articles, considered central by the present author, are selected for a closer, more detailed analysis.

The analysis will begin with several readings of the whole material to get an overall picture of the article for a closer inspection. This helps to focus the analysis to choose the data in order to answer the question about the possible prejudice of the press discussed above (p. 2, eg.). Each time a text is read through, questions, ideas and images rise from it. The aim is to first identify possible prejudiced features of the articles and then explain them. In other words, the material will guide the analysis.

The present analysis will be carried out by applying the concepts and methods of critical discourse analysis. As presented above (chapter 2.3 above) there is no single approach to a text; the analytic design must be constructed keeping in mind the genre the text belongs to and the amount of text to be analysed, as well as the historical and social context. The core of the analysis is the interpretation of texts. The present study is carried out by combining various ways of approaching media texts.

The present chapter continues the presentation of the material by discussing the types of articles, their position in the papers, the identified and unidentified writers, and the use of sources. It should be stated that emphasis (italics, underlining or bold-face) is all by the present writer, unless otherwise indicated.

3.1.1 The Types of Articles

During the period of 1974–1975 most of the texts written about the trial of the *Four* are standard news articles about the investigation and the procedures in the court room. It is only after the sentence is announced (October 22, 1975) that *The Guardian* (October 23, 1975) introduces an article that covers nearly half a page to describe the whole process and the backgrounds of the *Four*. The only article that differs from an ordinary news article during this period is the one in *The Times* (September 18, 1975); it mainly quotes and comments statements given to police by two of the

accused, Patrick Armstrong and Carole Richardson.

The Guardian covers the trial on the front page only on September 17, 1975, in the beginning of the trial, and on October 23, 1975, after the conviction. *The Times* gives the case more front page coverage than *The Guardian*; there are four front page articles: (1) the first of the *Four* is remanded (December 3, 1974), (2) the second man is officially charged (December 5, 1974), (3) during the trial (October 1, 1975), and (4) after the trial (October 23, 1975).

In 1989 there are various types of articles discussing the *Guildford Four* case even though the conventional news article is dominant (see Table 3.1.1a below). Besides the news articles in *The Guardian* there is a column (October 20:3), leading articles (October 20:22), a special article (October 20:23), interviews (October 20:1, 21:1/26), and background articles (October 18:21, 20:2). Sometimes the type is a mixture of several types. There are more conventional news articles in *The Times* than in *The Guardian* but on October 20 there are also a leading article (p.15), a discussion article (p. 14), a summary of parliament discussion (p.11) and a column (p.3).

Table 3.1.1a The types of articles discussing the Guildford case in 1989

	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The Times</i>
News	14	17
Editorials	1	1
Comments of the paper	2	–
Columns	1	1
Discussion	–	1
Special Reports	3	2
Interview	3	–

There are also more front page positions in 1989 than in 1974–1975 in *The Guardian*, which covers the quashing of the *Guildford Four's* sentences on seven front page articles: on October 18, 20 and 21 there are two front page articles in each paper, and on the 19 one article. *The Times* puts only four articles on the front page (October 19) which is exactly as many as in 1974–1975. Those are two articles on October 19 and one each on 20 and 21. *The Guardian* considers the release more important

than *The Times* and they both consider it a more important an event than the trial of the *Four*: within eight days the case is much more discussed (both the number and variation of the articles published are greater) than during the period of 1974–1975.

As a conclusion it can be stated that the processes of the investigation and trial were considered as routine news whereas the release raised disturbance both in the media and the public. The papers had an urge to discuss and write about the case from various points of view; they tried to find both explainers and explanations. It should also be borne in mind as stated above that the quashing of the Guildford convictions was the first high profile case of the kind and deep down it was probably hoped to be the last one too.

3.1.2 The Identified and Unidentified Writers in the Whole Material

The second level of the description of the material of the present analysis is to see whether the texts are written by an identified or anonymous writer. If the writer is identified the article is more openly an individual's – in other words, a certain journalist's – own interpretation of an event he writes about. An anonymous article can be written, rewritten and edited by several people, who contribute to the interpretation process of news production (see chapter 2.2 above). If an article is rewritten several times the result will be an interpretation of an interpretation of an interpretation of a certain event (van Dijk 1988a:154). Different writers can emphasize different things, hence the final story may differ from the original quite a lot. Articles written by unidentified writers can be interpreted as expressions of the newspaper's official view of the state of affairs in question.

Of the articles from the period of the trial (1974–1975) 11 of the writers out of 18 articles were identified in *The Guardian*, and 9 out of 16 in *The Times* (see Table 3.1.2a below). In *The Times* one of those 9 is not identified by name but as a "Staff Reporter" (December 6, 1974:1), and one article (December 3, 1974:2) is filled

in by "Our Legal Correspondent" and one (December 5, 1974:2) by "Our Political Correspondent". The articles that have no identification of the writer are most presumably taken from news agency prints and are edited to printed form by each paper. This assumption is supported by the fact that there are striking similarities between some articles in both papers (see *The Guardian* (p.8) and *The Times* (p.4), September 24, 1975, eg.) and the knowledge that only one newspaper, *The Surrey Daily Advertiser*, had its own reporter present throughout the trial (Kee 1986:197).

In October 1989 the writers were identified in 22 articles out of 24 in *The Guardian*, and 19 out of 22 in *The Times* (see Table 3.1.2a below) Both papers published several articles that were written by two or three identified writers. Some of the identified writers had also their field of speciality mentioned, such as a *Legal Affairs Correspondent*, *Crime Correspondent* or a *Home Affairs Correspondent*.

Before turning to the investigation of the use of sources it can be concluded that because there are more identified writers in October 1989 than in 1974–1975, the quashing of the sentence is considered to be much more important an event than the trial and conviction. Presumably the trial was considered somehow a routine case in the sense that case was considered already solved when the charges were pressed and the trial was a formality in closing the case. Another explanation to the difference is the Prevention of Terrorism Act that is referred above; the papers were probably cautious and wanted to avoid giving too much space to people who were considered as terrorists.

Table 3.1.2a Identified and unidentified writers in 1974–1975 and 1989

	<i>The Guardian</i>		<i>The Times</i>	
	1974–1975	1989	1974–1975	1989
Identified	11	21	9(*)	17
Unidentified	7	5	7	4

(*) includes "Staff Reporter"

3.1.3 The Prestige of Direct and Indirect Sources in the Whole Material

After discussing the types of articles and the significance of the identified and unidentified writers the present section moves to investigate the prestige of the sources in the whole material.

During the period of police investigation and the trial it is the people with authority or social status who were able to express their views about the case. This finding confirms the statement above (p.18) that elite groups have an easier access to media than so called ordinary people. The main characters of the Guildford case in 1974–1975 are the accused, lawyers – defence and prosecution – witnesses, the Surrey police and the judge and yet most of the articles in both, *The Guardian* and *The Times* quote mostly the officials. As can be seen in Table 3.1.2b the ratio of direct quotations used *The Guardian* is the following (the percentage is calculated from the total of direct quotations): (1) prosecution (27%), (2) witnesses (20%), (3) police (12%) and the accused (12%), (4) defence lawyers (10%) and confession statements (10%), (5) the judge (7%), and (6) other official sources (3%). The sources of direct quotations in *The Times* are: (1) prosecution (24%) and confession statements (24%), (2) the judge (17%), (3) defence lawyers (14%) and police (14%), (4) witnesses (10%) and the accused (10%), and (5) a deported Irishman (3%) and the Criminal Justice Act (3%). Direct quotations that are taken into account are longer stretches than one or two words.

Table 3.1.2b

The per centage of the distribution of direct quotations in *The Guardian* and *The Times* in 1974–1975

	<i>The Guardian</i>		<i>The Times</i> [*]	
	No	%	No	%
accused	9	12	3	10
confession statements	7	10	–	–
The Criminal Justice Act	–	—	1	3
defence lawyers	7	10	4	14
a deported Irishman	–	—	1	3
judge	5	7	5	17
other official sources	2	3	–	—
police	9	12	4	14
prosecution	20	27	7	24
witnesses	15	20	3	10
TOTAL	74	100 (101)	28	100 (95)

[*]plus one article that consists of two confession statements (*The Times*, September 18, 1975:2). Because it is disputable whether the *Four* are accountable of their statements whole article it is thus excluded from the presentation of table.

In October 1989 both, *The Guardian* and *The Times*, use more frequent direct quotations than during the investigation and the trial in 1974–1975. In *The Guardian* the three most quoted sources are: (1) Gerard Conlon (24%), (2) QC (Queen's Counsel), for the Crown (22%), and (3) both Lord Lane, the judge of the hearing (8%), and Sir Peter Imbert, Metropolitan Police Commissioner (8%). In *The Times* the QC for the Crown is given the first place (28%), in the second place there are the lawyers of the *Four* (16%), and Gerard Conlon is the third (9%) (see Table 3.1.2c below). In addition to direct quotations, both papers publish articles that are written by campaigners: in *The Guardian* Ros Franey (October 18, 1989:21) and Robert Kee (October 20, 1989:23) and in *The Times* Lord Scarman (October 20, 1989:14); in some respect they could be counted as direct quotations but they are left outside the present listing because it is impossible to equate a whole article to short quotations.

Table 3.1.2c

The per centage of the distribution of direct quotations in *The Guardian* and *The Times* in October 1989

	<i>The Guardian</i>		<i>The Times</i> [*]	
	No	%	No	%
Conlon, Gerard	26	24	8	9
Crown Prosecution Service and other official sources	3	3	-	-
experts	-	-	3	3
family members of Hill and Conlon	3	3	7	7
Hill, Paul	5	5	1	1
Home Secretary (Douglas Hurd)	5	5	6	6
Imbert, Sir Peter	8	8	-	-
judge (Lord Lane)	8	8	3	3
Irish Commission for Prisoners Overseas representatives	-	-	2	2
lawyers of the <i>Four</i>	6	6	15	16
MP's pro- campaign	2	2	-	-
Maguire, Ann	-	-	2	2
Prime Minister (Margaret Thatcher)	2	2	-	-
QC's for the Crown and the DPP	22	22	27	28
significant campaigners	7	7	7	7
Solicitor General (Sir Nicholas Lyall)	-	-	5	5
Surrey Police	-	-	2	2
various sources	1 each	1 each	1 each	1 each
TOTAL	107	100	97	100

[*] one article (October 20, 1989:11B) is left out of count of direct quotations because direct and indirect quotations are not clearly marked.

At this stage of the case, in 1989, the use of sources is less restricted than in the 1970's as can be seen in the high number of the direct quotations. There are still several sources that are just paraphrased. *The Times* clearly leans more on authoritative sources, such as lawyers for instance, than *The Guardian* but Gerard Conlon is still in the top three of direct sources. Both papers use

the same sources but differ in their emphasis: *The Guardian* concentrates more on the human factor-like reporting by quoting Conlon (at the time he is the only one of the *Four* who is able or willing to give statements) and *The Times* emphasizes the official and legal point of view by letting the counsels do the talking.

The sources used indirectly are often the same that are quoted directly. The sources paraphrased the most are public figures of present and past: political figures, especially the Home Secretary, representatives of the Director of the Public Prosecutions, various specialists, and the campaigners who are part of the establishment, such as a cardinal, lords or ex-ministers. Members of the *Four*, Hill and Conlon, and their families give most of their information in the form of direct quotations. *The Times* (October 20, 1989:11) uses most of its *Parliament* page for the discussion of the Guildford case; the Home Secretary and several MP's are allowed to express their anxiety about the case both directly and indirectly.

In writings about the *Guildford Four* investigation and trial *The Guardian* has a policy of using more direct quotations than *The Times*. In 1989 the difference between the two papers is significantly smaller. However, *The Guardian* still uses more quotations than *The Times*. *The Guardian's* reporting tends to draw readers and text closer together, whereas *The Times* distances the text and readers by its reporting; this is the case in 1974–1975 writings, especially. The prestige and hegemony of sources is discussed in two separate sections below: the era of trial in 1974–1975 and the release in 1989.

The Prestige and Hegemony of the Sources During the Trial

Direct quotations are not the only way to show prestige. Much more information is actually conveyed through indirect quotations and by paraphrasing spoken or written messages. During the trial both papers give a great deal of the space to the police and the statements they gave, the prosecuting counsel, experts and other witnesses. The accused and their claims about

their suppressed statements or police brutality are given less attention. Extract (i a) below shows how the actors of the case are given space:

(i a)

More than 40 police officers, some of them armed, surrounded the nineteenth-century court building. Many pedestrians were searched and motorists were directed away from the area.

... Mr Rowe [Assistant Chief Constable of Surrey], requested the press not to publish the defendant's name if they discovered his identity. "You will appreciate we are living in rather unusual times and this course has been taken for security reasons", he said, adding that he hoped it would be possible to reveal the man's name on his next court appearance.

(The Times Dec. 3, 1974:1)

The police is presented as a dynamic actor during the investigation and the trial; it is the police who informs the press about the investigation, and it is the police whose actions, such as interviewing, arresting, releasing and charging of potential suspects, are mainly reported on. The police are at the centre of the news; they give the information about the investigation and the accused to the media.

The accused appear in the 1974–1975 material through other people but they very seldom speak for themselves:

(i b)

Mr Christopher Rowe, Assistant Chief Constable (Crime) of Surrey, said he saw Mr Conlon at Guildford police station on Wednesday night and was present when he replied "Yes" after being cautioned. When charged Mr Conlon replied: "Not guilty, sir", said Mr Rowe.

(The Times Dec. 6, 1974:2A)

The accused *Four* appear to a reader mainly through the police, as they do in extract (i b), where confession statements are referred to; police are telling the court what the accused have said or done according to the police. The police has total control over the

information given out and they are used as the only reliable source of information, which strengthens the hegemonic status of the police.

Besides the police witnesses there are experts and the eye witnesses describing the effect of the bombs and the scene after the explosions (extract (i c)):

(i c)

Special-constable Malcolm Keefe said in written evidence that he saw people piled together on top of each other on the floor of the dust-filled pub. He pulled a woman to safety, then: "I grabbed another leg, which was severed, and let go."
(*The Guardian* Sept. 19, 1975:22B)

Since news items, as well as the rhetoric style of them, are chosen for each issue by taking account their news value (see p.17 above), the use of this kind of material in news articles strengthens the status of the police: expert statements, as well as the descriptions of horrific scenes after the explosion convince the reader against the accused; their guilt is taken for granted. In these ways readers are persuaded to believe that the police and the judiciary system are strong and working well. In this way the reporting of the case maintains the hegemonic structures of the society.

Hegemonic structures are also visible in the way how much each party of the trial – the prosecution, the defence and the judge – are given space in the reports. In the beginning of the trial the prosecution opens the case and it is reported in both papers at length (*The Guardian* (p.1 and 8) and *The Times* (p.2) September 17, 1975). When the trial is at its end both *The Guardian* and *The Times* report the closing speech of the prosecution; neither paper reports the defence's summings up more than mentioning briefly that:

(i d)

Yesterday, the last defence counsel to speak, Lord Wigoder, for Mr Conlon, said that Mr Conlon confessed only because the police made threats against his mother. He and his

mother were very close and he would do anything to protect her.

(*The Guardian* Oct. 17, 1975:8)

The defence's role is seen as inferior to the prosecution and investigating police; thus it is left almost totally unreported.

As a conclusion to the discussion about the prestige and hegemony of the sources during the trial that most of the sources used confirm the presupposition of the guilt of the *Four*. The role of the defence is presented as more like a ritualistic convention without a real meaning, as well as the claims of threats and abuse of the *Four* made by the police, which are passed by briefly as curiosities. The case of the prosecution and the police is presented with such strength that the result of the trial is by no means a surprise.

The Prestige and Hegemony of the Sources Around the Time of the Release

Fourteen years after the conviction, in 1989 the *Four*, or more precisely, Gerry Conlon and Paul Hill as well as the lawyers of the *Four* were used more as sources than during the investigation and the trial. It is understandable that those who are considered to be politically or judicially in charge of what happened (the DPP, the Home Secretary, or Metropolitan Police Commissioner, eg.) in the Guildford investigation and trial, and later, in the reopening of the case were also allowed to explain their views. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the *Four* were not given the same opportunity in 1970's. This is a feature where the elements of power and hegemony are most clearly visible.

In 1989 the campaign claiming the reopening the Guildford case was joined by a countless number of people from all over the world, especially from Britain and Ireland (see Conlon 1991, eg). The campaigners were divided into two categories by their news value: (1) those who have prestige for their present or former positions in society and who thus often referred to or quoted, and (2) so called "ordinary people", who are most often referred to

collectively. Example (ii a) below presents those who were the most important campaigners in the eyes of the media:

(ii a)

But in the wake of the film [*Guildford Time Bomb*, ITV 1986] and of Robert Kee's book *Trial and Error* that followed it, the 1974 Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, Lord Devlin and Lord Scarman joined forces with Cardinal Hume, whose disquiet about the case dated from meetings with Guiseppe Conlon on his deathbed in prison back in 1980.
(*The Guardian* Oct. 18, 1989:21)

When someone has prestige it is not only media that pays more easily attention to them but also other prestigious people. If a person, Home Secretary in this case, has an important position in society, he tends to give more weight to the opinions of those in a similar position, such as Cardinals, former Home Secretaries or Lords, than to those of "ordinary people".

The article from which extract (ii a) above is taken (*The Guardian* October 18, 1989:21), emphasizes not only the role of high up campaigners but also the role of the media, especially that of television in the campaign. A similar point is made in the *Comment* page of *The Guardian* (October 20, 1989:22A) two days later:

(ii b)

Meanwhile, the present leaders of the judiciary should recognise the role that the media has played in correcting this scandalous miscarriage of justice. The judges are too ready to dismiss genuine investigations by journalists. Better still, of course, would be a proper investigatory body for such miscarriages of justice, but the judges still resist such initiative in the belief that it would erode the position of the Appeal Court.
(*The Guardian* Oct. 20, 1989:22A)

It could be concluded that it is mainly the persistence of certain influential campaigners and the media that led to the quashing of the Guildford convictions. The only way to get a positive outcome

were publicity and good connections to top-politicians because of the appeals system. In 1974–1975 and in 1989 the most valued sources were the same; authoritative figures. Even though it appears that the system failed, the representatives of that system were allowed to justify and explain both directly and indirectly.

As a conclusion it can be claimed that the material on the whole from the both periods supports the existing power structures; sources that give information, both directly and indirectly are elite figures (police, lawyers or Lords, etc.). Even in the reports on the process of release the *Four* are given a minor role.

In order to give a clearer picture of the ideologies attitudes and beliefs presented in the material the following chapter presents a more detailed analysis by concentrating on some selected texts from the periods of trial and release.

3.2 THE GUILDFORD CASE IN THE SIX KEY ARTICLES

The previous chapter gave an overview of the whole material of the present analysis. The present chapter focuses on six selected key texts. The texts are: *The Guardian*; September 17, 1975:1&8, October 23, 1975:1&15 and October 18, 1989:1A, and *The Times*; September 17, 1975:2, October 23, 1975:1&5 and October 20, 1989:2A (see Appendix IV). These texts are submitted to a closer analysis because they show the very essence of the whole process and depict the crucial turning points of the case by presenting the opening and closing of the trial and the processes that led to the release of the *Four*. The rest of the material supports these key texts. The data of the present analysis consists of six articles some of which are divided into two parts and situated on different pages; the first part acts as a leading article. The texts are analysed in pairs (*The Guardian* and *The Times*) because this kind of approach enables comparison between the papers and their attitudes.

The first phase of the present analysis is to find out the structure and the contents or the cores and the presentation of the sources of the articles analysed. The analysis begins with an overview of the texts and the presentation of the sources in them. The step is to investigate how speech is presented and also, who is speaking in the texts. The third step is to find out how the image of the *Guildford Four* is created by the texts; through naming of them and the use of stereotypes. The image of authorities created in the texts is also investigated, especially the image brought forward by the depiction of actions.

3.2.1 The Overview of the Data and the Presentation of the Sources

This chapter is an introduction to the closer analysis of the six key articles selected from the material presented above. The first part of the chapter gives an overview of the contents of the articles and the latter part the presentation of sources.

An Overview of the Six Key Articles

The first pair of articles are from the opening of the trial (*The Guardian* pp.1&8 by Anne McHardy and *The Times* p.2 by Clive Borrel, September 17, 1975). *The Guardian* gave more space to the case than *The Times* by spreading the story in two pages. *The Guardian* also puts the first part of the story on the front page whereas *The Times* does not consider the opening of the trial as a front page news. The papers' headlines are:

Ireland 'base for bombings' (*The Guardian* p.1)
 IRA couple kissed before the blast QC says" (*The Guardian* p.8)

IRA raiders reconnoitred public houses before they were bombed, court is told" (*The Times* p.2)

In short the cores of *The Guardian* articles are that the trial is opened by the prosecution stating that bombings were carefully planned and ordered from Ireland (p.1) and that the prosecution is stating its case against the *Four*. The emphasis is on a courting couple seen by eye witnesses. This headline implies that the couple were members of the *Four*; the same claim is made by the prosecuting QC in the article itself. Inside the report (p.8) the charges stick out from the text because they are printed in bold. The leading article is divided into 12 and the report to 31 paragraphs; the opening of the leading article states that:

(iii a)

Bombings that killed seven people and wounded 84 others in pubs in Guildford and Woolwich were planned with military precision and ordered from Ireland, it was stated at the IRA trial which began at the Old Bailey yesterday.
(*The Guardian* Sept. 17,1975:1)

This opening sentence includes the headline's statement "Ireland 'base for bombings'". The article continues by stating that three men and an English girl are charged with murders in Woolwich and Guildford. Two following paragraphs discuss Paul Hill's (one of the charged) reactions, after which the names, ages and addresses of all the accused are given. Before turning to the prosecutor's speech in the middle of the article there is a short description of security measures. The article is accompanied with a photograph of a police officer performing security measures outside the court house.

The report (p.8) presents the charges in detail in the middle of the article in bold. The article itself is a more detailed report of the court session. The opening, as well as the headline, of the article emphasises the kissing and courting couple spotted in the pub before the explosions. The first five paragraphs present parts of the prosecution's opening speech. Then after a notion that "Seven people died and 84 were seriously injured in the three blasts." the article devotes four paragraphs to a more detailed description of the reactions of Hill mentioned in the front page.

Soon the story focuses again on to the prosecution stating its case against the *Four* and giving its version of what had happened in Guildford and Woolwich by referring to confessions of the *Four*, eye witness and expert statements.

The opening of *The Times* report (p.2) presents the same claim as the headline (see above): "Four members of the IRA raiding party carried out a military-style reconnaissance of three public houses...". The article, total of 21 paragraphs, continues with the prosecutor's speech and with a description of the dead and injured victims, as well as the material damages. The next four paragraphs present the identity of the accused (names, ages and addresses) and specify the charges of each four. The charges are followed by a paragraph presenting the incident, where Paul Hill denies the court referred to twice in *The Guardian*. Rest of the article is a summary of the prosecutor's opening speech. As well as *The Guardian*, *The Times* issues a photograph of policemen performing security checks outside the court house.

The two first articles concentrate on the speech of the prosecution, which gives an impression of a carefully coordinated and built case against the accused. The photographs enforce the feel of security and order both inside and outside of the courthouse.

The second pair of articles investigated here were issued immediately after the conviction (October 23, 1975). The stories are headlined in a following way:

Life for a life sentences to warn IRA (*The Guardian* p.1)

The snapshot assassins

Anne McHardy reveals the background of the Guildford bombers
(*The Guardian* p.15)

Prison for life must mean just that, judge tells pub bomber
(*The Times* p.1)

IRA informer got £350 for vital clue that led to bombers
(*The Times* p.5)

The cores of *The Guardian* stories by Anne McHardy present the judge, announcing the verdict and giving his recommendations

of the minimum length of the life sentences (p.1), and the whole case in a nutshell with the background of information about the *Four*. (p.15). The front page story opens with the notion that the *Four* are sentenced to prison for at least 30–35 years, and continues by telling that the long sentences are meant to warn IRA against further bomb attacks. The rest of the 16-paragraph article is the summary of the judge's speech; he refers to the Birmingham bomb trial, the 1965 Act that abolished the capital punishment, the nature of the crime and his own age for his recommendations. In the middle of the article there are, once again, the charges of the *Four*. The background article on page 15 repeats the whole story from the explosions to arrests and finally to convictions. The article covers one half of the page in 8 columns and is supplied with six photographs; one of each of the *Four*, one of the *Horse and Groom* pub in Guildford after the explosion, and one with two police officers doing a security check. The story begins with the descriptions of the investigations and police work after the Guildford blasts, the first arrests and how the police believe the case is solved. The police admit that the outcome of the investigation was a surprise to them: no previous IRA terrorists are known to have lived as squatters. Then the story turns into telling in short the lifestyle of these afore mentioned squatters before repeating the officially acknowledged version of the bombings; planning preparations, victims, the descriptions of the bombs, as well as the *Four* denying their confession statements claiming that they were forced and dictated. After briefly describing the appearances of the *Four* the life story of each is presented to finish the article.

The Times article by Clive Borrel is somewhat shorter than *The Guardian* one discussed above. The core of the first part (9 paragraphs on p.1) emphasizes the message the court hopes to send; the life sentences and minimum recommendations are passed to warn the IRA. The second part (p.5) gives the background information about the *Four*. *The Times* presents only one photograph; Carole Richardson's face (p.5). The front page story opens with the announcement that the *Four* were found

guilty as charged and continues with the judge warning the IRA that further terrorist activities can expect harsh punishments. Two following paragraphs presents the length of conviction of each *Four* with the judge's comments. Rest of the article on the front page quotes the the judge addressing the *Four*.

As stated above the second part of the text is an 18 paragraph long background story. The opening of the story repeats the headline information: "An IRA informer sold for £350 the clue that led to the arrest of the public-house bombers who were sentenced...". The three following paragraphs give some information on what led to the tipping-off and what kind of information the police received. After that the story turns to the arrests and the results of the police interviews; the official story of how the bombings were planned and executed, as well as brief life stories of the *Four* and how each of them had become members of the IRA active unit; from here the story returns to the realization of the bombing plan. The article also states that Carole Richardson had attempted to join the WRAC (Women's Royal Army Corps) a year before the bombings took place. The last three paragraphs describe the new method the IRA had taken into use in police interviewees; earlier they had kept silent but now they had tried to confuse investigators by giving contradictory information and by constantly changing their stories. Despite the new interview technique the police managed to solve the case successfully.

The second pair of articles present the judge's decision of the case and his judgements as well as his grounds on those. The impression is that the papers determinedly stand behind the verdict and are willing to put forward the message the judge is sending. The background article confirms the claims the judge made on the front page; the confirmation is made by putting together details that are originally put forward by police and the prosecution (see the use of sources and presentation speech further below).

The final pair of articles of the present analysis are reports from the time after the release, on October 23, 1989.

Bomb trial alibi was withheld (*The Guardian* p.1)

Powerfull allies joined in 14-year trail from conviction to freedom
Chapter closes on Guildford bombing (*The Times* p.2A)

The Guardian article by David Rose emphasises the information according to which the former Director of Public Prosecutions, against the rules, did not give the defence lawyers all evidence gathered by the police before the trial in 1975 both in the headline and in the opening of the 20-paragraph story; thus it is impossible for the Crown to maintain the convictions any longer. After the quoted statement of the Crown Prosecution Service the article speculates over the reasons of the sudden release of the Four; evidence had been withheld, new evidence had come to light, and some police officers involved with the investigation of Guildford bombings may face charges because of the alleged malpractice. The article continues by telling that Gerry Conlon's lawyers had been seeking new leave to appeal with new pieces of evidence forwarded by freedom campaigners. Documents concerning the case had been collected by the Avon and Somerset police and inspected thoroughly. However, despite the evidence the leave to appeal was not granted. Suddenly, further new evidence was found to give Gerry Conlon an alibi the existence of which was withheld in the 1975 trial. What then follows in the article is a summary of the alibi witness statement and presenting other grounds of the appeal. The two final paragraphs state that an IRA active unit had confessed the Guildford bombings after the *Four* were convicted, and that the *Four* can expect financial compensation for their convictions.

The headline of the 20-paragraph long story of *The Times* by Quentin Cowdry, a home affairs correspondent, consists of two parts; the actual headline and above it a auxiliary headline (see above). As a reminder there is also a copy of the headline "Prison for life must mean just that, judge tells pub bomber" issued earlier in *The Times* on October 23, 1975. The story opens with a notion that the Director of Public Prosecutions has announced that the *Guildford Four* are to be freed after a long campaign

which was joined by some high up members after the Guildford bombings were publicly confessed by a IRA active service unit. The fourth and the fifth paragraph present some of the afore mentioned campaigners. From the paragraph six on the article repeats briefly the story of the *Four* from the interviews to the applications of leave to appeal in 1977, and presents some of the work of the campaigners and some new evidence that has resulted the freeing of the *Four*.

This chapter has presented a cross section of the contents of the six key articles discussing the case of the *Guildford Four* in *The Guardian* and in *The Times*; each pair of articles discusses similar themes and together they form a timeline from the beginning to the end of a process to right the wrong. The second and third pair both also repeat the story from the bombings to the release from the point of view how the case is seen by the papers in each particular time. From the overall presentation of the articles the focus of the analysis moves to the presentation of sources.

The Presentation of Sources in the Six Key Articles

In the autumn of 1974 The Prevention of Terrorism Act was introduced because of the IRA bombing campaign in England (see Conlon 1991 and Ryan 1994, eg.). There is no legal interpretation of the Act concerning censorship (Schlesinger and Lumley in van Dijk 1985:346) but throughout the material in 1975 the papers themselves seem to have adopted a policy of reporting as little as possible from the point of view of the alleged terrorists; every piece of information is filtered through police. This kind of self-censorship leads to the conclusion that the guilt of the accused is taken for granted and the papers do not want to question the integrity of police.

In the beginning of the trial the prosecution is given more space than the other parties involved: it states its case against the *Four* (in comparison, no part of the material presents the statement of the case by the defence). The first articles in both

papers are evidently written by journalists who have been present at the actual opening session. They quote directly and indirectly their main source of the session: "Sir Michael Havers, QC, prosecuting" (*The Guardian* September 17, 1975:8). The sources the prosecution uses are the written police interview records ("Hill's alleged statement said", *The Guardian*, expert and eye witness statements even though it is not directly stated: "Just before 7 pm on October 5 customers in the Horse and Groom noticed a courting couple sitting..." (*The Times* September 17, 1975:2). Even though *The Times* refers only to the speech of the prosecutor, from the line "One soldier would tell the jury that..." in *The Guardian* (September 17, 1975:8) it can be assumed that there were actual witnesses heard in the opening session as well because the words of the soldier are addressed to the jury. What is not clear is whether the line: "One bombardier said he felt..." (*The Guardian* Sept. 17, 1975:8) refers to the prosecution referring to a written statement or a actual witness statement given in the court.

The both papers themselves are not only second hand sources of information – telling the readers what prosecution and other sources have claimed – but also sources of first hand information and eyewitnesses to the Hill's outburst on the charges. On the whole, it seems that *The Times* values the representative of the Crown (ie. prosecution) more than the witnesses or experts because they are not visible in the text, whereas *The Guardian* acknowledges the existence of witnesses and witness statements in the session.

The both papers have sent their writers to the final session of the trial in October 22, 1975. On the following day the papers produce their last articles of the case, as it seems at the time that the case is solved and closed forever. The main source of the first part of either paper is clearly the judge, who is passing the verdict and expressing his view about the *Four*. In *The Guardian* there is also a brief line where the writer is clearly the primary source: "The three sat silently in the dock at the Old Bailey as the judge said..." (October 23, 1975:1). The writer expresses her own experience of the presence of the *Four*. Then again the source of

information claiming: "The four were convicted after the all-male jury had been out for 27 hours" is not clear but most likely the source is some of the court officials. The both background articles or summaries of the case (*The Guardian* p.15, *The Times* p.5, October 23, 1975) come originally from officials; the police, the prosecution and the court sources (record of the trial, eg.) since neither paper had their own presentative in every court session (see p.2 above) and the stories follow faithfully the official version. The papers seem to rely and trust the official sources; they seem to have no need to check or doubt the information they are given.

When the sudden release took place the papers could use a variety of sources and the information about the different aspects of the case was more openly available than in the 1970's. This variety is also visible in the data of the present analysis. *The Guardian* (October 23, 1989:1A) refers directly to the statement of the Crown Prosecution Service in announcing the forthcoming release. The paper also refers to Conlon's lawyers and their statements, and Sir Michael's closing speech of the trial in 1975 in order to draw the picture of the case and the circumstances that have led to the recent developments. *The Times* (October 23, 1989;2) also refers to the announcement of the Public Prosecutions' office when announcing the release news. The trial record or the articles or notes about the trial in 1975 is the source of Sir Michael's closing speech referred to, as well as the source of the trial presented in a nutshell. The Court of Appeal's dismissal of the application for a leave to appeal is briefly quoted (underlined); "The Court of Appeal dismissed the Balcombe Street Gang's admission of guilt as a 'cunning and skilful attempt' to deceive the court." Other sources of information used are the Yorkshire Television programme in 1986 discussing the probability of the confession statements being coerced and Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, explaining his decisions over the case and new evidence.

It is obvious that all the sources of information cannot be traced with total certainty; part of the sources are clearly indicated,

part of the information is expressed as if it were already common knowledge and thus the source is unidentifiable, and part of the information can have several candidates for a source. The sources used and available in the beginning and the end of the trial were primarily official: police and prosecution as the main sources. The era of release presented more variety in sources: alongside the official sources, such as the Home Secretary or the Public Prosecution Service, there were also defence lawyers and campaigners. However, the official sources are still the most important.

The present chapter has discussed the contents of the articles used as the data in the present analysis and the presentation of the sources in them. In the following chapter the analysis continues by getting deeper into the material by investigating the presentation of speech in the data as well as the implications of this presentation.

3.2.2 The Presentation of Speech in the Six Key Articles

The chapter discussed the use of direct and indirect speech presentation in the whole material discussing the case of the *Guildford Four*. The conclusion from the whole material in brief was that the official sources were more quoted and paraphrased than any other. The present sub-chapter discusses more in detail the use and implications of speech presentation in the articles selected as the data of the present analysis.

The Presentation of Speech on September 17, 1975

At the opening of the trial the prosecution was used as a main source of information, as stated already. There are a total of 29 quotations (ie. pairs of quotation marks) of various length on both pages of *The Guardian* (September 17, 1975:1&8); 19 of these are from prosecutor's speech, the rest come from written statements, court official and Paul Hill. The first quotation on the front page is

taken from Paul Hill's speech (the third paragraph from top) when he refused to be tried by the court (see more p.80–below). The next paragraph paraphrases briefly Hill's counsel: "Then his counsel told the court that he had been told to plead not guilty." The first paragraph of the second column is a paraphrase of the prosecutor's speech. The paraphrase is followed by direct quotation in the next paragraph:

(iii a)

Sir Michael said: "These are IRA bombing cases." He told the jury "You may remember in the later part of last year a bombing campaign in fact taking place in this country."
(*The Guardian* Sept. 17, 1975:1)

From there on the story continues in the form of indirect speech. Occasionally there are quotation marks used around brief expressions, such as: "because it had 'the cheapest beer in town'", "the death and casualty lost would have been 'enormously high.'" This kind of quotes a propably used to give the text more weight and credibility. The front page article ends with an indirect presentation and:

(iii b)

he said, "There was a military style reconnaissance in advance' including 'photographic reconnaissance.'
(*The Guardian* Sept. 17, 1975:1)

From the examples above it can be seen that the quotes used are sometimes extremely short and that they are scattered inside the indirect presentation.

The report on the page 8 carries on with the same style in the use mixture of direct quotations and indirect presentation; the opening speech of the prosecutor characterizes the whole report. It should be emphasized that the quotes that are presented as a part of Hill's written statement are are in fact uttered in the court room by the prosecution since the statements were used as evidence against the *Four*.

The Times story (September 17, 1975:2) is somewhat shorter than that of *The Guardian* discussed above. The total of quotations in this article is 11, 9 of which are from the speech of the prosecutor; one quotation comes Paul Hill ("Your justice stinks") and one ("a throw bomb") is unidentifiable (possible source is the prosecution or an expert witness). The way *The Times* uses quotations differs from *The Guardian* to some extent; *The Times* uses fewer short quotations (ie. less than a clause) than *The Guardian* (see above), instead it includes longer stretches (up to 13 lines) of speech in a direct form. The shortest ones are: "carried out 'a military style' reconnaissance" (twice) and "This is an IRA bombing case" by Sir Michael, Paul Hill's "Your justice stinks" (see stereotypes p. 80 below), and "The man was kissing the girl's neck", Sir Michael said." As Sir Michael is the source of most of the quotations the same rule applies to the presentation of indirect speech. The only exception to the rule is the following sentence:

(iii c)

Later his [Hill's] counsel told the court that he had been instructed that Mr Hill intended to plead not guilty to all charges.

(*The Times* Sept. 17, 1975:2)

There is a pattern to be found in the use of direct speech presentation in the both papers: the prosecutor belongs to the power elite thus his words have more value than those of an ordinary counsel, for instance. The prosecutor is at the centre of the activities and the rest of the people (witnesses, the accused and defence counsels) support his message. He is allowed to state and reason his case widely and in a way that makes his view look like it were flawless. The snap of Paul Hill is taken in, merely, to add some drama to the opening session.

The quotations used are not selected randomly; they are used to emphasize the point the prosecution is making. This is clearly visible, for instance, in extract (iii a): "These are IRA bombing cases." (*The Guardian* September 17, 1975:1) or in a line: "a

military style' reconnaissance" (*The Times* September 17, 1975:2)
 The prosecutor is making claims whose the truth value seems to be great; he is, after all, a highly respected person and a member of the legal institution. However, even though both papers frequently quote Sir Michael there is a difference between the quotations; *The Times* quotes longer stretches and gives thus more weight to the whole presentation of the prosecution, whereas *The Guardian* often picks out individual words, clauses or sentences to add some colour and credibility to the story. The message of the prosecution becomes clear: four members of the IRA, the accused, cold-bloodedly planned ('military style') and executed the bombings. The prosecution's claims are presented as the ultimate truth by direct presentation. The effect would totally different – evidently plainer – were the articles written in the form of reported speech.

The Presentation of Speech on October 23, 1975

The second pair of articles is slightly different to the first pair. The first page of each story is a summary of the judge's speech and the second part is a summary of the whole process (see chapter 3.2.1 above). Hence it is not a surprise that the quotations delivered on the front pages are taken from the judge's speech.

In *The Guardian* (October 23, 1975:1&15) there are a total of 16 expressions presented in quotation marks. 5 of those 11 are to be found on the front page presenting the judge's words. The story opens with a sentence using a brief quotation:

(iii d)

One of the three IRA men sentenced yesterday for the Guildford bombings should stay in gaol 'to a great age' and the others should serve at least 30 or 35 years the trial Judge said.

(*The Guardian* Oct. 23, 1975:1)

The other 5 quotations are much longer; from 4 lines up to 18 lines. The quotations used are expressions of loath and disgust

towards the *Four*, as well as expressions of the eagerness to revenge; The readers are given an impression that no punishment given could be hard enough. The papers pass on the judge's message to the IRA by repeating it first in the headline, "Life for a life sentences to warn the IRA", and later in the text:

(iii e)

Mr Justice Donaldson ... said judges should not normally express their views but this case was different. **"You three men are sentenced to life for murder and I want you to understand what that means and I want your fellow members of the IRA to understand and I want the people who sent you to this country to understand,"** he said.
(*The Guardian* Oct. 23, 1975:1)

The *Four* are given a special treatment, and this is acknowledged ("this case was different") without hesitation. Everything, including the extraordinarily long sentences, speeches and news articles, are given to fight and warn the IRA and to protect the nation; the end justifies the means.

The Times (October 23, 1975:1) headline also paraphrases the judge's speech ("Prison for life must mean just that, judge tells pub bomber"). There are a total of 7 quotations from the judge (the four last paragraphs are counted as four separate quotations) on the front page and 4 on the page 5. The first direct quotation is the judge's description of the crime: "Mr Justice Donaldson described the explosions ... as 'callous and pointless' and warned other IRA men..." The second quotation is also short: "Paul Michael Hill ... was ordered to be detained until 'either age or infirmity' decrees that he should be released." The judge's address soon continues:

(iii f)

The judge told him: **'Your crime is such that life must mean life'**. The accused had given no second thought for their innocent victims.
(*The Times* Oct. 23, 1975:1)

The rest of the first page story is directly from the judge's speech. This can be interpreted so that the judge's words are considered to be so important a message that paraphrasing or indirect presentation would not serve the purpose. The judge is presented as the voice and outrage of the nation. There is a slight difference between the presentation of the judge's speech in the papers even though their attitude towards the *Four* and the Guildford bombings are similar; *The Guardian* uses more indirect presentation whereas *The Times* seeks more credibility by quoting long stretches of speech at the time and refrains from using indirect presentation.

There is a difference in between the use of quotation marks in the front pages and on page 15 of *The Guardian*; as well as the page 5 of *The Times*; whereas the quotation marks are used in marking the judge's speech on the front page, in the summaries they are used in connection of short expressions (a word or few) rather than marking the speech of someone particular. Extracts (iii g) and (iii h) below clearly illustrate this usage:

(iii g)

The police gave "security" as the reason for the secrecy.
"Security," it now appears ...

... the four people whose trial has just ended were living in
"squats."

... he [Gerry Conlon] was questioned "screaming and yelling"
and had forced him to strip and then "abused my body."

Conlon was regularly described as the "evil man" of the four
and the Armstrong's statement called him "an animal" who

would stop for nothing and was a "bastard" to his own
volunteers ...

(*The Guardian* Oct. 23, 1975:15)

(iii h)

...the Provisionals openly boast of their "success" in which
seven people were killed and 84 injured.

Gerard Conlon ... was the operational "chief" for all three bombings. ... he slipped into Britain ... and made contact with other "sleepers"; ...

Patrick Armstrong "cut his teeth" by taking part in armed robberies ...

... she [Carole Richardson] was living the life of a "drop-out" ...
(*The Times* Oct. 23, 1975:5)

The words or phrases presented inside the quotation marks can be interpreted to be taken from witness or confession statements, or official documents, as well as from the trial record. However, often it is difficult to trace the original speaker for sure. *The Times* delivers fewer quotations in this form than *The Guardian*, even though the practice in both articles seems parallel. Once in a while the quotation marks can be interpreted as emphasizing unconventional, even common, expressions rather than direct speech (or text) presentation: "squats", "cut his teeth", "drop-out"; these expressions can be seen as enforcing the prejudice and even legitimize it as some of the quotations can be interpreted as intentionally disparaging and ridiculing the *Four* and their credibility, or what is left of it after the trial; the words presented inside the quotation marks seem to stick out from the text and seem to be carefully chosen, for instance, "Security" (extract (iii g)) here mark the way in which the police used the word: a cover for investigation to deceive the terrorists involved with the Guildford bombings. The expressions used in describing Gerry Conlon: "evil man", "an animal", "bastard" (extract (iii g)), are used to show how evil Gerry Conlon was; even his own were afraid of him, as if anything human was unknown to him, in other words according to the text he lacked human features. Such expressions as 'operational "chief"' (extract (iii h)) shows that Conlon was in charge of the attacks as the leader of the group, otherwise he would not be called a "chief". The word: "sleepers" (extract (iii h)) is a notorious IRA term for people who are members of the IRA leading the seemingly ordinary lives until the organisation decides to call them back to active service – to bombings or

murders, for instance. The word “success” (extract (iii h)) can be interpreted, in the light of the front page, where the judge called the bombings “callous, cowardly and pointless”, as expressions of contempt towards the *Four*, who were now convicted and thus considered as responsible for the bombings; only cowards could celebrate pointless murders and consider themselves successful. In these ways, readers own beliefs about and attitudes towards the *Four* are given support in the form of carefully chosen quotes that come from official and allegedly credible sources.

The Presentation of Speech on October 18, 1989

The last couple of articles to be analysed in the present section are the article telling the forthcoming release of the *Four* in October 18, 1989. *The Guardian* (p. 1A) presents only one quotation; an extract of the statement of the Crown Prosecution Service announcing the release:

(iii i)

A statement said: “Circumstances have recently come to the notice of the Director of Public Prosecutions which have caused him to conclude that it would be wrong for the Crown to seek to sustain the convictions.”
(*The Guardian* Oct. 18, 1989:1A)

Surprisingly the statement is referred to as “A statement”, without a definite article. At this stage as the case is so delicate and unusual the official sources are probably not very willing to lavishly explain their decisions. The release decision was also so sudden that no one had much time to plan face-saving explanations apart from short official statements. There are other comments (from family members and campaigners, eg.) in other articles in the same issue of *The Guardian*, however the present article is the main news article and others around support it. Even though most of the article consists of speculations and a summary of the whole process there is also some indirect speech presenta-

tion; a witness statement: "he said he had left the hostel the following day.", and:

(iii j)

Home Office sources said new evidence had recently come to light as a result of inquiries by Avon and Somerset police. They confirmed that the key part ...
(*The Guardian* Oct. 18, 1989:1A)

What these two extracts above share is that the individual or individuals who are giving the information are not named. They are left anonymous. Probably the "Home Office sources" and the anonymous witness are used to keep a low profile and to protect the sources in this politically and legally delicate case, and only official statements are referred to by name.

The Times article (October 18, 1989:2A) quote the Court of Appeal in 1977 and Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, extracts (iii k) and (iii l) below:

(iii k)

The Court of Appeal dismissed the Balcombe Street Gang's admission of guilt as a "cunning and skilful attempt" to deceive the court.
(*The Times* Oct. 18, 1989:2A)

The line "cunning and skilful attempt" can be interpreted here as irony: the Court of Appeal attempts to be more clever than this IRA unit when, in fact, it fails to see the truth behind the prejudice. The other quotation is a little longer:

(iii l)

He [Home Secretary] added: "Even if [Richardson] was not given pethedine, at least some of her confessions would appear to have been made at the time when she was suffering from withdrawal to a greater degree than hitherto been thought."
(*The Times* Oct. 18, 1989:2A)

The extract (iii 1) above explains the reasons why Carole Richardson's confession statement should have been dismissed as an evidence in 1975. The Home Secretary gives an official voice to the news, and at the same time he seems to openly reveal the truth about the failures in the investigations before the trial. The Home Secretary is also presented citing a witness statement: "he also cited claims by Maura Kelly, who said" (*The Times* October 18, 1989:2A); here there is an indirect presentation of the situation where someone quotes another person. Even though the presentation is indirect the credibility is added by circulating the information through the Home Secretary.

The present chapter has discussed the presentation of speech in three turning points of the Guildford process. In the beginning of the trial both the direct and indirect presentation forwarded the views of the prosecution. The direct quotations emphasized the points the prosecution made. In the final session of the trial the judge had the main role as he was the one who passed the conviction, thus it is evident that he was the one who was quoted. The defence and the defendants were not given much access to the texts. The words of the accused were used in order to condemn themselves (the quoted confession statements, eg.), in other words to support the accusations. There is a difference between the practices in the two papers how the news is passed to the readers; *The Times* is more faithful in repeating the judge's speech word by word than *The Guardian*, who uses more indirect speech presentation. However, the both papers rely on direct presentation in the same way: they use it to support the judicial system by delivering the message the judge wanted to send the IRA. The message seems more credible when it is in the form of direct presentation.

In the final turning point of the process the use of direct and indirect speech decreased. One reason for this is most definitely the cautiousness of the authorities who are responsible, judicially and politically; they do not want to talk too much in order to minimize the scale of scandal. However, the authorities gave some statements that the papers could refer to and quote in order

to present some credibility to their stories.

After discussing the sources and the presentation of speech, the naming, images and presentation of action in the data will be inspected next.

3.2.3 Naming, Images and Actions in the Six Key Articles

This far the present analysis has discussed the contents and the presentation of sources, as well as the presentation of speech in the data. The present chapter carries on with the search of the expressions of ideologies, attitudes and beliefs by concentrating on the naming and images and actions of the people or institutions present in the data. The chapter is divided in three parts: the first two parts will deal with the *Guildford Four*; the naming of them and the stereotypes and the images given by texts. The third part will discuss the image of the authorities.

Naming of the *Four*

In news like the case of the *Guildford Four*, there are several people mentioned and referred to in the data; for example, in 1975 there are the accused, the victims, police, and the witnesses. In most of the cases the references to the accused are very neutral in both newspapers. On September 17, 1975 *The Guardian* (pp. 1&8) and *The Times* (p. 2) refer to the *Four* by the following expressions (see Tables 3.2.3a and 3.2.3b below; if there are any ambiguities in expressions they are excluded from the presentation):

Table 3.2.3a: Naming of the *Four* in *The Guardian* on September 17, 1975:1&8

- three men and an English girl aged 17
- two of them
- all four [3 times]
- they [3 times]

- they all
- the four
- all
- Paul Hill
- Mr Hill [9 times]
- one of them – Paul Hill (29) [sic] of Barnsley Crescent, Belfast
- the other accused are Carole Richardson (17), of Earl’s Court Square, London; Gerald [sic.] Conlon (20), Cypress Street, Belfast, and Patrick Armstrong (24), Algernon Road, Maida Vale, London
- all the men are Irish
- the accused
- members of the IRA
- a 17-year-old English girl, Carole Richardson and Patrick Armstrong (24), an IRA member
- Mr Armstrong and Mr Hill
- Mr Armstrong [5 times]
- IRA couple
- Mr Armstrong and Carole Richardson
- Carole Richardson [3 times]
- Conlon and Hill
- Carole Richardson(17), of Earls Court Square, Earls Court, London; Paul Hill (29)[sic.], of Barnsley Crescent, Belfast; Gerard Conlon (20), of Cypress Street, Belfast; and Patrick Armstrong (24), of Algernon Road, Maida Vale, London

Table 3.2.3b: Naming of the *Four* in *The Times* on September 17, 1975:2

- IRA raders
- four members of an IRA raiding party
- three young Irishmen and an Englishwoman aged 18
- the defendants
- Carole Richardson
- Patrick Armstrong
- Paul Hill
- Gerald [sic.] Conlon
- Mr Armstrong
- Mr Hill [twice]

- Mr Hill and Mr Armstrong [twice]
- Mr Armstrong and Miss Richardson
- Miss Richardson, English by birth
- the three men were all members of the IRA
- all [twice]
- all four
- these four
- they [4 times]

Probably both *The Guardian* and *The Times* aim at a neutral presentation, by following the ideals of journalism discussed above. The data from the beginning of the trial shows that articles often refer to the accused men plainly by "Mr" (Mr Armstrong, eg.) or by their first name and surname, whereas Carole Richardson is only once called as "Miss Richardson" – when her name is combined together with Mr Armstrong (Table 3.2.3b). In most cases when Carole Richardson is discussed her nationality and age are mentioned, as in "a 17-year-old English girl" (Table 3.2.3a) or "English by birth" (Table 3.2.3b). However, the neutrality is only a cover up of the ideologies and attitudes that lie behind the expressions.

Despite the fact that most of the references to the *Four* are originally made by the prosecuting QC the papers deliver those references forth and thus make the QC's attitude their own. The members of the *Four* are presented, for instance, as: "IRA couple" in the headline of *The Guardian* (Table 3.2.1) or "Four members of an IRA raiding party" (Table 3.2.3a) and "IRA raiders" (Table 3.2.3b) or "the three men were all members of the IRA" in *The Times* (Table 3.2.3b). It is the prosecution's task to convince the jury that those who are charged are guilty without a doubt. In this case the press is already convinced about the guilt in the beginning of the trial, and thus the attitude toward the accused is conveyed to the readers in the form of references to them. The papers are hiding behind the words of prosecution which are held as a definite truth. Had the papers chosen another way of reporting: by paraphrasing most of the speech, calling the *Four* by name or collectively as the *accused*, or by using less definite

claims, such as: “one of the three IRA men” (Table 3.2.3a) or “the three men were all members of the IRA” (Table 3.2.3b), the impression would be different.

The nationality of the *Four* seems also to have been an issue, especially that of Carole Richardson. There are the following references that underline the nationalities: “Three men and an English girl aged 17” (Table 3.2.3a), “a 17-year-old English girl” (Table 3.2.3a) “Miss Richardson, English by birth” (Table 3.2.3b), “three young Irishmen and an Englishwoman aged 18” (Table 3.2.3b), “all the men are Irish” (Table 3.2.3a). That one of *us*, English, could have slipped into *their*, (Irish, ie. IRA in here) side (see *us* and *them* chapter 2.4.3) and hurt her own people is probably a big shock to the nation; and the papers seem to want to make it known. Richardson can be seen as a traitor. This aspect is especially clear when the men are referred only as “Three men” but she is defined by her nationality as “an English girl”.

There is yet another aspect in referring to Carole Richardson that should be pointed out: *The Guardian* calls her a “girl” while her male partners are “men” or a “members of the IRA” as in: “three men and an English girl”, and “a 17-year-old English girl, Carole Richardson and Patrick Armstrong (24), an IRA member” (Table 3.2.3a). Calling her a “girl” gives some kind of an explanation for her alleged actions; perhaps she is considered an innocent girl with an unfortunate background, whom grown-up Irish terrorists have lured into crime. It should be noted that *The Times* does not call her a “girl” but “an Englishwoman” (Table 3.2.3b). When the trial is over, on October 23, 1975, the roles have changed: *The Times* states “three IRA men and an English girl” and “Carole Richardson, aged 17, an English girl” (see Table 3.2.3d below) whereas *The Guardian* defines her by her age and nationality: “the fourth defendant, 18-year-old Carole Richardson, the only English defendant”, or calls her by name: “Carole Richardson”, “Richardson” or “Miss Richardson” (see Table 3.2.3c below).

During the process of investigation and trial the use of collective references to the *Four* grew. There are references such as

“the three men”, “all four”, “the four”, “the four defendants”, “two of the four people whose trial has just ended” (Table 3.2.3c), or “none of you three, members of the IRA” or “the accused” (Table 3.2.3d); they were not four individuals but rather a unit with one occasional exception; Carole Richardson who is singled out every now and then as “the only English defendant” (Table 3.2.3c) but never as “the only female defendant”, which she definitely is.

Table 3.2.3c: Naming of the *Four* in *The Guardian* on October 23, 1975:1&15

- one of the three IRA men
- the others
- Paul Hill, Gerard Conlon and Patrick Armstrong
- Mr Hill
- Mr Hill and Mr Conlon Mr Armstrong
- Mr Armstrong Mr Hill
- he [Armstrong] and Mr Hill
- Mr Armstrong and Miss Richardson
- Miss Richardson
- the snapshot assassins
- one young Irishman
- his friend
- the young man
- Paul Hill [4 times]
- Hill [5 times]
- Gerald [sic.] Conlon [twice]
- Gerard Conlon
- Conlon [5 times]
- evil man
- bastard
- an animal
- both of them
- both [twice]
- Patrick Armstrong [4 times]
- Mr Armstrong
- Armstrong [4 times]
- Hill, Conlon, and Armstrong
- Hill and Conlon
- he and Conlon
- he and Hill

- Carole Richardson
- Carole Richardson and Armstrong
- Carole Richardson and Patrick Armstrong
- Carole Richardson, the only English defendant
- the fourth defendant, 18-year-old Carole Richardson, the only English defendant
- Richardson [3 times]
- she [18 times]
- he [21 times]
- they [11 times]
- you three men
- you [6 times]
- hard working, hard drinking young men, but not personable ones
- the heart of the terrorists' organisation
- the people they [the police] had arrested
- two of the four people whose trial has just ended
- bombers [twice]
- the three men [3 times]
- the three
- the four defendants
- all four [twice]
- the four
- each

Table 3.2.3d: Naming of the *Four* in *The Times* on October 23, 1975:1&5)

- she [8 times]
- he [8 times]
- they [3 times]
- you [8 times]
- Carole Richardson
- Gerard Conlon
- Mr Conlon [5 times]
- Patrick Armstrong
- Paul Michael Hill
- Mr Hill [twice]
- the accused
- none of you three, members of the IRA
- young men such as you
- pub bomber

- bombers
- the public-house bombers
- members of the Provisional IRA
- Paul Michael Hill, aged 20, a lieutenant of the IRA
- Mr Hill and the other members of the active service unit
- Patrick Armstrong, aged 24 ... also a lieutenant with the 1st Battalion
- Mr Armstrong
- Carole Richardson, aged 17, an English girl
- three IRA men and an English girl
- Miss Richardson [twice]
- she and Armstrong
- Mr Hill's three companions
- Gerard Conlon, aged 20, also a lieutenant in the 1st Battalion of the Belfast Provisionals, a hot tempered but experienced terrorist
- the operational chief

The number of references to the *Four* is considerably higher, and the range of references is also wider in *The Guardian* than in *The Times*. *The Guardian* uses references, such as: "bastard", "animal" or "evil man" (see Table 3.2.3c above) from statements, for instance. When comparing the references between the two papers the conclusion is that *The Guardian* is more populist and affective in style, in other words more outspoken than *The Times* who has adopted a more formal style by referring to the *Four* mostly by their names, whereas *The Guardian* uses more descriptive and prejudice provoking references, such as those above (see also Table 3.2.3c). The most colourful references in *The Times* Table 3.2.3d) are "pub bomber", "bombers" and "the public-house bombers". Such affective references in *The Guardian* (Table 3.2.3c) as "snapshot assassins", "evil man" , for example, reveal a more openly negative attitude towards the members of the *Four*. *The Times* does not, however, leave any doubt of the guilt of the *Four* or of the credibility of the investigation and of the result of the trial either. It is made quite clear that the men of the *Four* were members of the IRA: "Paul Michael Hill, aged 20, a lieutenant of the IRA", "Patrick

Armstrong, aged 24 ... also a lieutenant with the 1st Battalion", "Gerard Conlon, aged 20, also a lieutenant in the 1st Battalion of the Belfast Provisionals, a hot tempered but experienced terrorist", they were "members of the IRA", individually an "operational chief", or a "pub bomber", and collectively "bombers", "the public-house bombers", or "members of the Provisional IRA" (Table 3.2.3d above).

Fourteen years later the references to the *Four* in *The Guardian* are much more neutral (see Table 3.2.3e below): "Mr Conlon, Mr Paddy Armstrong", for example. Carole Richardson is no more "Miss" but "Ms Richardson" as the new, politically more correct expression is taken into use. However, *The Times* refers to the four individually plainly by their names: "Patrick Armstrong, Gerard Conlon, Paul Hill and Carol Richardson" or "Hill", "Armstrong", and "Richardson" (see Table 3.2.3f below). The expressions the *Guildford Four* have by now become known as a collective name for Patrick Armstrong, Gerry Conlon, Paul Hill and Carole Richardson; this can be seen in *The Times*, as well as in *The Guardian* when they both refer to the "Guildford Four" (Tables 3.2.3e and 3.2.3f below) with capital initials.

Table 3.2.3e: Naming of the *Four* in *The Guardian* on October 18, 1989:1A

- the four people convicted of the Guildford pub bombings, the three of whom are expected to be released tomorrow
- Mr Conlon, the alleged ringleader of the bombers
- the Guildford Four - Mr Conlon, Mr Paddy Armstrong, Ms Carole Richardson and Paul Hill
- Mr Conlon [5 times]
- he [3 times]
- Ms Richardson
- Mr Hill
- the four

Table 3.2.3f: Naming of the *Four* in *The Times* on October 18, 1989:2A

- the Guildford Four [twice]
- Patrick Armstrong, Gerard Conlon, Paul Hill and Carole Richardson
- innocent victims
- two of the four
- Armstrong
- Richardson [3 times & once in brackets]
- Richardson, a misuser
- she[3 times]
- the four [twice]
- they
- Hill
- he [twice]

The Times (Table 3.2.3f) has changed the references to “bombers” (see table 3.2.3d above) to “innocent victims” of a terrorist hunt. Carole Richardson is now referred to as a “misuser”; the reference, which would have been interpreted as a proof of guilt presents now an explanation why she had confessed taking part in the bombings.

After the release the references are as neutral as can be. Individually they are called “Mr”, “Ms” or plainly by their name and collectively as the “Guildford Four”. *The Times* gives an impression of being patronizing when it avoids using “Mr” or “Ms” but refers to the each *Four* by their name (“Richardson” or “Carole Richardson”); it is an old custom for English upper classes to call servants and members of lower classes simply by their names. The effect is underlined because other people mentioned are called “Mr, Mrs” or “Miss” – “Mr Howe”, “Mrs Yvonne Fox” and “Miss Maura Kelly”, for instance (see *The Times* October 18, 1989:2A). However, the *Four* are also admitted of being “innocent victims”.

As a conclusion to the references to the *Four* it can be stated that in the beginning of the trial there was some prejudice visible in either paper even though by a quick glance to the surface the attitudes seem neutral. The more open labelling is clearly visible

in the data after the conviction: they are called *bombers*, *members of the IRA* and *terrorists* without hesitation; *The Times* is more moderate in using the most colourful expressions than *The Guardian*, which is a more populist in style, but the attitude is not left secret by any means. By the time of release the press is confused and changes the tone to more polite.

The papers make clear division between *us* and *them* by emphasizing the nationality of the *Four*: *they* are Irish, and they lured a young misfortunate English citizen to their criminal activities. It can be seen as an IRA plot against the English: *they* use one of *us* in an attack against *us*.

Next chapter continues the investigation of attitudes towards the *Four* and the ideologies and beliefs that are revealed by the creation of images and the usage of stereotypes.

Stereotypes and Images of the *Four* in the Six Key Articles

IRA prisoners consider themselves as prisoners of war (see Wichert 1991:187, eg.) and they deny England's right to rule any parts of Ireland; English troops are considered as occupation troops. This all is common knowledge. As stated above, in a clear voice Paul Hill renounced the court in the beginning of the trial. The incident that was reported in both *The Guardian* and *The Times* (September 17, 1975; extracts (iv a), (ivb), (iv c)), certainly reinforce stereotyped IRA images of the *Guildford Four*. In fact, the incident is considered so important in *The Guardian* that it is reported twice in the same paper with slightly different quotations.

(iv a)

Paul Hill (29) [sic] of Barnsley Crescent, Belfast – yesterday refused to make his plea in court. When the first charge was put to him Mr Hill said: "I refuse to be tried in by this court." When Mr Justice Donaldson, presiding his at first Old Bailey trial, asked what he had said Mr Hill replied: "Your justice stinks." After that he sat silent.
(*The Guardian* Sept. 17, 1975:1)

(iv b)

Only moments after the four were brought into the dock Mr Hill refused to plead any of the charges, repeating "Your justice stinks."

Mr Leslie Boyd, the court's chief administrator, who was reading the charges, paused and asked: "What did you say?" Mr Hill, his arms folded, said: "Your justice stinks." Mr Justice Donaldson, presiding at his first Old Bailey trial, told Mr Boyd to carry on. After the first two charges Mr Hill remained silent when asked to plead.

(*The Guardian* Sept. 17, 1975:8)

(iv c)

When the charges were read before the jury were sworn in Mr Hill was heard to reply to the first two counts: "Your justice stinks". Later his counsel told the court that he had been instructed that Mr Hill intended to plead not guilty to all charges.

(*The Times* Sept. 17, 1975:2)

Gerry Conlon (1991:125) confirms this is a stereotyped Republican way to deny the legitimacy of the English court: "I refuse to be tried in by this court" and "Your justice stinks". When the public knows this is the case the stereotype and the belief in the guilt of the accused are reinforced. For readers it is easy to conclude that Paul Hill certainly is one of *them*. It is probable that only a few readers would think of any other explanation – desperation and a state of shock, perhaps – to Hill's outbursts but the IRA membership. The papers seem to believe strongly that the *Four* are guilty because they have selected this incident to be reported in detail – of course, it also gives the report the edge of drama.

After the conviction was announced and the *Four* were officially proclaimed as active members of the notorious IRA, the papers issued special reports on October 23, 1975, about the case (*The Guardian* (p.15) and *The Times* (p.5)). These reports included profiles of the lives of the *Four*, too. It is impossible to know every source the papers had used for their stories during the trial but, undoubtedly, much of the information is given by the police. Their reports support openly the idea of the convicted being with

the IRA and that in the IRA circles they were fêted as heroes. Extract (iv d) below is a fair illustration of such reports:

(iv d)

Paul Michael Hill, aged 20, a lieutenant of the Belfast battalion of the IRA was becoming something of a folk hero and his name was the toast of many parties in republican public houses and clubs.

...

Mr Hill's arrest by armed detectives suddenly changed the whole complexion of the investigation. Mr Hill began to talk. Far from being the tight-lipped, tough hero he was still being fêted in Belfast, he gave a detailed account of the bombings and identified those who were with him in the conspiracy.

...

Gerard Conlon, aged 20, also a lieutenant in the 1st Battalion of the Belfast Provisionals, a hot tempered but experienced terrorist, was the operational "chief" for all three bombings.

...

Patrick Armstrong, aged 24, who joined the IRA at Dundalk six years ago, "cut his teeth" by taking part in armed robberies in Belfast to obtain funds for Provisionals. He was also a lieutenant with the 1st Battalion.... Carole Richardson, aged 17, an English girl who drifted from one empty house to another as a squatter in London. From birth she was brought up by her mother and grandmother in Kilburn... She never knew her father. It was while she was living the life of a "drop-out" that she met many IRA men, mostly at parties where rebel songs were sung through the haze of cannabis smoke.

(The Times Oct. 23, 1975:5)

These articles present claims that are picked out of various statements and other unnamed sources as definite truths; there are no more expressions of any kind of doubt, such as "alleged terrorist" or "is said to have been a lieutenant with the 1st Battalion". The descriptions of the *Four* strengthen the image of them as being stereotyped bloodthirsty and callous killers and terrorists. There are also other stereotyped expressions in extract (iv d) above. For example, the claim that Paul Hill "was becoming something of a folk hero and his name was the toast of many parties in republican public houses and clubs" conveys the idea

The selection is made by the editor and the pieces from the statements and witness statements given in court are combined to make a point. Extract (iv e) is combined from Patrick Armstrong's written statement and Gerry Conlon's statement in the trial. The combination is used to prove how ruthless Conlon is: he himself admits becoming bitter and able to take beatings without confessing anything. This excerpt also gives the reader an explanation or motivation for the crime: bitterness for beatings by the army. Even though the article uses the form: "Armstrong's statement called him", for readers who are, or want to be, convinced of the guilt of the *Four* and for those who trust the righteousness of the police, the effect is same as if the form were plainly: "Armstrong called him". Anything negative told about the accused is willingly received as a definite truth (see pp. 31–36 above) and is seen as a proof of guilt by prejudice readers.

The target of police raids organised in Kilburn, North London, is indirectly emphasized in the following extract (iv f) : "largely Irish Kilburn area".

(iv f)

Addresses, particularly in largely Irish Kilburn area in North London, were raided. Days of questioning led to total of eight people being charged with murder and others being excluded from Britain by Home Secretary, Mr Roy Jenkins, under the terms of the new act [ie. Prevention of Terrorism Act].
(*The Guardian* Oct. 23, 1975:15)

The news about the investigation gives an impression that if a person is Irish it makes him or her suspicious. The *Exclusion Orders* referred to in the data concerned solely Irish people as the *Prevention of Terrorism Act* is clearly aimed against the IRA activities.

The images given of the accused are certainly not becoming. As it is mentioned above the Richardson's background is given as an explanation to her behaviour but there are other features, too, that support a stereotyped interpretation of persons who are considered as being capable of committing the cold blooded murder

by bombs. First of all, the photographs (*The Guardian* October 23, 1975:15, see also Table 3.2.3f below and Appendix IV) of the *Four* are far from flattering. It could be assumed that the pictures were taken by the police when they are booked into custody. The pictures are cropped so that they leave part of the faces outside; the width is only from one outside corner to another. Even though the quality of the copy below leaves a lot to be desired, the original pictures in *The Guardian* are rather rough, too. The negative effect of the pictures is emphasized by the accompanied texts. Someone might see the appearances of each *Four* as confused or even frightened but the faces could also get another interpretation; namely that of suspicious, ruthless and cold-blooded criminals, especially because of the texts.

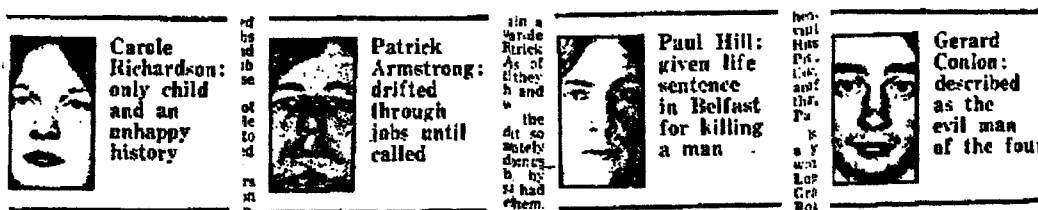


Table 3.2.3f: The *Guildford Four* in *The Guardian* October 23, 1975:15)

Another way of expressing publicly the disgust felt at the *Four*, and especially at Carole Richardson, who was English, is to refer to their appearances; a person who lives as a squatter outside the organised society and is thought to be a criminal must also have a somehow repulsive or suspicious looks. *The Guardian* (September 17, 1975) reports from the trial:

(iv g)

One soldier would tell the jury he saw the couple [whom the prosecution claimed to have been Patrick Armstrong and Carole Richardson]: the girl was 19 or 21, of slim build, and with dirty blonde hair. This, Sir Michael suggested, was "a

fair description of Carole Richardson." The soldier would say she was not the sort of girl he would have chatted up. (*The Guardian* Sept. 17, 1975:8)

By prosecution's and witness' words Carole Richardson is labelled as having forbidding appearance: the prosecution calls the description, "the girl was 19 or 21, of slim build, and with dirty blonde hair", consistent with Carole Richardson's. The image is completed with the witness' comment that "she was not the sort of girl he would have chatted up". Sir Michael had no identification parades to confirm his claim (Kee 1986:140–141). Carole Richardson is presented as having loose morals as a result of her upbringing and unhappy childhood; she was drifting from job to job and living unmarried in squats with Patrick Armstrong – an Irishman, she was also a "drop-out" and used drugs (October 23, 1975 *The Guardian* p.15 and *The Times* p.5). All these unpleasant things told about Carole Richardson reveal power-usage as well as the hegemony; being described as an unattractive woman with a squatter's lifestyle themselves are proofs of criminal nature.

There are at least two more aspects in the data that add to the negative image of the *Four*. The first of those two aspects is the presentation of the victims; extract (iv h) below emphasizes the young age of the victims by stating their ages; this is rather persuasive and appeals to the emotions of a reader:

(iv h)

... all are accused of murdering five people ... Two young WRAC girls, Caroline Slater (18) and Ann Hamilton (19); two Scots Guards recruits, John Hunter (17), and William Forsyth (18); and Paul Craig, a civilian, died in an explosion at the Horse and Groom public-house. (*The Guardian* Sept. 17, 1975:8)

The *Four* are presented through the youth of the victims; they were teenagers, who had been on the verge of adulthood when the bombers had taken their lives. In this way the cruelty of the bombings, as well as that of the *Four* are given extra emphasis.

Another feature worth noting in excerpt (iv h) above is the notion that the female victims are both "young" and "girls", in other words, the young age has double emphasis, but on the other hand the male victims are simply called as "Scots Guards recruits", and not "young boys", even though one of them is younger than either one of the girls. The age or any other information but name of the civilian, Paul Craig, is not mentioned. *The Times* (September 17, 1975:2) calls him plainly "Mr Paul Craig", as if he were inferior to the military victims.

The other aspect to consider alongside the youth of the victims is the presentation of Paul Hill's age; his age is stated falsely, 29 years instead of 20 years, on *The Guardian* on September 17, 1975:1 and 8. The same mistake is repeated later in some later issues of *The Guardian* in 1975 (September 19:22, 20:18, 30:6 and October 15:7) and also in various issues of *The Times* in the same year (September 23:3 and October 15:5, eg.). Even though the mistake is most probably unintentional it is not without an effect to the minds of readers; when the information about the victims and the accused are presented alongside the false presentation of age creates an image of a ruthless adult criminal, who murders innocent teenagers.

The data of the 1989 does not include stereotypes and there is no particular image of the *Four* present either; they are presented more like invisible objects of activities of campaigners, lawyers and authorities. The chapter below discusses more in detail of the particular subject.

As a conclusion to the present chapter it can be stated that the data from both, the beginning and the end of the trial, draws an unpleasant picture of the *Four*; their characteristics are used as indicators of the fact that they are a threat to the order of society. Even though the references to the *Four* are not as straight as they might be in the so called gutter press in the mid-1970's, the data shows labelling and negative attitude. Every detail or feature in the *Four* are used to create an unattractive image as if the official view of them needed any support and strengthening. The stereotypes presented make use of Irishness which, almost

automatically, leads to the membership of the IRA, growing up in a broken home, which results unstable character, or actions that can be seen as a proof of the IRA membership. The readers are offered details to enable them to feel disgust to the *Four* and sympathy for the victims, police and judicial system. As the trial is over and the *Four* convicted the readers can sit back with relief; those people are put away and the world is much better place to live, once again

Actions and Images of the Authorities in the Six Key Articles

One feature of a persuasive text is the use of the titles of the persons used as sources, names and numbers (see p.33 above). The title of a person correlates to the his or hers credibility; the longer and more official the title is the more credible the source. If the source used is referred to as an expert, it also adds to the credibility of the text. The existing hegemony and power structures are maintained and strengthened by using persuasion; readers are more easily persuaded to believe experts and their statements than plain claims of an unidentified or otherwise unknown source. The following extracts, (v a) and (v b), demonstrate how numbers and details are used in convincing readers to believe that the paper gives accurate and sincere information, in other words the features that add to the persuasiveness of the texts. Similar examples can be found in both papers during the trial.

(v a)

Bombings that killed seven people and wounded 84 others... Three men and an English girl aged 17 are charged with five murders ... Two of them are also charged with two murders at Kings Arms in Woolwich.

(The Guardian Sept. 17, 1975:1)

(v b)

The defendants are: Carole Richardson, aged 18, of Earls Court Square, Kensington, London; Patrick Armstrong, aged 24, of Algernon Road, Kilburn, London; Paul Hill, aged 20, of Barnsley Crescent, Belfast; and Gerald

[sic] Conlon, aged 20, of Cypress Avenue, Belfast. All are accused of murdering Mr Paul Craig, Guardsmen William Forsyth and John Hunter, and Ann Hamilton and Caroline Slater, WRAC recruits at Guildford on December 5.
(*The Times* Sept. 17, 1975:2)

Extract (v b) above, which is similar to the one that can be found in the article of *The Guardian* (September 17, 1975:8) presenting the charges of the *Four* published in the beginning of the trial. As can be seen the charges give out not only the names and ages of the accused but also their home addresses. Considering the early stages of the trial, in other words no one has been officially announced to be guilty of the bombings one could ask: why are the identities given out in such detail, especially when the whole country is beside itself about the bombing campaign. In the light of the theories about the distribution of details (van Dijk 1988b:84–85, eg.) it could be claimed that the only ones who benefit from the revelation are the newspapers themselves and the police: those charged are realised now as real, living persons at whom readers can aim their hatred and fear; the papers can claim that they do not hide information from the public and hence they keep up credibility, and at the same time they feed the readers' never ending curiosity. On the other hand, police can prove that those charged are real persons and that they will face the punishment.

Next chapter discusses in more detail the role and image of authorities involved with the Guildford process.

ACTIONS AND IMAGES OF THE AUTHORITIES ON SEPTEMBER 17, 1975

As stated above according to Fowler (1991 and Fowler et al. 1979) M.A.K Halliday's systemic functional grammar is a useful tool in revealing ideologies in texts: as stated above usually those who have power are subjects (semantic 'agent') and those who have less power or lack it all together are objects ('patients', 'beneficiaries') (Fowler 1991:98). The data includes various expressions of activities performed by various individuals or

groups of people. Some actors of actions are presented directly in active form and some more covertly in passive form. The main focus of this chapter is on the activities and processes performed by authorities because the information about the activities of the *Four* is mainly second or third hand information.

It should be stated that the actions or processes discussed here include words from other word classes than verbs, too; "conviction" can be understood as an activity of convicting in: "This conviction was a part of policy".

As it can be seen the actions or processes often occur without an actor in the articles of *The Guardian* (pp.1&8) and *The Times* (p2.) on September 17, 1975; "the first charge was put to him", "The first Guildford explosion was timed for" (*The Guardian*) or "Three public houses ... were severely damaged.", and "It [bomb] had a slow fuse and was designed to create horrible injuries because the charge was wrapped in pieces of metal" (*The Times*) in each case the actual actor, or someone who is referred to as such, can be detected, not so much from the sentence structures but the context of the entire text.

In *The Guardian* (September 17, 1975:2) the prosecution makes straight claims and he has an active role: "Sir Michael, prosecuting, said the trial", "He told the jury", as well as in *The Times* "Sir Michael Havers, QC, said at" and "Guildford, he added was a centre", for example. Despite the fact that there is an institutionalised manner of presenting the cases in court rooms the effect of prosecutor's role is emphasized when his actions, as well as his words, are printed in the papers. The prosecutor is "counsel" or "Sir Michael" with some variations (see Appendix IV) when he acts; and he *says*, and makes *claims*. Once, in *The Guardian*, he *suggests*, *alleges* or *refers* and in *The Times* he *adds*, *continues* and *speaks*; he is presented as a man who has shows no sign of hesitation or doubt about his case. Extra weight is given to the credibility of the prosecution in *The Times* by stating: "The Crown says that the couple were" (*The Times* September 17, 1975:2). The actions that refer to the accused are also presented in the form of claims: "as they planted a 10lb

timebomb", "The bombers picked Thursday night because" (*The Guardian* p.8) Neither paper emphasizes, or even mentions the fact that all that the prosecution presents in the opening speech is only suggestions and allegations until the jury has decided whose version, prosecution's or defence's, it prefers; the effect to readers would be different if there were more such choices of expressions as "Sir Michael alleged that those two were Richardson and Armstrong" or "According to Sir Michael that was a fair description". It is as if the trial was a mere formality and the result was clear in the very beginning.

The main difference between the papers is that in *The Times* the prosecutor is presented as the sole active contributory factor and the others as passive – as the accused are active only in the presentation of the prosecution, especially when their claimed action is repeated time after time as in *The Times*. The low status of the *Four* is visible also in the way the refusal of Paul Hill is presented (*The Times* p.2) "Mr Hill was heard to reply to the first two counts" instead of: "Mr Hill replied". It is left vague who heard the reply; all the people in the court room or just some people closest to him. Then what follows is an exception in the presentation of *The Times*: "Later his counsel told the court"; Paul Hill's counsel is given an active role: he is telling something directly to the court.

The Guardian (pp.1&8) gives more vivid account of the incident. The difference in presentation allows *The Guardian* to bring forward more characters involved with the trial. After Paul Hill's open refusal of the court the judge and a court's administrator are introduced as actors to readers: "Mr Justice Donaldson ... asked what he had said Mr Hill replied", "Mr Leslie Boyd, the court's chief administrator, who was reading the charges, paused and asked: 'What did you say?'" and "Mr Justice Donaldson, presiding his first Old Bailey trial told Mr Boyd to carry on"; both the judge and the administrator are presented at length and their activities are short and exact ("asked", "paused and asked" and "told"). The long presentations after the names "the court's chief administrator, who was reading the charges"

“presiding his first Old Bailey trial ” emphasize the official status and prestige of those two individuals, especially when they are grouped together with actively negative Paul Hill, who repeatedly – “his arms folded” – refuses to be tried.

There are two more instances in *The Times* (p.2), where there is someone else acting but the prosecutor. However, the information is most probably from Sir Michael’s speech (see chapter 2.4.2); the witness statements are referred to in: “Just before 7 pm ... the customers in the Horse and Groom noticed a courting couple sitting”, and one of the victims in the line: “Carol Burns, a WRAC recruit, who was celebrating her nineteenth birthday”. The presentation of the claim: “The Crown says that the couple were” gives extra strength to the claim by referring to the Crown – it is not only police or Sir Michael as a prosecuting counsel who makes the claim but an anonymous institution called *the Crown*. The line telling about the birthday celebrations adds to drama; she “was celebrating” refers to a process that was cut short before its time. The context of the trial, as well as the surrounding text as the description of the bomb:

(vi a)

It had a slow fuse and was designed to create horrible injuries because the charge was wrapped in pieces of metal”,
(*The Times* Sept. 17, 1975:2)

and Sir Michael’s claims:

(vi b)

They picked a Thursday night, a Army pay night; and they picked the King’s Arms, right opposite the Royal Artillery barracks ... and they picked 10 pm, ... and they picked the vicious bomb
(*The Times* Sept. 17, 1975:2)

turns the focus on the guilt of the accused, especially when the accusations including such strong repetition are in print. The actors making the bombs are not named but their alleged acts are described.

In *The Guardian* there are more active roles visible, besides the prosecutor and the accused, even though the prosecutor is still the centre figure. The landlord of the Seven Stars is referred to as being an active individual even if it is done indirectly by Sir Michael in “casualties at the Seven Stars were very low owing to the “intelligent action” of the landlord”; by his “intelligent action” he managed to save numbers of casualties. Another character, or rather an unknown number of characters, in *The Guardian* data presented are experts. They are mentioned once as giving information about the bombs: “Experts believe the bomb ... was specifically designed for ... and timed”; anonymous experts do not claim or state as Sir Michael does but they only “believe” that some people, who are not identified in this context designed and timed the notorious bombs. Experts are used here, as well as in the actual trial, to support the credibility of the prosecution. *The Times* does not mention the experts’ belief or their other active part in investigation but presents information, which is clearly from expert sources (see extract (vi a) above). The credibility is also supported in in *The Guardian* (p.8) “He said that Mr Armstrong jumped out of the car as it stopped and lit the bomb” Even though the article refers to statements: “Mr Hill allegedly admitted going” the allegation is soon forgotten when the presentation moves to positive certainty: “He said”. The doubt is erased, if there ever was some.

There are several occasions where the first element of a sentence or a paragraph can be interpreted as presenting ideology or attitude (see pp.33–34 above);

(vi c)

- Four members of an IRA raiding party
 - The three men were all members of the IRA
 - Opening the case for the Crown against three young Irishmen and an Englishwoman aged 18, Sir Michael, who is an opposition spokesman on legal matters
 - “These four were part of a raiding team”
- (*The Times* September 17, 1975:2)

(vi d)

- Sir Michael, prosecuting, said
 - Sir Michael said
 - All four, he said were
 - That couple, alleged Sir Michael
 - They did not laugh
- (*The Guardian* September 17, 1975:1&8)

The prosecuting counsel and his claims are the first elements when he is making claims and stating the prosecution's point of view. He is coming forward as telling the ultimate truth. The *Four* are presented as the first element when their alleged deeds are described (see extract (vi c)).

As a conclusion to the present section it is justified to claim that the opening of the trial was a one man show; the prosecuting counsel is a dynamic actor as he leads the proceedings by his opening speech and he has a an open access to the papers. Even though the manners of addressing the court and the manners of presenting cases in front of the court are institutionalised the papers could – if they truly wanted to be neutral and objective in issuing the news – use more paraphrases or milder expressions than the prosecution, whose task is to get the accused convicted.

ACTIONS AND IMAGES OF THE AUTHORITIES ON OCTOBER 23, 1975

The the first part of both articles of the second pair present the judge as an actor, as he is explaining his grounds to the conviction. *The Guardian* (p.1) and *The Times* (p.1) refer to the judge as an actor by calling him "the trial Judge"), "judge", "Mr Justice Donaldson" and, "Justice Donaldson", but most often the judge is referred to as "he" in *The Guardian* (p.1); however, *The Times* (p.1) refers to the judge as "he" in only one line. *The Guardian* (p.1) spells *judge* consistently with a capital J as it were a proper noun, whereas *The Times* (p.1) with spells the word with small letters as a common noun.

The judge is emphasizing his views by using first person singular ("I") in both papers (see extracts (vi e) and (vi f) below). The effect is similar to the one in extract (vi b), where "they" as a reference to the *Four* as actors, is used repeatedly; the words of the judge get an extra weight in repetition, which has a strong effect in a spoken form and even stronger in the printed form as the words stay before the readers' eyes and they can read the text over and over again.

(vi e)

"You three men are sentenced to life for murder and I want you to understand what that means and I want your fellow members of the IRA to understand and I want the people who sent you to this country to understand", he said.
(*The Guardian* Oct. 23, 1975:1)

(vi f)

I want to deter others into taking this view. I want to spell it out to them that the idea that the life [sentence] means 12 to 15 years started when the sentence for murder was death.
(*The Times* Oct. 23, 1975:1)

The determination of warning the IRA is emphasized in this way, as well as the judge's direct address to the the convicted men in:

(vi g)

"You did not care whom you killed as long as you killed a number of people. Your crime was not directed at those you killed but at the community as a whole, every man, woman and child living in this country. You obviously expected to strike terror into their hearts. But you should have known our countrymen better.
(*The Times* Oct. 23, 1975:1)

The judge repeats the phrase "you killed", which does not allow the readers to forget the unfortunate blasts in Guildford or the ones in Birmingham either. When the speaker is a judge in a terrorist trial the message is underlined by presenting the judge as an active addresser of terrorists. However, it is most probable that

this kind of sending messages through media only calms minds of public rather than has a real effect on people planning terrorist attacks; in wars between institutions and marginal groups messages are read and understood often in the way the sender could never imagine. On the other hand, the speech presentation in extract (vi e) can create lynching mentality and fear of people with Irish accent. Obviously, the meaning of the papers was to create security and show the readers that they can trust the mechanisms of the society. The messages sent by *The Times* (p.1) and *The Guardian* (p.1) can be interpreted even as the judge's declaration of war to the IRA.

The other authoritative figures that are mentioned as characters who have an active part in the process are the Birmingham bomb trial judge, "the Judge, Mr Justice Bridge", "The Home Secretary" and the "all-male jury" in *The Guardian* (p.1), and the "all-male jury", "the Home Secretary" and "the Lord Chief Justice and the trial judge" in *The Times* (p.1). The activities they are involved with are all to do with the process of conviction of alleged terrorists: the Birmingham bomb trial's judge made no recommendations when the *Birmingham Six* were convicted for life, the jury found the *Four* guilty as charged, the Home Secretary must be consulted for the recommendation of the minimum length of Carole Richardson's conviction, and if anyone convicted for life should be released on licence, as well as the Lord Chief Justice and the trial judge. These characters are in the background to give credibility to the system; those important people secure the safety of the society by their expertise.

The judge is a similar character in the end of the trial as the prosecuting counsellor in the beginning: he makes claims and statements, relying on the decision of the jury, about the *Four* and activities emphasizing the nature of the crime they are charged and convicted of. The papers do not by all means try to cover the attitude of the judge; on the contrary they support it wholeheartedly by picking up and printing it at length. Also the themes of the sentences and paragraphs (see pp. 33–34 above) are parallel to those in the articles in the beginning of the trial; the judge acts

with determination and the *Four*'s acts are mostly mischievous.

In the middle of the presentation of the judges address in *The Guardian* (p.1) the men of the *Four* are mentioned as actors, or more like performing a state: "The three sat silently in the dock ... as the Judge said". In fact there are not many choices left to do for an accused in a trial session; either he or she sits still or creates a scene. The latter alternative would, of course, have been welcomed by media because dramatic turns in a terrorist trial would help making more interesting headlines (see also p.17 above on news values).

The judicial institution as an actor is often presented in covert terms, in other words the agency is given to it indirectly. In *The Guardian* (p.1) there are expressions, such as: "sentenced", "were also gaoled", "was detained", "was sentenced separately and had been led from the dock", "could be sentenced", "were convicted", "were found guilty", "Mr Armstrong was also convicted ... he and Mr Hill were convicted of murder", or "A charge against Mr Armstrong ... was dismissed". In *The Times* (p.1) there is a similar tendency of expressing judicial activities: "Life sentences were passed", "was sentenced", "was also jailed", "was ordered to be detained ...he should be released", "were murderers reprieved and sentenced", "would have been executed", "could be released", "may be released ... but recalled". The name of the institution, or representatives of it, in whose name these acts are done or the processes are carried out is seldom named. It is a faceless, mysterious force that sentences, jails, executes or reprieves. On the contrast the accused are more often presented as directly committing activities as in the extract (vi g) above or in the following:

(vi h)

Each had known the plan, taking part in planning, and had known and played his own part in the bombings.

Mr Armstrong and Miss Richardson had gone into the Horse and Groom and planted the bomb. ... they could see the people they were going to maim and kill. Then they got up and left them [the victims] to their fate.

(*The Guardian* Oct. 23, 1975:1)

(vi i)

The accused had given no second thought for their innocent victims.

(The Times Oct. 23 1975:1)

The victims (ie. the customers of the bombed pubs) are passive objects and the *Four* are actively evil. There is no doubt that these expressions appeal to the emotions of the reading public.

There are expressions, such as:

(vi j)

Mr Armstrong was also convicted of conspiring with Mr Hill and [unknown] others to commit murder at the Kings Arms in Woolwich, and he and Mr Hill were convicted of murder of Alan Horsley and Richard Sloan Dunn, who died after an explosion at that pub on November 7.

(The Guardian Oct. 23, 1975)

Here both the accused and the act they are convicted of, as well as the objects (ie. victims) of the bombing and the act (ie. convicting) of judicial powers are mentioned; the executor of those judicial powers is left secret. It seems that judicial institution is above this world, even the name of the institution in the connection of its actions is a taboo; the only truly active and visible actor of the judicial institution is the judge, who is tough and fearless in front of the alleged terrorists.

After the conviction the process from the very beginning to the conviction is summarised in both paper on October 23, 1975 (*The Guardian* (p.15) and *The Times* (p.5)). The subheadline of *The Guardian* (p.15) announces: "**ANNE McHARDY reveals the background of the Guildford bombers**"; it is the first time a reporter is presented as an active participant in the Guildford process. The person of the writer is emphasized with capital letters and the choice of a word "reveal" implies that the writer has discovered herself some dark secrets from the backgrounds of the *Four*. However, there is hardly anything in the story that has not been "revealed" in various papers and issues during the course of

the process. The sole purpose using the word "reveal" is to make readers curious about the story.

The actual articles present authoritative actors, such as police, the prosecutor, and Home Secretary. Major part in both summaries is, of course, given to the activities of the *Four* but in *The Times* (p.5) there are also two other characters; an IRA informer:

(vi k)

An IRA informer sold for £350 the clue that led to the arrest ... Listening to the exploits ... was the man who later betrayed them.

(The Times Oct. 23, 1975:5)

and the clever jury: "The ruse, however, failed with the all-male jury, which for the past six weeks has unravelled the web." IRA members are once again unreliable as they are ready and willing to sell their comrades when the price is right. Police come forward as clever and active characters. They seem to have had an essential part in solving the case rapidly; *The Guardian* (p.15) reports that Surrey police pored almost two months over evidence when the RUC tipped them off, and the mystery around the bombings started to fade away. People were "arrested" and "charged" (see also Appendix IV) when police got into work. In *The Guardian* (p.15) the police are main actors through in beginning of the article (1 1/3 column):

(vi l)

AFTER SEVEN weeks spent sifting [sic] the evidence from the *Guildford pub bombings* the breakthrough for the **Surrey police** came by chance. A tip-off from the **Royal Ulster Constabulary** led to the arrest .. Within days the **police** arrested a total of 54 people...
... they [people who were arrested] were taken to stations all over Surrey. Paul Hill was brought in front of Guildford magistrates twice after he was first charged anonymously. He was hustled into court ... and not named even when he was in the dock.
The police gave "security" as the reason ...
... meant the opportunity for them to act on the information **they were getting** from Hill and the other man in custody, Gerald [sic.] Conlon, who had been flown quickly from Belfast to England, and to arrest the people **they were naming**. Addresses, particularly in the largely Irish Kilburn area in North London, were raided. Days of questioning led to a total of eight people being charged and to others

being excluded from Britain by the Home Secretary, Mr Roy Jenkins, ...
Surrey police were publicly delighted with themselves ...
 ... their certainty that **they had penetrated** the heart of the terrorists' organisation.
They believe they know the names of the other people ...
Statements made to them indicated something that **they had not suspected** – that the people **they had arrested** for the Guildford bombs were also implicated in another bombing, ...
 Some of the evidence **they gathered** surprised them. Addresses given to them included some used by squatters and **two of the four people whose trial has just ended were living** in "squats." The police admitted they had never considered

The total number of people arrested and charged, as well as the the statement that "they [the arrested] were taken to stations all over Surrey" underline the activity of police. It seems that there is no stone that is left unturned. Even police themselves seem to be surprised of their own efficiency – and of course, good luck – they were able to connect at least some of the *Four* to another bombing: "Statements made to them indicated something that they had not suspected – that the people they had arrested for the Guildford bombs were also implicated in another bombing". The solution of the successful police operation was that: "**Surrey police were publicly delighted** with themselves" because of "their certainty that they had penetrated the heart of the terrorists' organisation." "They believe they know the names of the other people" involved with the bombings, thus the case is solved. Police have done their work by securing the society as model citizens. In *The Times* (p.5) the police is an active actor only in the two first paragraphs (see Appendix IV) from where on the *Four* are presented as actors.

The Times (p.5) presents men, who act and have impressive titles:

(vi m)

The deal was sanctioned by Mr Peter Matthews, Chief Constable of Surrey, after one of his men, Det Chief Inspector Brian Richardson, detectives from the RUC, and army intelligence officers had heard
 (*The Times* Oct. 23, 1975:5)

The full length titles of the two first men and the branches of the two latter groups of men "detectives" and "intelligence officers" convey a message that whatever tip these people act upon must be

for real. Such people are trained to tell truth from lies (see p.18 above). Another occasion where action is performed by people, whose profession add to the credibility is the following: "Mr Hill's three companions were arrested by Surrey detectives working with Scotland Yard's bomb squad in London.". Scotland Yard's bomb squad guarantee the know-how in solving a bombing case

As stated above *The Times* (p.5) emphasizes the unreliability of the IRA by referring to an IRA informer's active role in solving the case. From which it followed "That was the first breakthrough for which the Surrey police had worked night and day for three months." It is not clear what is the starting point from where the writers of each paper start counting the length of time police used in solving the case, as *The Guardian* (p.15) states that "AFTER SEVEN weeks spent sifting [sic] the evidence" whereas *The Times* states that the Surrey police had worked for three months. According to *The Times* police have been much more industrious than according to *The Guardian*.

The presentation of the *Four* in both summaries repeat the main claims of actions the prosecution made in the beginning of the trial the implications of which are discussed above (see pp. 79-87).

The Times (p.5) neglects totally the claims of ill-treatment each of the *Four* made against police. *The Guardian* (p.15) refers directly to the claims the accused made during the trial as in: "He said that the police had threatened his mother, and that threat broke him", or "Richardson, who did not take the oath, said in court that she had been so frightened she had confessed to make the police leave her alone", for example. *The Times* (p.5) seems to have much more strict policy in letting any voice of the *Four* to be heard than *The Guardian* (p.15). *The Times* (p.5) lets only the clean official story through, in other words the version that has been put together from various statements.

In the end of the summaries the society, with the help of its supporting elements – police and judicial system – is presented as a winner over trained terrorists. *The Guardian* (p.15) gives the credit to the police and *The Times* (p.5) to the jury; they both saw

through the skillful plan of terrorist: *The Guardian* (p.15) finishes with the police claim that: "Their life style ... is typical of that the police say Provisional activists adopt." In other words even though it was a surprise that some of the accused lived in squats and police were surprised to find that out they still insist that there was nothing out of the ordinary in their life styles. *The Times* (p.5) states that despite the new interview techniques the IRA had adopted: "The ruse, however, failed with the all-male jury, which for the past six weeks has unravelled the web.". The members of jury used their wits effectively and saw through the scheme.

There is a feature that should be discussed in this context: both papers refer to the jury as "all-male jury" (*The Guardian* p.1 and *The Times* p.5). The expression raises a question: what is the relevance of the gender of the jury? There should be no difference in the course of legal processes whether the jury or other representatives of the judicial system were male or female. It can be assumed that the papers hint that any mixed or female jury would have not been so bright to see through the plot. It is very difficult to find another explanation, especially when the other qualities of the members of the jury are left unmentioned: colour, religion and place birth, for instance.

There is no speculation or explanation of the reasons in the summary article why one part of the charges referred to in the front page of *The Guardian* were dismissed in the course of the trial. If the grounds of dismissal were known to the writer a reader would expect them to be told in the summary, or if the grounds were not public some speculation would have been expected. Now the decision is taken for granted, which seems to be an odd solution. *The Times* does not even refer to the dismissal; instead, it gives an impression that the *Four* were guilty as charged.

As a conclusion in the end of the trial the authorities had a positively active role as they inspected, arrested and otherwise secured the public. The judicial institution was presented as an anonymous power, who convicts and sentences; the acts of this

institutions are almost unexceptionally without an agent or actor. The accused are presented as actors when the planning and planting of the bombs are described: they are actively corrupted and evil people, and at the same time they are objects of speech; their alleged acts are talked about but they themselves are not talking. There is a combination of two contradictory entities: utterly good and utterly bad.

Next chapter investigates the actions and images of the authorities in the last pair of the six key articles on the verge of the release of the *Guildford Four* after the fourteen years in prison.

ACTIONS AND IMAGES OF THE AUTHORITIES ON OCTOBER 18, 1989

After long imprisonment the *Four*, who had been classified as category A prisoners (ie. prisoners who are considered a high security risk) were suddenly released on October 19, 1989 after the Director of Public Prosecutions announced that there were no grounds to sustain the convictions. The new evidence hinted at the malpractice of the investigating police. The present chapter discusses the image of the authorities and institutions that is given in the final part of the data, which focuses on the forthcoming release.

The majority of the actors in the data of 1989 are officials; the Director of Public Prosecutions, Home Secretary, Avon and Somerset police. However, the number of actors has altogether increased when compared to the two previous pairs of articles. Other actors include defence lawyers, campaigners, alibi witnesses, the *Four*, and *Balcombe Street gang*, for instance. It is also clearly visible that the number of passive forms and covered actors is much smaller than it was in the beginning and the end of trial.

The Guardian (p.1A) headline and the opening of the article announces directly that "The former Director of Public Prosecutions, Sir Norman Skelhorn withheld crucial evidence" back in 1975 and states further on, "... written evidence of decision

being taken at the office of the DPP to withhold these statements.” The Prosecution Service is either the actor or the source in three first paragraphs of the article. Activities or processes that are presented are *withholding, asking, saying,, concluding, existing* of evidence and *making* of decisions; *withholding* is connected to a negative action and the rest are connected to the making of amendments. The Home Office sources are left mysteriously anonymous:

(vi n)

Home Office sources said new evidence had recently come to light as a result of the inquiries by Avon and Somerset police. They confirmed that the key part of it relates to the alibi of Mr Conlon,
(*The Guardian* Oct. 18, 1989:1A)

An anonymous source gives an impression that the information is unofficial. In extract (vi m) above it is not quite clear whom the word “They” refers to; to the Home Office sources or to the Avon and Somerset police? There is also another line: “There was speculation last night...” that leaves the question, who has been speculating, open. Perhaps it was the journalists, campaigners, lawyers, Avon and Somerset police making inquiries over the bombing inquiry in the 1970’s, or those “Home Office sources” who were speculating together or apart from each other. This is a whose question the answer probably only the writer of the article in question is capable of giving. Everything else is mere “speculation”.

The Times (p.2A) emphasizes the role of campaigners and the Home Secretary. The campaigners as a theme (see pp. 33–34 above) are already visible in the subheadline “Powerful allies joined the campaign in 14-year trail from conviction to freedom”; the prestige of some of them is clearly brought forward by referring them as “powerful allies” also in the beginning of the third paragraph of the article. Both *The Times* (p.2A) and the Home Secretary, who “faced calls for a retrial from extraordinary phalanx of critics, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr

Robert Runcie, the Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Hume, two Lords of Appeal, two former Home Secretaries and Robert Kee, the investigative journalist." seem to value the same people; *The Times* (p.2A) takes an effort to give credit to as many people of importance as possible. *The Guardian* (p.1A) is more modest in listing the campaigners in action: "variety of evidence advanced by the Guildford Four's supporters, who include Cardinal Basil Hume, Lords Scarman and Devlin and several former Home Secretaries.". The irony of the whole case is that in order to get justice one must win high up people to one's side or he is forgotten. Neither paper seems to criticize the need of large scale campaigning in order to get justice. However, there is a hint of criticism in *The Guardian* (p.1A) of the forthcoming inquiry into alleged malpractice of the police; there seems to be a possibility that some junior officers involved the bomb investigation face charges. The paper states that "Such action would remove the focus of attention"; in other words the responsible for the initial inquiry were to get away and some junior officers of the 1970's would be used as scape goats to take the blame and carry the consequences.

In *The Guardian* (p.1A) the Avon and Somerset police are given the key role in uncovering the new evidence; they are collecting evidence and making inquiries – the inquiries of the Avon and Somerset police are most often referred to as "the inquiries by Avon and Somerset police". This sentence structure (ie. by + agent) reflects to the role of the police force in question: it is an instrument in order to find evidence, and it acts upon the orders of the Home Office, not as an independent actor. This interpretation is supported by *The Times* (p.2A) article, which does not even mention the Avon and Somerset police's role.

In the previous two articles *The Times* left aside the claims of the police malpractice during the interviews but now it (p.2A) states that "the four retracted the signed confessions they had made after their arrests." and "They claimed the confessions had been forced from them by the Surrey police". In the latter sentence here there are two actors mentioned; the *Four* are presented as the

more active participant as “They” opens the sentence, whereas “the Surrey police” is in the final position and thus has a minor role. The *Four*’s active role or that of at least one of them has increased in *The Guardian* (p.1A), too;

(vi o)

**Mr Conlon had maintained that he had spent the day of the Guildford bombs, October 5,1974, around the hostel where he lived in ... He said he had not been to Guildford until he was taken there by police after his arrest.
(*The Guardian* Oct. 18, 1989:1A)**

In 1975 the Four were presented as making “claims” and “allegations” now, Mr Conlon’s words are not shadowed by doubt as he “maintains” and “says”. In the latter sentence of extract (vi m) police as an actor is, once again, preceded by a lengthy sentence; the implication would be stronger were the sentence modified in the following form: “He said he had not been to Guildford until police had taken him there after his arrest.”

As a conclusion the papers have a slightly different foci on the release of the *Four*; *The Guardian* focuses on the role of the Avon and Somerset police who found the crucial evidence – this is important because the image of police that has been tarnished by formally revealing and acknowledging the wrong conviction gets some polishing. *The Times*, however, focuses on the Home Secretary and his actions around the case, as well as the very campaigners who made the difference. Both papers aim to keep to the middle of the road; they seem to expect what is to come in the near future; whether to support the system as a whole, or condemn part of it in the past. Neither paper expresses distrust of the police or the judicial system. It is perhaps better to maintain the hegemonic structures and avoid too much disturbance in the society than face radical changes.

The images of the authorities, such as police or judiciary, in 1970’s was very clear; they were respected and their word was not doubted. The police are being presented as dynamic, active and clever investigators by, for instance, describing their actions and

emphasizing the number of people interviewed during a certain time. This image, and the descriptions of security measures during the trial also create a sense of public security; the threat of terrorism can be won. In 1989 old official truths are proved lies. To restore the consensus and the public trust in the establishment papers do what they can; they try to convince the public that it is not the majority of authorities that are corrupted but a small minority. On the other hand, *The Guardian* cannot help but hint to the possibility of the outcome of the new inquiry. The image of the *Four* has become more positive but the images of the authorities and institutions are presented as only having been slightly tarnished.

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The whole bombing campaign in the early 70's was purely a contradiction of *us* and *them*. From the IRA's point of view the Irish were *us* and the English were *them* and vice versa. When the arrests concerning the Guildford bombings were done and the charges were announced, the public enemy, *they*, was given a face, namely that of the *Guildford Four*. What used to be anonymous, faceless and abstract, became concrete and real. Now it was easier for the public to direct the feelings of fear and hatred. In the present analysis *us* refers to the English, who see themselves as victims who are threatened by the Irish, *them*. Later, in 1989, the once so clear contradiction became more fuzzy. The threat had crept from outside in; people from *our* group (police and judiciary) suddenly appear to have been bad, and *those* Irish, (the convicted) have been good all the time. The present chapter discusses the realisations of the contradiction of *us* and *them*, and whether this contradiction has changed at all by the October 1989, in terms of naming of the *Four*, stereotypes and the image of the *Four*, and descriptions of efficiency.

According Lukes (Rachlin 1988:23) power is a part of political decision making and since journalists do not make political decisions they cannot have power. Probably Lukes's definition of

“political” is rather restricted and simplified. Certainly it can be argued about. Caldas-Coulthard (Coulthard 1994:303) argues that journalists who report speech in news reports have great power. This is because they rarely reproduce the whole conversation word by word but only the parts, directly or indirectly, which suit their purposes. There is political power in the production of news but it is covert because the journalists have adopted the same values and attitudes as their audiences through socialization process (Rachlin 1988:12, Fowler 1991, eg.). Gerbner and Enzenberger (cited in Tuchman 1978:156) support Caldas-Coulthard’s view by claiming that mass media uses political power and that media is aware of its role in selling the readers the existing social hierarchy; news do make active politics by explaining events, including events that are not easily understood as political, even though the journalists and editors are trying to be objective (Hartley and Montgomery in van Dijk 1985:260).

According to van Dijk (1988a:157) journalistic ideology is striving to true, fair, balanced and objective reporting; concentrating on facts and avoiding opinions. Absolute objectivity is impossible, and thus news is always an interpretation of an event or statement. Editors and journalists cannot escape their cultural heritage, such as education, experiences and professional conventions, in selecting and publishing news.

In this study the realisations of ideology, attitudes and beliefs in news texts in the connection of the *Guildford Four* case has been discussed in the terms of critical discourse analysis. The material for the analysis was selected from issues of two English newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Times*, in 1974–1975 and 1989.

The *Guildford Four* were convicted of murder and conspiring for life on October 22, 1975. Their conviction was based solely on their various own written statements given to investigating policemen but there was no solid evidence. After several attempts to appeal their sentence was suddenly quashed fifteen years later, in October 18, 1989. The release became as a surprise to all parties involved; the *Four*, their solicitors and lawyers, as well as the campaigners.

The Guildford case is an interesting one because it was the first time in the British judicial history that the system admits its own mistake and quashes a life sentence. The *Guildford Four* sentence is not, by any means, the only one to have been quashed since; for example, the *Maguire Seven* were found innocent in 1991, some time after they had served their sentences, the *Birmingham Six* and the *Broadwater Three* were also found innocent in 1991 (Hill and Hunt 1996:284, eg.). The most recent case was the quashing of the *Bridgewater Four* sentence (see also Hill and Hunt 1996:283). They were found innocent in February 1997, after almost eighteen years in prison. These are only a few examples of disputable cases, which are not all connected with IRA actions. Coulthard (Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard 1995: 167) claims that by 1995 there has been some 800 cases in which police has been accused of using false evidence and suppression in order to get a confession.

The analysis concentrated on six key articles that were published in three turning points of the case; in the (1) beginning and (2) end of the trial and the (3) quashing of the sentences. The main subjects of the analysis are the use and prestige of the sources, presentation of speech, the realisations of the grouping people in *us* and *them*; the use of stereotypes and the creation of images by persuasion.

In the case of the *Guildford Four* in 1974–1975 the police gave an impression of solving the case with hard and systematic work but as a matter of fact Paul Hill's testimonies were the keys to arrests (Kee 1986:145). The police would not have had a case had there not been Hill's statements. The identification parade was used only once and not a single eyewitness was able to pick Carole Richardson from the line (Kee 1986:140-141). The results of the present analysis confirms Kee's claim; the witness does not claim it is Carole Richardson whom he described but the prosecuting counsel. In the beginning of the court process the information is presented through the prosecuting counsel. His action were described in the most positive light. The conclusions made on the basis of the articles from the day of conviction there

are other authoritative figures that are presented in a positive way: the investigating police and the trial judge. The police were described as dynamic actors and the judge's message to the IRA was quoted at length; they all acted with determination in order to secure the society's peace. The accused are present mainly through their statements to the police or through the police.

The *Four* themselves or their solicitors of the were not given space in the 1970's. The *Four* are mostly connected with stereotyped images: nationality, alleged membership of the IRA and the stereotyped behaviour of members of the IRA, as well as growing up in a single parent home. There is also a hint of sexism in the references to Carole Richardson. The *Four* are realised in the data of 1970's as reincarnations of all evil: three of them Irish, members of the notorious IRA and all four, cold-blooded calculating terrorists. The news about the police investigation present the Irish as a lot are labelled as unreliable group; as if they were all potential terrorists.

The articles dealing with the release in 1989 presented more sources than those about the trial. The attitude towards the *Four* changed totally; evil terrorists turned into innocent victims of a bomber hunt. The solicitors and the members of the *Four* themselves were dealt with more neutrality and they were given value as sources as well.

The image of authorities was respectful throughout the data. The malpractice of the Surrey police investigating the bombings was set aside, and only *The Guardian* mentioned the DPP's withholding of alibi evidence. *The Guardian* also suggested that the forthcoming inquiry could be used as a smokescreen in order to put the blame on some junior officers and let the higher rank inspectors go untouched. *The Times* refrained from judging the authorities. The papers gave an emphasis on the high up campaigners, who had demanded that the Home Secretary should reconsider the case. These campaigners making the difference were mainly bishops and retired politicians.

The political and judicial life was in the verge of catastrophe in October 1989; the purpose of such middle of the road articles

cannot be anything else but to avoid rocking the boat too much. The total distrust of the public of the police and the judicial system should be avoided, and thus the decision makers must be made to look fair people: they are correcting mistakes other people have made. This is the way to save the faces of the former and present decision makers and the social status quo.

As a final conclusion it can be said that in 1970's the press had difficulties in seeing the true purpose of the Guildford trial. The papers themselves took part in, what they later called as popular pressure on the police in order to catch the bombers, by acting as the mouthpiece of the prosecution and police and by not questioning or checking the information given to them.

There are several ways in which this study could be continued and the picture of the ideological aspects of the case in question made more complete. One way to continue the analysis would be to inspect and compare the texts in both papers that are similar to each other; their similarities and differences could have revealed much about the ideology and attitudes in either paper. Another way to continue the analysis would be a more thorough analysis of actual texts based on systemic functional grammar. These are the directions to continue the analysis, to mention only a few. However, the following study concentrates on investigating the linguistic and discursive means of expressing ideology in the media at the times of judicial and political crisis in October 1989.

As a method critical discourse analysis is far from being ready and there is no single approach to a text; each new study brings some new aspects to the method and develops it and is thus basis for further studies. The lack of the coherent single method is both the strength and weakness of the critical discourse analysis: it enables different approaches to texts the variation of which is wide – from marketing slogans to academic texts – but without definite guidelines the analyst might find him or herself in the middle of linguistic and discursive desert without a map and compass.

The interpretations of such an analysis as the present one tell as much of the analyst and her world view as the data that is

being analysed. This is because it is impossible to be totally objective; the analyst cannot help filtering her interpretations of the data through her own experiences and knowledge of the world, even though objectivity is the noble aim of academic writing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

The Guardian Manchester

December 4, 1974	October 14, 1975
December 5, 1974	October 15, 1975
December 6, 1974	October 17, 1975
December 10, 1974	October 21, 1975
December 13, 1974	October 23, 1975
September 17, 1975	October 18, 1989
September 19, 1975	October 19, 1989
September 20, 1975	October 20, 1989
September 24, 1975	October 21, 1989
September 30, 1975	October 24, 1989
	October 25, 1989

The Times London

December 3, 1974	October 1, 1975
December 5, 1974	October 3, 1975
December 6, 1974	October 15, 1975
September 17, 1975	October 22, 1975
September 18, 1975	October 23, 1975
September 20, 1975	October 18, 1989
September 23, 1975	October 19, 1989
September 24, 1975	October 20, 1989
September 25, 1975	October 21, 1989

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Aleksandrov, G.F., M.R. Galaktinov, V.S. Kruzhev, M.B. Mitin, V.D. Motshalov, and P.N. Pospelov 1948. *Josef Vissarionovitsh Stalin: Lyhyt elämäkerta*. Petroskoi: NK(b):n Keskuskomitean Marx–Engels–Lenin instituutti; Karjalais–suomalaisen SNT:n valtion kustannusliike.
- Brown, Gillian and George Yule 1983. *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Butt David, Rhonda Fafey, Sue Spinks, Colin Yallop, 1995. *Using Functional Grammar; An Explorer's Guide*. Sydney: Macquarie University.
- Caldas–Coulthard, Carmen Rosa, and Malcolm Coulthard (eds.) 1996. *Texts and Practices; Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Conlon, Gerry 1990 (1991). *Proved Innocent*. London: Hamish Hamilton (Penguin).
- Coulthard, Malcolm 1977. *Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.
- Coulthard, Malcolm (ed.) 1994. *Advances in Written Text Analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Coulthard, Malcolm and Martin Montgomery (eds.) 1981. *Studies in Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Eagleton, Terry 1995. *Heathcliff And the Great Hunger*. London: Verso.
- English, Richard 1991. *History of Ireland*. Dublin: Macmillan.
- Fairclough, Norman 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, Norman 1995a. *Media Discourse*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, Norman 1995b. *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.
- Fowler, Roger 1991. *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Fowler, Roger, Bob Hodge, Gunther Kress, and Tony Trew 1979. *Language and Control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- Fowler, Roger 1996. *Linguistic Criticism*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Glasgow University Media Group 1993. *Getting the Message; news, truth and power*. London: Routledge.
- Gudykunst, William B., and Youn Young Kim 1992. *Communicating with Strangers; an approach to intercultural communication*. New York: MacGraw-Hill.
- Hill, Paddy, and Gerard Hunt 1995 (1996). *Forever Lost, Forever Gone*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Hirsjärvi, Sirkka and Jouko Huttunen 1989. *Johdatus kasvatustieteeseen*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopiston täydennyskoulutuskeskus.
- Hutton, Seán and Paul Stewart (eds.) 1991. *Ireland's Histories; Aspects of State, Society and Ideology*. London: Routledge.
- Kee, Robert 1986. *Trial and Error; The Maguires, the Guilford Pub Bombings and British Justice*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Kim, M., L. Gaponenko, E. Genkina, S. Judatshev, D. Kukin, V. Leltshuk, J. Poljakov, V. Selunskaja, M. Stitshov (eds.) 1978. *Neuvostoliiton historia; Sosialismin aikakausi*. Moskova: Edistys.
- Lyons, F. S. L. 1979. *Culture and Anarchy in Ireland 1890–1939*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- MacDonagh, Oliver 1977. *Ireland; The Union and Its Aftermath*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Rachlin, Allan 1988. *News As Hegemonic Reality; American political culture and the framing of news accounts*. New York: Praeger.
- Ranelagh, John O'Beirne 1983. *A Short History of Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ryan Mark 1994. *War and Peace in Ireland; Britain and the IRA in the new world order*. London: Pluto Press.
- Sheridan Jim 1990. *In the Name of the Father*. (A feature film.) Hell's Kitchen (Universal).
- Tuchman, Gaye 1978. *Making News; a study in construction of reality*. New York: Free Press.

- 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 Analysis; case studies of international and national news in the press*. New Jersey: Erlbaum.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 1988b. *News as Discourse*. New Jersey: Erlbaum.
- Vuosisadan kronikka* 1987. Jyväskylä: Gummerus.
- Wichert, Sabine 1991. *Northern Ireland since 1945*. London: Longman.

APPENDIX I

Samaan aikaan kun vihollisvaltioiden talous joutui sodan kuluessa lamaan, Neuvostoliitto saavutti mahdollisuuden varustaa rintamaa riittävällä määrällä aseita ja ampumatarvikkeita ja sen lisäksi kasata myöskin reservejä. Viimeisten kolmen sotavuoden aikana neuvostomaan hyökkäysvaunuteollisuus valmisti vuosittain keskimäärin 30 tuhatta hyökkäysvaunua, ryntäystykkiä ja panssariautoa; lentokoneiteollisuus valmisti noin 40 tuhatta lentokonetta; tykkiteollisuus noin 120 tuhatta eri kaliberin tykkiä, noin 450 tuhatta pika- ja konekivääriä, yli 3 miljoonaa kivääriä ja noin 2 miljoonaa konepistoolia; kranaatinheitinteollisuus valmisti noin 100 tuhatta kranaatinheitintä. Laadullisesti neuvostoaseet eivät olleet huonompia, vaan vieläpä parempiakin kuin saksalaiset aseet.

(Aleksandrov et al. 1948: 231)

APPENDIX II

Kun teollisuuden kokonaistuotanto lisääntyi viisivuotiskauden aikana yli 2-kertaiseksi, niin A-ryhmän kohdalla (raskas teollisuus) se kasvoi melkein 3-kertaiseksi, mutta B-ryhmän kohdalla (kevyt teollisuus) vain 1,5-kertaiseksi (156 prosenttia koko vuonna verrattuna vuoteen 1928).

(Kim et al. 1978:336)

APPENDIX III

Kaikki tuntevat Stalinin logiikan vastustamattoman murskaavan voiman, hänen älynsä kristallinkirkkauden, hänen teräksenlujan tahtonsa, hänen uskollisuutensa puolueelle, hänen hehkuvan uskonsa kansaan ja rakkautensa kansaa kohtaan. Kaikille on tunnettua hänen vaatimattomuutensa, yksinkertaisuutensa, hänen huomaavaisuutensa ihmisiä kohtaan ja leppymätön vihansa kansan vihollisia kohtaan. Kaikille on tunnettua se, ettei hän siedä turhanpäiväistä melua, korulausemestareita eikä lörpöttelijöitä, ruikutelijoita eikä pakokauhuisia. Stalin on nerokas ja harkitseva monimutkaisten poliittisten kysymysten ratkaisemisessa, siinä, missä vaaditaan kaikkien myönteisten ja kielteisten seikkojen kaikinpuolista huomioonottamista. Ja samalla Stalin on rohkeiden vallankumouksellisten otteiden ja jyrkkien käänteiden mitä suurin mestari.

Stalin on Leninin työn ansiokas jatkaja eli, kuten meillä puolueessa sanotaan, Stalin on Lenin tänään.

(Aleksandrov et al. 1948:242)

APPENDIX IV

Sept 17th 75 PM

Ireland 'base for bombings'

By ANNE McHARDY

Bombings that killed seven people and wounded 84 others in pubs in Guildford and Woolwich were planned with military precision and ordered from Ireland, it was stated at the IRA trial which began at the Old Bailey yesterday.

Three men and an English girl aged 17 are charged with five murders in Guildford at the Horse and Groom public house. Two of them are also charged with two murders at the Kinz Arms in Woolwich.

All four deny the charges though one of them—Paul Hill (29) of Barnsley Crescent, Belfast—yesterday refused to

Sir Michael Havers, prosecuting, said the trial arose from two bombing incidents. The first in Guildford last October, when two pubs, the Horse and Groom and the Seven Stars, were blown up within half an hour, and the second a month later in Woolwich.

Sir Michael said: "These are IRA bombing cases." He told the jury: "You may remember in the later part of last year a bombing campaign in fact taking place in this country." These two incidents were part of that campaign. The explosions happened without any warning being given and in each case the bombs were planted so that they would cause maximum loss of life and damage.

Report 8

make his plea in court. When the first charge was put to him Mr Hill said: "I refuse to be tried by this court." When Mr Justice Donaldson, presiding at his first Old Bailey trial, asked what he had said Mr Hill replied: "Your justice stinks."

After that he sat silent while charges were read. Then his counsel told the court that he had been told to plead not guilty on Mr Hill's behalf.

The other accused are Carole Richardson (17), of Earls Court Square, London; Gerald Conlon (20), Cypress Street, Belfast, and Patrick Armstrong (24), Algernon Road, Mauda Vale, London. All the men are Irish.

The accused were brought to the Old Bailey under heavy guard and security for the court was strict. Only people holding special passes were allowed in and even they were searched.

The first Guildford explosion was timed for 8.30 p.m. when the Horse and Groom—because it had "the cheapest beer in town"—would be full, and the Seven Stars explosion was timed for 30 minutes later when the pub's disco, which attracted a lot of young soldiers, would have started.

Of the landlord of the Seven Stars had not had the intelligence to clear his pub when the bomb exploded at the Horse and Groom, Sir Michael said, the death and casualty list would have been "enormously high."

Sir Michael said that Mr Conlon, Mr Hill, and Mr Armstrong were all members of the IRA and that the girl had joined them in the September before the bombings began.

All four, he said, were part of a raiding party that went into Guildford on the fatal night. The pubs had been carefully chosen, he said. "There was a military style reconnaissance in advance," including "photographic reconnaissance."



STREET SEARCH: Security measures outside the Central Criminal Court yesterday.

Life for a life sentences to warn the IRA

By ANNE McHARDY

THE GUARDIAN

One of the three IRA men sentenced yesterday for the Guildford bombings should stay in gaol "to a great age," and the others should serve at least 30 and 35 years, the trial Judge said.

Mr Justice Donaldson, sentencing Paul Hill, Gerard Conlon and Patrick Armstrong, said judges should not normally express their views but this case was different. "You three men are sentenced to life for murder and I want you to understand what that means and I want your fellow members of the IRA to understand and I want the people who sent you to this country to understand," he said.

Paul Hill was already serving life for a murder in Belfast, he said, and he would have recommended that he was never released, but the law did not allow that. The three men were also gaoled for 20 years concurrently for conspiring to cause explosions.

At the end of the Birmingham bomb trial in August the Judge, Mr Justice Bridge, made no recommendation of minimum sentence when he gaoled for life the six men convicted of 21 murders.

Mr Justice Donaldson said the commonly held view was that life meant only 12 to 15 years unless the Judge made a recommendation. That was wrong, but it was a view that was damaging to British justice. He wanted to make it clear in this case that life meant longer than that.

Before the 1965 Act which abolished capital punishment, he said, convicted murderers were hanged unless there were extenuating circumstances. If there were special reasons they were given life imprisonment and were normally released on licence after a period of years. Now capital punishment had been abolished all murderers were given life sentences, but the ones who would have been hanged before 1965 served longer than 12 to 15 years.

When murderers were being considered for release the trial Judge was normally consulted by the Home Secretary, but because the three men were so young—Mr Hill and Mr Conlon are 21, and Mr Armstrong 25—and their crime so enormous, it was unlikely he would be still alive when any one considered freeing them. He was therefore making his recommendation now.

The three sat silently in the dock at the Old Bailey as the

Judge said there were no extenuating circumstances. "Your crime was directed against the community, against every man, woman, and child in this country. You obviously expected to strike terror in their hearts. You did not care who you killed so long as you killed a number."

The fourth defendant, 13-year-old Carole Richardson, the only English defendant, was sentenced separately and had been left from the dock before Mr Justice Donaldson made his recommendations.

He said that since she was 17 when the murders were committed, she could be sentenced only as a juvenile. She was detained during the Queen's pleasure. But, he said, she could be sentenced as an adult for causing an explosion in the United Kingdom, and the sentence for that was life. The Home Secretary would have to decide how long she should serve.

The four were convicted after the all-male jury had been out for 27 hours. They were found guilty of conspiring to cause explosions in the United Kingdom to endanger life and cause

kill. Then they got up and left them to their fate. I can see no evidence whatsoever that any of you gave these innocent members of the public a second thought. Miss Richardson drove straight to London to attend a pop concert and Mr Hill went to Southampton to establish an alibi. It was a callous crime, a cowardly crime, and above all a completely pointless crime that will be remembered only for its infamy."

The only difference at Woolwich was in the type of bomb, a shrapnel bomb, designed to shoot pieces of metal into the victims.

Mr John Leonard QC, defending, said Mr Armstrong was described by a psychiatrist as a "timid" man and had taken

Snapshot assassins ... 15

serious injury or damage to property, of murdering Caroline Slater, Ann Hamilton, John Hunter, William Forsyth, and Paul Craig, who died in the explosion at the Horse and Groom public-house in Guildford on October 3 last year, and of causing an explosion at the Seven Stars on the same night.

Mr Armstrong was also convicted of conspiring with Mr Hill and others to commit murder at the Kings Arms in Woolwich, and he and Mr Hill were convicted of the murder of Alan Horsley and Richard Sloan Dunn, who died after an explosion at that pub on November 7.

A charge against Mr Armstrong of assisting in a reconnaissance of the Kings Arms with intent to cause an explosion was dismissed half-way through the 23-day trial.

The Judge said: "The English language is rich in words but no single words can adequately describe your crimes." It was difficult to attribute responsibility, he said. Each had known of the plan, taking part in the planning, and had known and played his own part in the bombings.

Mr Armstrong and Miss Richardson had gone into the Horse and Groom and planted the bomb. "All around them—and this was the horrifying feature—they could see the people they were going to maim and

OCT. 23 1975 P. 1.

HOME NEWS

IRA raiders reconnoitred public houses before they were bombed, court is told

By Clive Borrell

Four members of an IRA raiding party carried out a "military-style" reconnaissance of three public houses known to be frequented by troops before they were bombed, Sir Michael Havers, QC, said at the Central Criminal Court yesterday.

Opening the case for the Crown against three young Irishmen and an Englishwoman aged 18, Sir Michael, who is Opposition spokesman on legal matters told the all-male jury: "This is an IRA bombing case." Seven people died in the explosions and 84 were seriously injured. Three public houses, the Horse and Groom and the Seven Stars at Guildford, and the King's Arms at Woolwich were severely damaged.

The defendants are: Carole Richardson, aged 18, of Earls Court Square, Kensington, London; Patrick Armstrong, aged 24, of Algernon Road, Kilburn, London; Paul Hill, aged 20, of Barnsley Crescent, Belfast; and Gerald Conlon, aged 20, of Cypress Avenue, Belfast.

All are accused of murdering Mr Paul Craig, Guardsman William Forsyth and John Hunter, and Ann Hamilton and Caroline Slater, WRAC recruits, at Guildford on December 5. They are also accused of conspiring with others unknown to cause explosion in the United Kingdom between November, 1973, and December last year, and of causing an explosion at the Seven Stars public house.

Mr Armstrong alone is accused of conspiring with Mr Hill and other persons unknown to murder persons at the King's Arms in Woolwich between October 5 and November 8 last year. He is also accused of unlawfully assisting in a reconnaissance of the King's Arms with intent to cause an explosion.

Mr Hill and Mr Armstrong are accused of murdering two men at the King's Arms. All four have pleaded not guilty to all charges.

When the charges were read before the jury were sworn in Mr Hill was heard to reply to the first two counts: "Your justice stinks". Later his counsel told the court that he had been instructed that Mr Hill intended to plead not guilty to all the charges.

The three men were all members of the IRA, and Miss Richardson, English by birth,

joined the group, Sir Michael said, in about September last year just a month before the two bombs exploded in Guildford.

"These four were part of a raiding party in which two cars were used. There were seven or eight people involved in the Guildford attack."

Mr Hill and Mr Armstrong were directly concerned with the attack on the King's Arms at Woolwich and they carried out a "military-style" reconnaissance which included taking photographs of their targets.

Guildford, he added, was a centre for several military training establishments. Many recruits, young soldiers and new entrants to the WRAC camp near by went to the town for entertainment after about a month or six weeks of restrictions to camp.

"The Horse and Groom and the Seven Stars were the most popular pubs in town because the Horse and Groom sold the cheapest beer in town and the Seven Stars on a Saturday evening had a discothèque and ballroom.

"Quite often what the young recruits would do would be to drink the beer at the Horse and Groom and then move on to the Seven Stars.

"You may think it significant that the bombs placed in these two public houses were placed in sequence so that the one in the Horse and Groom exploded first around about 8.30 pm and the second about half an hour later when it was suspected that the discothèque would be in full swing. This indicates the degree of planning and reconnaissance that was carried out."

Just before 7 pm on October 5 customers in the Horse and Groom noticed a courting couple sitting on a bench in an alcove. "The man was kissing the girl's neck", Sir Michael said.

The Crown says that the couple were Mr Armstrong and Miss Richardson, he continued, and they were hiding the bomb under the seat, getting the device in position as they kissed and cuddled.

Many of those who were killed or injured in the blast,



Electronic devices being used in car searches at the Central Criminal Court as the Guildford bombing trial opened

which took place 19 minutes after the couple left, were friends and relations of Miss Carol Burns, a WRAC recruit, who was celebrating her nineteenth birthday in the public house.

The two bombings differed in that those at Guildford were caused by high explosives and the bomb at Woolwich was a "throw bomb". It had a slow fuse and was designed to create horrible injuries because the charge was wrapped in pieces of metal, including nuts and bolts.

Of the incident at Woolwich, Sir Michael said: "They picked

a Thursday night, Army pay night; and they picked the King's Arms, right opposite the Royal Artillery barracks and certain to be full of Army men; and they picked 10 pm, when the pub would be certain to be full; and they picked the vicious bomb capable of maximum maiming and the method which offered no opportunity to anyone in the public house to try to escape."

Twenty-two people were seriously injured and two soldiers were killed in the attack.

Sir Michael was still speaking when the trial was adjourned until today.

Prison for life must mean just that, judge tells pub bomber

By Clive Borrell

Life sentences were passed yesterday on three IRA men and an English girl after the all-male jury had found them guilty of murder and causing explosions at public houses in Guildford, Surrey, and Woolwich, London, last year.

Mr. Justice Donaldson described the explosions, in which seven people died and 84 were injured, as "callous, cowardly and pointless" and warned other IRA men who might consider taking part in similar terrorist action that they too could expect severe punishment.

Carole Richardson, who is now 18 but was 17 when she took part in the bombings, was sentenced to life imprisonment with a recommendation that she should serve at least 20 years on charges of conspiracy to cause explosions.

Gerard Coulon, aged 20, was sentenced to life imprisonment with a recommendation that he should serve not less than 30 years. Patrick Armstrong, aged 25, was also jailed for life with a recommendation that he should serve not less than 35 years, and Paul Michael Hill, aged 20, at present serving a life sentence for shooting a former soldier in Belfast, was ordered to be detained until "either age or infirmity" decrees that he should be released. Mr Hill will serve his sentence in England.

The judge told him: "Your crime is such that life must mean life". The accused had given no second thought for their innocent victims.

He continued: "You did not care whom you killed as long as you killed a number of people. Your crime was not directed at those you killed but at the community as a whole, every man, woman and child living in this country. You obviously expected to strike terror into their hearts. But you should have known our countrymen better.

"You may think you can expect to be released in 12 to 15 years. It is a widely held view but a very dangerous view. It may lead others to follow your example. It may lead to loss of confidence in our system of justice. I want to deter others into taking this view. I want to spell it out to them that the idea that life means 12 to 15 years started when the sentence for murder was death. Only when there were extenuating circumstances were murderers reprieved and sentenced to life. It was the reprieved killers who were released after that period. None of you three, all members of the IRA, would have been in this category. You would have been executed."

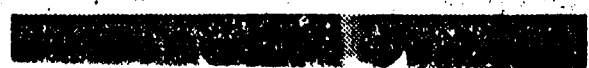
"The sentence of life in your case must be altogether different in meaning. That is why the 1965 Act abolishing the death penalty recommended that a minimum period must elapse before a murderer could be released on licence. Mark the words 'on licence'. Someone who was released on licence was never free. He could remain in custody for the rest of his life. He may be released on licence but recalled to prison at any time. The decision is always a matter for the Home Secretary and him alone.

"Any release order is made only after consultation with the Lord Chief Justice and the trial judge. Where young men such as you are committing crimes of the gravity of yours it must be doubtful if any request for release will arise during the life of the trial judge."

Fund raises 65,746: A fund set up to raise money for the 33 people hurt in the public house blast at Caterham, Surrey, last August, has raised £5,746 and paid out £1,924 (the Press Association reports). Tandridge District Council has decided to close the fund on November 10.

£350 paid for clues, page 5

*1975 P
F m... 23
OCT
Jup*



HOME NEWS

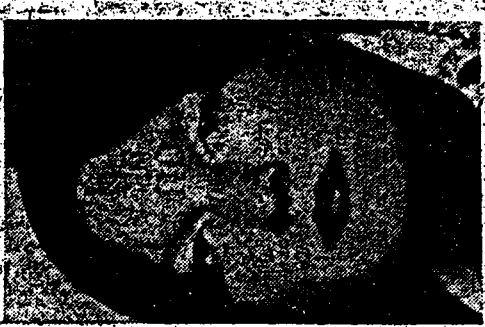
IRA informer got £350 for vital clue that led to bombers

By Clive Dyer
 An IRA informer sold for £350 the clue that led to the arrest of the public house bombers who were sentenced yesterday to life imprisonment. It was handed over by a senior Surrey detective in a deal which was sanctioned by Mr Peter Matthews, Chief Constable of Surrey, after one of his men, Det. Chief Inspector Brian Richardson, detectives from the RUQ, and army intelligence officers had heard members of the Provisionals openly boast of their "success" in which seven people were killed and 84 injured.

Paul Mitchell Hill, aged 20, a lieutenant of the Belfast battalion of the IRA, was becoming something of a folk hero and his name was the toast of many parties in republican public houses and clubs.

Listening to the exploits of Mr Hill and the other members of the active service unit that planned the bombs at the Horse and Groom and Seven Stars public houses in Guildford in October last year, and the King's Arms, Woolwich, the following month, was the man who later betrayed them.

As a packer of used £1 notes Richardson the address of Mr Hill's hiding place in Southampton. That was the first breakthrough for which the Surrey



Carole Richardson, a BBC News photographer.

a hundred yards away, had a late discotheque for dancing, The King's Arms, Woolwich, was opposite the Royal Artillery depot.

Patrick Armstrong, aged 24, who joined the IRA at Dundalk six years ago, "cut his teeth" by taking part in armed robberies in Belfast to obtain funds for the Provisionals. He was also a lieutenant with the 1st Battalion.

He formed an attachment with Carole Richardson, aged 20,

17, an English girl who brought from one empty house to another as a squatter in London. Brian Hill was brought up by her mother and grand-mother in Kilburn, north London. She never met her father. It was while she was living the life of a "drop-out" that she met many IRA men, mostly at parties where rebel songs were being sung through the haze of cannabis smoke.

She and Mr Armstrong were ordered by Mr Conlon to kiss and cuddle in the Horse and Groom while they slipped the bomb under their seat. It was timed to go off about an hour after they left. Mr Armstrong was not seen to play the part until Mr Conlon told him that no civilians used the public house, only soldiers. It was a military target, and therefore a legitimate one in the eyes of the IRA.

When Miss Richardson tried to protest at the part given her to play in the explosion Mr Conlon threatened to shoot her. It is perhaps ironic that Miss Richardson tried to join the IRA last summer but her application was rejected because of her unsettled background. Had she been accepted she would have done her training at Guildford, at the same training camp at which two of the people killed by the bomb blast were still under instruction.

One of the striking features of the trial that has just finished is the new technique now adopted by members of the Provisional IRA, after arrest. During previous bombing campaigns in England, captured IRA men have resolutely stuck to their training manual and have refused to answer questions put to them by the police. Their counter-interrogation tactic was to fix their eyes on an object in the interrogation room and by concentrating hard could almost make their minds a blank.

Now that method has been replaced with one that is almost as frustrating for the police. The object is to confuse interrogators by answering with half-truths; that is, admitting taking certain actions, and making remarks, which were in fact taken and made by other members of the gang. That cannot then be used in evidence against them or other defendants.

By adopting that ruse they can confuse witnesses, especially when it comes to identification. It also makes the jury's task difficult when they have literally dozens of false statements, as in this present trial, to weigh and test against the evidence given in the witness box. The ruse, however, failed for the all-male jury, which for the past six weeks has unravelled the web

The Scheme there will be entitled: "The Achieve"

or possibly W.A.I.C.A.

THE TIMES WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 18 1989

Powerful allies joined campaign in 14-year trail from conviction to freedom

Chapter closes on Guildford bombing

By Quentin Cowdry
Home Affairs Correspondent

The Director of Public Prosecutions' announcement yesterday that the Crown would no longer try to sustain the convictions of the Guildford Four ends one of the most extraordinary and sustained campaigns in British legal history.

From the day life sentences were imposed on Patrick Armstrong, Gerard Conlon, Paul Hill and Carol Richardson in 1975, the prisoners' families claimed they were innocent victims of the fierce public backlash that followed the IRA pub bombings in south London in 1974 in which seven people were killed and 89 injured.

The campaign won powerful allies in January 1977, when four members of an IRA active service unit — the Balcombe Street Gang — publicly stated at the start of their trial at the Central Criminal Court that they were responsible for the bombings.

By last autumn, the Home Secretary faced calls for a retrial from an extraordinary phalanx of critics, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, the Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Hume, two Lords of Appeal, two former Home Secretaries and Robert Kee, the investigative journalist.

Also closely involved was Mr Alastair Logan, a formerly little-known provincial solicitor, who has represented Armstrong since 1974 and Richardson since 1985.

Cardinal Hume loosely but effectively coordinated the campaign. He first met the four during a series of pastoral prison visits in 1978.

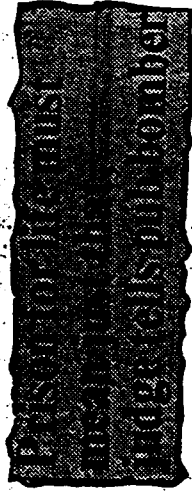
Pleading not guilty at their Central Criminal Court trial, the four retracted the signed confessions they had made after their arrests. They claimed the confessions had been forced from them by Surrey police, who led the murder investigations.

The jury unanimously found them guilty of all charges. It had been offered no identification evidence and no forensic links.

The trial judge was Sir John Donaldson, now Lord Donaldson of Lynton, Master of the Rolls. Leading counsel for the Crown was Mr Michael Havers, later Sir Michael, the Attorney-General.

The disputed confessions also led to the arrest and conviction of Conlon's aunt, Mrs Anne Maguire, five other members of the family and one friend, for possession of explosives.

In October 1977, the Guildford Four were refused leave to appeal against their convictions. The Court of Appeal dismissed the Bal-



Convicted and sentenced: Headline news in The Times on October 23, 1975.

combe Street Gang's admission of guilt as a "cunning and skilful attempt" to deceive the court.

In July 1986, however, a Yorkshire Television programme produced two psychologists who claimed it was possible the confessions were the result of intolerable police pressure. In January 1987, Mr Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, dismissed campaigners by saying he would not refer the case back to the Court of Appeal.

However, in a private meeting with the Mr Hurd five months later, Lords of Appeal Scarman and Devlin told him that, in their opinion, the court had been wrong to dismiss as worthless the Balcombe Street Gang's confessions.

Mr Hurd was also worried by the emergence of new evidence of alibi witnesses for two of

the four and questions over medication given to Richardson before she confessed.

Last year it was reported that a police surgeon had said he had given Richardson, a drug misuser, a shot of pethidine to help her recover from barbiturates before she was questioned by police.

The doctor later withdrew his statement but Mr Hurd was advised the medication would not have been suitable.

In January this year, Mr Hurd announced his decision to refer the cases back to the Court of Appeal.

He added: "Even if [Richardson] was not given pethidine, at least some of her confessions would appear to have been made at a time when she was suffering from withdrawal to a greater degree than has hitherto been thought."

He also cited claims by Miss Maura Kelly, who said Richardson visited her with a friend on the afternoon of the bomb attacks. She was out of the country at the time of the trial.

A second alibi witness, Mrs Yvonne Fox, said she spent most of the evening with Hill and two others in a north London flat when the bombs exploded. She said he was there for the entire evening, apart from 20 minutes when he went outside to telephone his girl friend.

82

☆☆☆