

# **Linguistic Analysis of Newspaper Discourse in Theory and Practice**

University of Tampere  
English Philology  
Pro Gradu Thesis  
Spring 2008  
Juhani Pajunen

Tampereen yliopisto  
Kieli- ja käännöstieteiden laitos  
Englantilainen filologia

Pajunen Juhani: Linguistic Analysis of Newspaper Discourse in Theory and Practice  
Pro gradu -tutkielma  
Kevät 2008

---

Tutkielman tavoitteena on analysoida sanomalehtidiskurssia lingvistiksestä näkökulmasta. Tarkoituksena on luoda teoreettinen perusta sanomalehtidiskurssin analysoimiselle ja analysoida ryhmä artikkeleita tätä teoreettista taustaa vasten. Erityisenä painopisteenä on artikkeleissa piilevien ennakoasenteiden tai ”puolueellisuuksien” (”bias”) paikantaminen ja luokittelu. Lingvistiksestä lähtökohdistaan johtuen tutkimus analysoi sanomalehtidiskurssia nimenomaan kielitieteellisestä, ei niinkään perinteisestä journalistisesta näkökulmasta.

Tutkielman ensimmäisen osan (luvut 2–4) tavoitteena on esitellä teoreettisia apuvälineitä ja käsitteitä, joihin voi tukeutua sanomalehtidiskurssia analysoitaessa. Eräitä lehtiartikkeleiden peruselementtejä käydään läpi: uutisartikkelien rakenne, sanomalehtikieli, otsikoiden ja johdatteiden merkitys uutisartikkeleissa, sitaattien ja epäsuoran kerronnan ominaispiirteet sekä kappaleet. Tämän jälkeen hahmotellaan joitakin olennaisia kielitieteellisiä käsitteitä. Teeman asemaa lauseessa ja ”diskurssiteeman” (”discourse topic”) asemaa tekstissä pohditaan, samoin kuin makrorakenteiden hyödyntämistä ”diskurssiteeman” määrittämisessä. Kieliopillisten ja syntaktisten keinojen käyttöä asioiden korostamisessa ja häivyttämisessä havainnollistetaan. Lopuksi esitellään ideologian ja objektiivisuuden käsitteet ja niiden merkitys sanomalehtidiskurssin kannalta sekä tähän liittyen sanavalinnan rooli.

Tutkielman toisen osan (luku 5) tavoitteena on soveltaa teoriaosassa esiteltyjä apuvälineitä ja käsitteitä käytännössä analysoimalla joukko sanomalehtiartikkeleita ja etsimällä niistä ennakoasenteita. Aineistona on 45 Neuvostoliittoa käsittelevää etusivun uutisartikkelia New York Timesista kylmän sodan ajalta. Uutisartikkelit analysoidaan seuraavien aspektien valossa: otsikko ja johdate, sitaatit ja epäsuora kerronta, valikoiva sitaattimerkkien käyttö, sitaattiverbit, kieliopilliset ja syntaktiset keinot, sanavalinta, subjektiiviset arviot, ”yllätysmomentti” (”element of surprise”) ja ”kerrosrakennelma” (”sandwiching”). Jokaisen aspektin käyttöä ennakoasenteiden ilmaisemisessa pohditaan ja valaistaan esimerkeillä artikkeleista.

Tärkeimmät tutkimustulokset ovat: ”Diskurssiteema” on erittäin hyödyllinen määritettäessä sitä, ovatko otsikko ja johdate neutraaleja vai käytetäänkö niitä ennakoasenteiden toteuttamiseen. Jotkin aspektit (esim. valikoiva sitaattimerkkien käyttö) ovat yllättävän yleisiä ennakoasenteiden ilmaisemisessa, kun taas toiset (esim. kieliopilliset ja syntaktiset keinot) ovat melko harvinaisia, eikä niitä voida käyttää yhtä tehokkaasti ennakoasenteiden toteuttamisessa kuin joitakin toisia aspekteja (esim. sanavalinta). Neuvostovastaiset ennakoasenteet ovat analysoiduissa artikkeleissa huomattavasti yleisempiä kuin neuvostomyönteiset ennakoasenteet. Ilmeisiksi luokiteltavat ennakoasenteet ovat selvästi harvinaisempia kuin lieviksi luokiteltavat ennakoasenteet.

## Contents

1. Introduction . . . . .	1
2. The elements of a news story . . . . .	3
2.1. The structure of newspaper articles . . . . .	3
2.2. Newspaper language . . . . .	5
2.3. Headlines and leads . . . . .	6
2.3.1. Headline . . . . .	8
2.3.2. Lead . . . . .	10
2.4. Quotations and reported speech . . . . .	11
2.4.1. Scare quotes . . . . .	12
2.4.2. Reporting verbs . . . . .	13
2.5. Paragraphs . . . . .	14
3. Linguistic tools for the analysis of news . . . . .	16
3.1. Themes and topics . . . . .	16
3.1.1. Themes . . . . .	16
3.1.2. Discourse topics . . . . .	16
3.1.3. Macrostructures . . . . .	18
3.2. Grammar and syntax . . . . .	20
4. Ideology and objectivity . . . . .	25
4.1. Language and ideology . . . . .	25
4.2. Objectivity . . . . .	27
4.3. Choice of words . . . . .	29
5. The analysis of the articles . . . . .	33
5.1. Aims and method . . . . .	33
5.1.1. Material . . . . .	33
5.1.2. Aim . . . . .	33
5.1.3. Method of analysis . . . . .	34
5.2. General remarks on the articles . . . . .	35
5.3. Headlines and leads . . . . .	37
5.4. Quotations and reported speech . . . . .	40
5.4.1. Scare quotes . . . . .	43
5.4.2. Reporting verbs . . . . .	46
5.5. Grammar and syntax . . . . .	49
5.6. Lexical choice . . . . .	52
5.7. Evaluations . . . . .	55
5.8. The use of paragraphs . . . . .	58
5.8.1. Element of surprise . . . . .	58
5.8.2. Sandwiching . . . . .	61
5.9. Concluding remarks on the articles . . . . .	62
6. Conclusions . . . . .	66
References . . . . .	68
Appendices . . . . .	71

## 1. Introduction

Newspaper texts are a common form of written discourse. Owing to their public nature and availability for large numbers of people, newspapers are one of the most widely-read types of written texts. Reading the daily newspaper is a normal routine for many people.

Newspaper texts can be said to be a discourse of their own. There are certain features and characteristics that make them stand apart from other types of discourse. Therefore, newspaper discourse deserves to be studied as a text form of its own.

This thesis studies newspaper discourse from a linguistic point of view. A special focus will be on the detection of bias. This is because news is supposed to be neutral, meaning that all actors are to be represented objectively. When representation is not neutral, there is bias involved. If one wants to analyse occurrences of bias in detail, it is necessary to be able to determine the nature of bias exactly: how it is realised, how obvious it is, how often it occurs... This requires knowledge of certain important theoretical tools and concepts.

The research questions of this study are as follows:

- \* What kind of a theoretical background is needed for the linguistic study of newspaper discourse? What different tools and concepts should be provided?
- \* How can the theoretical tools and concepts be applied in practice in the detection of bias? What kinds of bias does a detailed linguistic analysis reveal?

In brief, the objective of this study is two-fold: first, to create a theoretical framework for the analysis of newspaper discourse, and second, to try to detect occurrences of bias in a group of newspaper articles on the basis of that framework. The tools and concepts outlined in the theoretical part of the paper are meant to provide an analyst with the necessary skills to approach newspaper discourse from different linguistic angles.

The theoretical part of the thesis consists of sections 2–4. Section 2 focuses on the building blocks of a news story. It begins with a discussion about the structure of, and the order of

presentation in, news articles (section 2.1). The characteristics of newspaper language, including sentence length and complexity, shall be discussed in section 2.2. Section 2.3 looks into the role and importance of headlines and leads. Section 2.4 deals with the function of, and the differences between, quotations and reported speech, along with the use of scare quotes and reporting verbs. Finally, the nature of paragraphs in news stories will be discussed (section 2.5).

Section 3 introduces some concepts that may be of use in the linguistic analysis of news discourse. The function of themes in a sentence and of discourse topics in a text will be discussed, together with the closely associated notion of macrostructures and their application in topic-derivation (section 3.1). Section 3.2 concentrates on the various grammatical and syntactic means in which things can be represented and agency highlighted or backgrounded.

Section 4 deals mainly with some important abstract concepts that are referred to throughout this study. The different forms of ideology and its influence upon language, especially media language, shall be discussed in section 4.1. Section 4.2 concerns arguments for and against objectivity, and the different kinds of expressions of opinion that may occur in news articles. Lastly, the use of words in news stories and its relationship with ideology and objectivity will be looked into (section 4.3).

The empirical part of the thesis includes section 5, in which the theoretical background shall be applied in practice. It concentrates on the representation of one actor, namely the Soviet Union. The present author shall analyse linguistically a group of front-page news articles concerning the Soviet Union from *The New York Times* from the Cold War period. Particular emphasis will be placed upon the occurrences of bias relating to the representation of the Soviet Union. A more detailed account of the aims and methods of the analysis shall be given in section 5.1. In sections 5.2–5.8, the representation of the Soviet Union shall be analysed from different angles. Some central observations made in the analysis shall be dealt with in section 5.9. Section 6 summarises the most important findings of the whole study.

## 2. The elements of a news story

### 2.1. The structure of newspaper articles

Van Dijk analyses the structure of news articles with the help of a rule-based news schema, which is made up of sets of hierarchically ordered categories. The constituent parts of a news story can be divided into different schematic categories (1988a, 52 ff.) (see Appendix 1). The Summary category consists of Headline and Lead which summarise the news item. Main Events is concerned with the main news events, whose consequences are dealt with in the Consequences category. Context, History and Previous Events convey different sorts of background information relating to the main news event. A news story may also contain Verbal Reactions of different people and Comments of the reporter himself. Van Dijk (1988a, 56) states that some schematic categories are mandatory, others optional. Some categories are recursive, i.e. they may occur a number of times.

The structure of a news story has traditionally been compared to an inverted pyramid.

Chart 1 illustrates the inverted pyramid model:

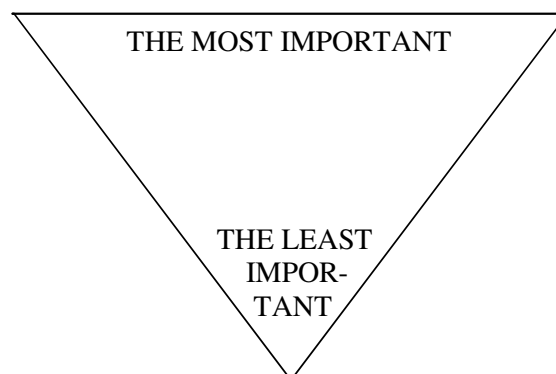


Chart 1: The inverted pyramid model of a news story

As the chart shows, the most important and relevant information is supposed to be put first. The news story progresses from more important through less and less important information. Conventionally, a news item should contain the answers to the so-called "five W's and an H": who, what, when, where, why, how. Werlich (1976, 70) maintains that the lead (see section 2.3.2 for a discussion on leads) should contain all the W's, and every paragraph after that ought to have fewer references to them. Pape & Featherstone (2005, 28), on the other hand, contend that the lead contains who, what and possibly when, and the paragraphs after that should refer to what, where, why and how.

That the important information must come first results in what van Dijk calls the "installment structure" (1988a, 178). It means that news topics and their schematic categories are delivered in parts throughout the article. A principle of relevance is at work: the most important, high-level information of each topic comes first, followed by less important, lower-level information. Every topic or schematic category may be returned to in greater detail one or more times. For example, an important Verbal Reaction may occur before an unimportant detail of a Main Event, even though Verbal Reactions usually lie near the end of news articles (see Appendix 1). In short, news stories have a top-down, relevance-dependent and cyclical information structure (van Dijk 1988a, 48). For a more detailed discussion of the thematic realisation structure of news stories, see van Dijk (1988a, 43 ff.).

The aforesaid structure of news means that news stories are not told in chronological order. They exhibit a non-linear structure, i.e. they do not start at the beginning and finish at the end, as conventional narratives do. "In news, order is everything but chronology is nothing," Bell writes (1991, 172). He states that since news value dictates the order of presentation in news articles, their time structure is quite unlike that of traditional narratives, moving backwards and forwards in time (p. 153). Furthermore, Bell (p. 154) says: "News stories are not rounded off. They finish in mid-air. The news story consists of instalments of information of perceived decreasing importance. It is not temporally structured, or turned in a finished fashion."

## 2.2. Newspaper language

The language of news has certain characteristics of its own. Newspaper language is a combination of different stylistic features, a mixture of several kinds of material (van Dijk 1988a, 76; Crystal & Davy 1969, 174). The language of the press may be said to be a specific discourse which has its own style and vocabulary (Pape & Featherstone 2005, 49).

Newspaper language is relatively formal and impersonal. Colloquial words and expressions are not found except in quotations. News stories are written in the past tense short of headlines, which are in the present tense. The tendency is to use the active rather than the passive voice.

Pape & Featherstone (2005, 27) advice one to use short and simple words and sentences in news reports. Tuchman (1978, 106) argues that sentences in news texts usually contain under twenty words and avoid words that have more than two syllables. Van Dijk, in contrast, contends that news articles have long and complex sentences (1987, 8; 1988a, 76; 1988b, 10). Of these two opposing views, van Dijk's is more reliable, for it is based upon a case study of the international press coverage of one specific event (see van Dijk 1988b, 31 ff.). The study found that the average sentence length in newspapers is about 25 words (1988a, 79; 1988b, 113), refuting Tuchman's argument of fewer than 20 words being the norm. Van Dijk (1988a, 76) says that sentences in news texts tend to contain embedded clauses and nominalisations. He gives an example of this:

Walter F. Mondale opened his general election campaign with a sharp attack on President Ronald Reagan's record in office and promised a presidency of "new realism," dedicated to tough-minded economic policies and a strong but conciliatory posture abroad. In his acceptance speech wrapping up the Democratic National Convention, Mr. Mondale muted some of the liberal tones that have marked his political career and, acknowledging mistakes that led the Democrats to defeat in 1980, sought to make the fall campaign a referendum on the Republican record and on the future. (1988a, 77)



The first sentence of the above example contains a nominalisation (*attack*) and an embedded relative clause ("dedicated to . . ."). The second sentence includes three embedded relative clauses ("wrapping up . . .", "that have marked . . .", "that led . . .") and one embedded temporal clause ("acknowledging mistakes . . ."). Moreover, the noun phrases in the sentences are quite complex, e.g. "President Ronald Reagan's record in office" and "strong but conciliatory posture abroad". Crystal & Davy support this fact by observing that newspaper articles involve more complex pre- and postmodification than what is usually found in texts (1969, 186). The complexity of sentences may be due to limitations of space and the concomitant requirement to write concisely and informatively. It may also be that the formal nature of newspaper language per se makes reporters favour more complicated sentences and expressions. Van Dijk (1988a, 80) notes, however, that there are also shorter sentences towards the end of news articles.

News stories share some syntactic features which are not usually found in other forms of discourse (Crystal & Davy 1969, 174; van Dijk 1988b, 10). Van Dijk gives the inverted declarative sentence structure as an example. Instead of stating, "Reliable sources declared that Libya has been attacked by the US Air Force", a news article may say, "Libya has been attacked by the US Air Force, reliable sources declared" (1988b, 10-11).

### 2.3. Headlines and leads

Headlines and leads share some important similarities. The following chart illustrates this:

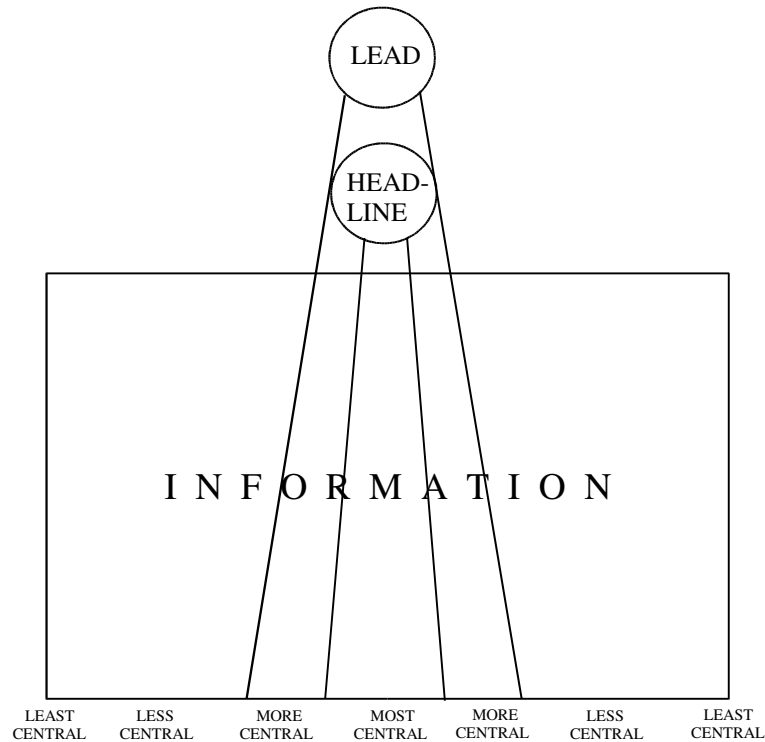


Chart 2: The function of, and the relation between, the headline and lead.

As Chart 2 shows, the task of the headline and lead in a prototypical news story is to give the most central, essential and relevant information of the story. Since the headline is practically always the shorter of the two, it cannot convey as much information as the lead, so it can only express the very core of the important information. Thereby, the headline might be described as the ultimate summary or "super-summary" of the story. As Bell puts it, "The headline is an abstract of the abstract. The lead pares the story back to its essential point, and the headline abstracts the lead itself" (1991, 150). This means that the information in the headline is usually contained in the lead, too, as can be seen from Chart 2. The lead can also include other central pieces of information besides the absolute most important information.

Due to their summary-like nature and their position as the initial elements in the news article, the headline and lead orient the story in a specific direction. Again, the headline, being the shorter item, orients the story in a stricter way than the lead. Bell concurs with this view:

”The lead focuses the story in a particular direction. It forms the lens through which the remainder of the story is viewed. This function is even more obvious for the headline . . .” (1991, 152). In the final analysis, the lead summarises the story and focuses it in a specific direction, and the headline summarises and focuses the story even more.

### 2.3.1. Headline

The headline is an integral part of the news story. It is meant to arouse the reader’s interest and make him read the whole article. In a way, the headline has to ”sell” the story to the reader. Since the headline is usually the first thing that a person reads in a news article, it provides a framework for the reading process and steers the reader in a certain direction. As Fries notes, the reader begins to read the text with the headline. Thus, after reading a headline such as ”Houseprices up”, he has some expectation of what the following lines will be about, and he will do everything possible to connect these lines to the headline (1987, 61).

Headlines are somewhat different from the rest of newspaper language. Mårdh classifies headlines as belonging to block language, which is characterised by heavily modified noun phrases (e.g. ”India House death bid case dropped”), by grammatical units lower than the sentence (e.g. ”When Bean meanz [sic] business...” and ”Today's Weather”) and by the omission of words that have low information value, such as articles and the finite forms of the verb *be* (e.g. ”Explosion plot alleged”) (1980, 12). Werlich (1976, 27) disagrees with the second point, asserting that sentence headlines are common in news stories. As far as readability is concerned, a headline must be short enough to be read quickly but still long enough to give the facts comprehensibly (Mårdh 1980, 87). According to Mårdh’s study, the average length of a newspaper headline is about seven words (p. 88). Mårdh (p. 176) states that the fact that passive constructions are longer and less lively than the active are reasons for avoiding them. However, the principle of putting the most important information first may

overrule the use of the active voice. Mårdh illustrates this with the headlines "Duke kicked by horse in driving accident" (instead of "Horse kicks duke in driving accident") and "18% rise in phone bills proposed by Post Office" (instead of "Post Office proposes 18% rise in phone bills") (p. 177). In the end, the passive voice is comparatively common in headlines (Mårdh 1980, 178; Fowler 1991, 78).

As noted in section 2.3, the headline summarises the most important and relevant information of the story. Van Dijk (1988a, 36, 40, 53) states that the headline, along with the lead, expresses the main topics of the text (see section 3.1.2 for a discussion on topics). Together they signal a preferred general meaning of the text to the reader (p. 40). In Bell's view, the headline, unlike the lead, is an independent unit: "It simply abstracts the story, it does not have to begin it. While the lead may carry new information which does not recur in the story proper, the headline is entirely derivable from the story. In most cases it can be derived from the lead alone" (1991, 187).

It should be noted that the headline reflects the writer's perspective, and the reader may instead pay more attention to another aspect of the story which he finds more relevant (Bülow-Møller 1989, 42). Brown & Yule (1983, 73) aver that there are several possible headlines for any text. Consequently, the headline of a piece of text should not be equated with the topic but viewed as one possible expression of it (p. 139) (see section 3.1.2 for discussion on topics). Some headlines may express secondary topics (Bell 1991, 189; van Dijk 1987b, 209). When this happens, Bell says that the news values of the story are re-weighted. Van Dijk calls headlines of this kind "biased". Headlines that express secondary topics do not conform to the function illustrated in Chart 2. Headlines expressing the main topic and headlines expressing a secondary topic correspond to Mårdh's terms summary head and connotative head, respectively. A summary head is a neutral summary of the news story, whilst a connotative head focuses on one interesting or sensational aspect of the story (1980, 16). Bülow-Møller (1989, 42) remarks that the headline does not have to be a summary of the text, even if it

reflects the main topic. She takes the headline "Oh No!" of a sports article as an example, the exclamation being a quotation from a boxer.

### 2.3.2. Lead

As was stated in section 2.1, the most important information of the news article is supposed to lie at the beginning. The lead paragraph formulates the most important points of the story. This means that it functions as a kind of a summary of the news story, as noted in section 2.3. Like the headline, the lead is supposed to attract the reader's interest so that he goes on reading the text. This is why Pape & Featherstone (2005, 28-29) consider the lead to be the most important paragraph in a news article. Just as the most important facts are raised into the lead, within the lead itself the most important information is put at the beginning, not at the end of the paragraph (Bell 1991, 176).

As for the structure of leads, Werlich (1976, 70) asserts that, in its strictest form, only the very first sentence of the news article summarises the whole story. It can be said, however, that the lead need not always be expressed in a single sentence, but may also consist of more than one sentence. Nevertheless, Werlich receives support from van Dijk (1988a, 66) who characterises the lead sentence as one complex sentence the function of which is to express the macrostructure of the story (see section 3.1.3 for a discussion on macrostructures). Therefore, the syntax of lead sentences has several tasks: to give the summary of the story, to express a number of schematic categories (see section 2.1 and Appendix 1) and to organise this information so that it is syntactically well-formed (1988a, 78). Bell lists brevity, clarity and newsworthiness as the values of the lead, which conflicts with van Dijk's view to some extent. In Bell's opinion, leads should be full on information, yet as short as possible and easily comprehended (1991, 176).

As noted in section 2.3, the lead guides the reading process. As Brown & Yule (1983, 125)

observe, the beginning point is the initial textual context for all that follows in the text and will, accordingly, have an effect on the reader's interpretation of what comes next. Bell (1991, 183) regards the lead as a directional summary, meaning that it is also part of the story. The lead has a dual function: "It must begin to tell the story as well as summarizing it. . . . It must provide a springboard for telling the whole story, not just a summary" (p. 183). According to Bell, the lead often contains information that is not repeated in the rest of the article (p. 184).

#### 2.4. Quotations and reported speech

Quotations and reported speech are an integral part of news stories, because, to a considerable extent, news is what somebody says. Quotations make a news article livelier, more colourful and more authentic. They bring variation into the article in the form of news actors' own words. Direct speech is supposed to represent the exact words used. In the case of indirect speech, Fairclough (1995b, 57) says, there is generally some uncertainty as to whose words, the reporter's or the source's, are represented. It might be said that indirect speech is supposed to represent the sense of what was said (Caldas-Coulthard 1994, 296). According to Jukanen (1995, 21), the dominant feature of hard news is that it contains a large amount of direct or indirect speech. Bell (1991, 209) has a somewhat different opinion on the matter: he asserts that direct quotations are rather the exception than the rule in news articles, because reporters mainly turn their interviewees' comments into reported speech.

The use of quotations and indirect speech is a practical way for the reporter to go round the demand to be neutral and impersonal. It enables him to include opinions into the story and still be objective, as he is simply reporting what someone else has said without committing to the truth of the proposition in any way. Jukanen (1995, 44) states that the use of quotations is a way of relieving the reporter from responsibility: "[P]resenting opinions in the form of quotations from important people is more effective and seemingly objective than presenting

the writer's own opinions." Tuchman (1972, 668) lends support to this view by averring that with the help of quotations the reporter can remove his own opinions from the article by having other people say what he himself thinks. However, the selection of quotations does not have to be objective, because reporters may report only those parts of speech which they deem significant and which serve their ideological aims (van Dijk 1988a, 56; Caldas-Coulthard 1994, 298, 303). Caldas-Coulthard (1994, 307) and Fairclough (1995b, 54) observe that the representation of speech is always mediated and interpreted in one way or other. As Caldas-Coulthard puts it, "No speech representation is objective or simply neutral. . . . Sayings are transformed through the perspective of a teller, who is an agent in a discursive practice" (p. 307). According to van Dijk, there may be systematic differences between the ways that news actors of different statuses are quoted. A quotation may signal truthfulness and esteem in the case of the more powerful but uncertainty and doubt as far as the less powerful are concerned (1987a, 21).

#### 2.4.1. Scare quotes

Quotation marks can also be used to indicate "so-called", i.e. to emphasise the fact that a specific word or expression belongs to the source. In these cases, it is only individual words, not whole clauses or sentences, which are enclosed in quotation marks. The effect is that what is put in quotation marks is questioned, disparaged, undermined or taken distance from. Bell gives an example of such use of quotation marks, which he calls "scare quotes":

Indian Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh accused Pakistan today of "evil designs" as tensions between the two countries rose after skirmishes along their disputed border in Kashmir. (1991, 208)

Van Dijk notes that the more explicit use of quotation marks occurs when sources are regarded as less credible and less "objective", taking minorities as a case in point (1987b,

215). According to Kress (1983, 135), the use of quotation marks is one of the most significant forms of ideological evaluation of information, i.e. presenting things as being more or less close to the ideological position of the paper (see section 4.1 for a discussion on ideology). He takes two examples from the Age newspaper in which quotation marks indicate that the item in question, in these cases the words *genuine* and *phantom*, is not part of the Age's own ideological system:

The plans for industrial action and a boycott on bench hearings would be put into effect unless the union gets "genuine" wage negotiations with Telecom.

The union's assistant federal secretary, Mr Mick Musumeci, said last night the Federal Goernment's [sic] "phantom" industrial co-ordinating committee had prevented Telecom from negotiating freely on the side of wage increases. (1983, 130)

#### 2.4.2. Reporting verbs

Quotations are attributed to speakers by reporting verbs. A speech verb indicates the manner in which the reported utterance is expressed. In a way, the reporting verb "frames" the statement that comes after it. Bell (1991, 207) avers that the speech verb may express the reporter's attitude towards the statement which follows: "The verb can be evaluative, keying the audience in how to interpret the speaker's statement." *Say* is generally considered to be a neutral speech verb which introduces a statement without evaluating it. Bell (1991, 206) and Caldas-Coulthard (1994, 305) also regard the verb *tell* and the non-finite form *according to* as neutral. Excessive variation in the use of reporting verbs should be avoided, for verbs such as *claimed* and *agreed* have particular meanings and ought to be used only in the right context (Pape & Featherstone 2005, 40). Verbs of this kind, Caldas-Coulthard (1994, 306) says, label and classify the statement in question. Merrill (1965, 73) takes the verbs *snapped* and *smiled* as examples of subjective speech verbs, *snapped* being negatively affective and *smiled* positively affective.



Bell asserts that there is a relationship between who is speaking and which reporting verb is used. He refers to studies that have found systematic differences between using the verb *say* in the case of "credible" sources, such as management or the United States government, and the verb *claim* in the case of less "credible" sources, such as unions or the Soviet government. Kress' analysis (1983, 136) of two newspaper articles on an impending strike of telecommunication technicians gives support to these findings. Kress draws attention to the use of the verb *claimed* instead of *said* in the Age newspaper when a comment by Mick Musumeci, the assistant federal secretary of the Australian Telecommunications Employees Association, is reported:

He claimed the settlement terms of the June-July dispute had been flouted by Telecom's limited negotiating ability. (1983, 130)

Kress (p. 136) writes that "attributing a statement to a person . . . has a specific effect depending on the ideological 'valuation' of that person in the paper's ideology."

## 2.5. Paragraphs

Nearly all news texts are divided into paragraphs. They split news stories into a series of smaller units and thus make them easier to read. Paragraph boundaries are good resting-places for the eye. In newspapers, paragraphs are generally shorter than in a number of other forms of written discourse, e.g. novels and scientific textbooks. The reason why newspapers tend to favour short paragraphs rather than long ones is that they are easier to read and digest (Pape & Featherstone 2005, 62).

Van Dijk states that paragraphs indicate sequences of discourse that somehow belong together. Thereby, a new paragraph marks a topic or sub-topic change (1977, 152). Longacre (1979, 115), by contrast, regards the paragraph as a structural rather than an orthographic unit.

He remarks that paragraph indentations are often partly determined by eye appeal (pp. 115-116). Brown & Yule (1983, 95) take a more lenient stance towards the issue, noting that while the beginning of an ortographic paragraph may signal a topic change, it is not necessary for it to do so. A new paragraph may indeed indicate the beginning of a new part of the text, especially if the first sentence of the paragraph includes a sentence-initial adverbial expression (p. 99) (for a more detailed discussion of this, see Brown & Yule 1983, 95 ff.). Brown & Yule (p. 99) aver that instead of regarding the ortographic paragraph of newspaper articles as a deviation from the "true" paragraph, one might view it as one form of organising written discourse.

Cohesion between paragraphs in news articles is often fragmentary or non-existent (van Dijk 1987a, 7; Bell 1991, 172). According to Bell, this is because a typical news article is written so that it can be cut to end at any paragraph.

### 3. Linguistic tools for the analysis of news

#### 3.1. Themes and topics

##### 3.1.1. Themes

The theme is what the sentence is "about". It occupies an informationally weighty position in the sentence. The theme is usually the first element in the sentence. The rest of the sentence is called "the rheme".

John gave flowers to Mary.

Mary got flowers from John.

In the first sentence above, *John* is the theme and the sentence can be said to be "about" John.

The remaining part of the sentence, "gave flowers to Mary", is the rheme. In the second sentence, *Mary* is the theme and "got flowers from John" the rheme.

Fries writes: "Theme is the orienter to the message conveyed by the clause. It tells the reader how to understand the news conveyed by the clause" (1994, 234). According to Brown & Yule (1983, 133), the theme has two main functions: to connect back to the previous discourse and to provide a starting point for the further development of the discourse. Van Dijk (1988a, 66) avers that themes, which he calls "sentential topics", "indicate a special function of semantic units, for instance the function of being in focus of attention, having been mentioned just before, and similar notions that denote the distribution of information across sentence boundaries." According to Fairclough (1995a, 105), thematisation plays an important part in the combination and sequencing of clauses.

##### 3.1.2. Discourse topics

It is possible to formulate a theme not only for individual sentences but also for whole texts.

The theme of the text will be here called "discourse topic" after van Dijk (1977, 6). He introduces the term to indicate what a discourse, or part of it, is "about". The discourse topic might be defined as the gist, the kernel or the summary of the text. Fries (1987, 57) contends that the first sentence of a text does not usually contain its discourse topic. Werlich (1976, 27), in contrast, maintains that the "thematic text base is a text initial linguistic unit." Brown & Yule (1983, 133) support Werlich by stating that what is put first will influence the interpretation of everything which follows in the text. Fries, too, admits that, in the case of newspapers, most of the stories can be summarised by reproducing the first sentence of the text (p. 57). This supports the view of the lead as the summary of the news story (see section 2.3.2).

The discourse topic of the text may be expressed in the headline (Werlich 1976, 27; Bülow-Møller 1989, 42; Brown & Yule 1983, 139). According to Brown & Yule, the headline creates some expectations for the reader about the contents of the text. This means that the thematised elements not only provide a starting point for the text but also constrain the reader's interpretation of what follows. This is illustrated with an example:

Rocky slowly got up from the mat, planning his escape. He hesitated a moment and thought. Things were not going well. What bothered him most was being held, especially since the charge against him had been weak. He considered his present situation. The lock that held him was strong, but he thought he could break it. (1983, 139)

Brown & Yule produce the same text with two different headlines: "A Prisoner Plans His Escape" and "A Wrestler in a Tight Corner". The effect of these different headlines is that the former yields the interpretation of Rocky being in a cell, planning to escape from prison, and the latter the interpretation of Rocky being in a wrestling ring, trying to escape another wrestler's hold.

As regards the relation between discourse topics and sentence topics (i.e. themes), van Dijk (1988a, 66) observes that sentence topics are different from discourse topics, but not

completely independent of them. He has an example of a news article headlined "Brassai, 84, Is Dead", which begins as follows:

The photographer and sculptor Brassai, 84, renowned for his studies of nighttime Paris, of Picasso and of other members of the artist colony of prewar Montparnasse, died Sunday in Nice, his family said Wednesday. (1988a, 65)

Van Dijk (p. 66) asserts that the reason why Brassai is the topic of the sentence is that he is the main element of the discourse topic "Brassai died", which is also expressed in the headline.

### 3.1.3. Macrostructures

Van Dijk applies macrostructures to the analysis of news discourse. Macrostructures help one derive the topic of discourse from the text. They reduce, categorise and organise semantic information. Macrostructures operate at a more global level of semantic representation: they define the meaning of the discourse or parts of it on the basis of the meanings of individual sentences (for a detailed discussion of macrostructures, see van Dijk 1977, 130 ff.).

A macrostructure consists of one or more macropropositions, which express the discourse topic of the text. Macropropositions are derived from the text by means of macrorules, which summarise and reduce information to its gist. There are three kinds of macrorules: deletion, generalisation and construction. Information that is less relevant can be deleted, e.g. details about time and place. A series of propositions can be replaced with one generalisation. For instance, instead of saying, "The carpenter had a hammer, a saw and a plane", we can say: "The carpenter had some tools". Construction means the replacement of a series of actions by one umbrella term that describes the act as a whole. For example, the statement "I filled the kitchen sink with water, put some washing-up liquid in, brushed the plates, the drinking

glasses and the cutlery, let them soak in hot water for a while and then put them in a dish drainer” can be replaced by the macroproposition ”I did the dishes”. Macrorules are recursive, so they may be applied again, producing more and more concise summaries, until one single macroproposition sums up the whole text. Van Dijk (1988a, 33) remarks that macrostructures are subjective in nature, meaning that different people may produce different macropropositions from a given text. Brown & Yule (1983, 73) give support to this view by noting that there are a good many different ways of expressing the topic for a text, each representing a different judgment of what is being written about. Brown & Yule observe that it is difficult to determine a single sentence as the topic of a text.

The primary principles of macrostructure interpretation are pertinent for news discourse, too (van Dijk 1988a, 40). Van Dijk analyses a news article about reactions towards Indonesian policy in East Timor and derives a macrostructure from the text (see Appendix 2). He first produces a macroproposition for each paragraph at the first level of macrostructure. He reduces information by using the macrorule of deletion: deleted is information regarding the background of the visit to Indonesia, details about the letter, numbers of victims, the political background of the Labour resolution, etc. Van Dijk then applies macrorules again, yielding the second level of macrostructure. Now he reduces information across paragraph boundaries, deleting the last paragraph completely. He deletes information concerning the actors, the Congressional letter and the Labour resolution. He applies macrorules once more, producing the third level of macrostructure. Now only the very core of the information in the news item remains.

Brown & Yule (1983, 110) comment on van Dijk’s notions on macrostructures and topic-derivation by stating that they are fundamentally just the analyst’s interpretation of what a specific text means. When one yields a topic or a macroproposition for a text, one is simply producing a one-sentence summary for the text in question. Van Dijk’s theory is, according to Brown & Yule, a way to determine the possible topics, not the definitive topic, of a discourse.

Nevertheless, the present author is of the opinion that macrostructures, albeit essentially close to the act of producing summaries of texts, are a useful theoretical tool for the derivation of discourse topics.

### 3.2. Grammar and syntax

Grammar and syntax are important elements in the analysis of news articles. People, actions and events may be represented in different ways by various grammatical and syntactic means. Sometimes, grammatical and syntactic choices may be ideologically motivated.

For the purposes of this section, it should be said that there are different degrees of presence and absence in texts. Fairclough (1995a, 106) divides degrees of presence in the following way: absent-presupposed-backgrounded-foregrounded. Things which are presupposed are implicitly present in the text, part of its implicit meaning. Things which are explicitly present in the text may be informationally backgrounded or foregrounded. Van Leeuwen (1996, 39) makes a distinction between suppression and backgrounding. Suppression means that a given actor is not referred to anywhere in the text. Backgrounding means that the actor is not wholly excluded from the text, but "de-emphasized", kept in the background. Van Leeuwen's term 'suppression' seems to correspond to Fairclough's 'absence', and 'backgrounding' to Fairclough's 'backgrounding'.

Whether the sentence is active or passive is of importance. In the active voice, the focus is upon the subject, the doer of the action, while the passive voice focuses on the object, the target of the action. In the passive, the doer of the action is at the end of the sentence, but the agent can also be deleted.

The police shot a demonstrator.

A demonstrator was shot by the police.

A demonstrator was shot.

In the first above sentence, the police are foregrounded. The second sentence is about the dead demonstrator and the police are backgrounded to the less prominent sentence-final position. In the third sentence, the agent is absent, so we do not know who shot the demonstrator. As we can see, the passive makes it possible to move the subject to the background or delete it altogether. Passive agent deletion enables one to make agency unclear.

Nominalisation means the derivation of a noun from a verb. For instance, the noun *reduction* is derived from the verb *reduce* and *abolition* from *abolish*. Nominalisation is one way to obfuscate agency.

The shooting of the demonstrator will be investigated.

In the above sentence, *shooting* is a nominalisation, for which the full sentence would be "Someone shot someone". This shows how much information is absent in a nominal form: there is no indication of time (no verb and no tense), modality (the writer's evaluation of the matter) or an object and a subject (who shot whom?). Nominalisation has the potential of making actions and processes into abstract things.

Yet another way of making agency unclear is the use of adjectives.

The predictable outcome of the investigation is that the police will be relieved from responsibility.

The full sentence for the adjective *predictable* would be "Someone predicts that . . ." The use of the adjective removes the person doing the predicting from sight and makes it seem that *predictable* is a natural quality of the word it modifies.

Van Leeuwen demonstrates the use of a non-finite infinitival clause in the obfuscation of agency. In the following sentence, the person doing the maintenance is absent.

To maintain this policy is hard. (1996, 40)



Van Leeuwen also illustrates the coding of the activity in middle voice, in which the agent is absent or presupposed. In the following sentence, there is no absolute certainty that the teacher was the one who opened the door.

The door of the playhouse opened and the teacher looked in. (1996, 41)

Bülow-Møller (1989, 98) argues that the exclusion of agency is always ideologically motivated. Van Leeuwen (1996, 38) and Fairclough (1995a, 26) take a more moderate stand on the issue, contending that some omissions of agency may serve an ideological purpose, but not all (see section 4.1 for a discussion on ideology).

The choice of grammatical process types may sometimes be of importance. Fairclough illustrates the three main types of process: actions (subject-verb-object), events (subject-verb) and attributions (subject-verb-complement).

SVO	Reagan attacks Libya. South African police have burnt down a black township. Contras have killed many peasants.
SV	Reagan was fishing. A black township has burnt down. Many peasants have died.
SVC	Reagan is dangerous. Many peasants are dead. Libya has oil.

(1989, 121)

There are significant differences between process types in Fairclough's examples. Whether to present the death of Nicaraguan peasants or the burning of a South African township as an action, an event without responsible agents, or simply an attributed state has an effect on how the reader interprets them. Van Leeuwen (1996, 44) writes about activation and passivation in the representation of actors. Activation means that actors are allocated dynamic and active roles in a given activity. Passivation means that actors are assigned passive roles in the

activity. For example, in the above sentence "Contras have killed many peasants", contras have an active role and peasants a passive role.

Modality has its part to play in the representation of people and events. Fowler (1991, 85) defines modality as "attitude" or "comment" that is either implicit or explicit in the "linguistic stance" of the writer. Modality is usually expressed by means of modal auxiliaries.

The police officer who shot the demonstrator may not be prosecuted.

The police officer responsible for the killing of the demonstrator must be prosecuted. This matter should not be hushed up.

Fowler (1991, 86) and Fairclough (1989, 127) note that modality can also be expressed by other means, such as by some adverbs and adjectives.

The youngster is *certainly* bred to go, being by King of Spain out of Edna who was a useful speedster on soft ground.

Without [Nelson Mandela's] blessing, it is *unlikely* that any black leader in South Africa can be persuaded to meet the British Foreign Secretary apart from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. (Fowler 1991, 86)

The structure of sentences can also be taken into consideration. Whether something is expressed in a main clause or in a subordinate clause may make a difference. Fairclough (1989, 132; 1995a, 119) avers that the information in a main clause is usually foregrounded and the information in a subordinate clause backgrounded, especially if the main clause precedes the subordinate clause.

John Major was facing a leadership crisis last night after being savaged by ex-Tory Party chairman Norman Tebbit. (1995a, 119)

In the above sentence, the evaluation of the political effect of Tebbit's critique is foregrounded to the main clause ("John Major was facing a leadership crisis last night"), whilst the critique itself is in the subordinate clause ("after being savaged by ex-Tory Party chairman Norman

Tebbit”). According to Fairclough (1989, 132), the content of subordinate clauses is sometimes presupposed, i.e. taken as already known.

We cannot let our troops lose their edge below decks while Argentine diplomats play blind man’s buff round the corridors of the United Nations. (1989, 132)

The subordinate clause of the above sentence contains the presupposition that Argentine diplomats play blind man’s buff round the corridors of the United Nations.

#### 4. Ideology and objectivity

##### 4.1. Language and ideology

The notion of ideology suggests distortion and manipulation of the truth in pursuit of specific interests (Fairclough 1995a, 46). The media play an important part in the production of ideology (Jalbert 1983, 282). This ideological nature of the media shows, according to Corner (1983, 279-280), in the construction of news texts and thus determines their contents to a large extent. Van Dijk (1988a, 41) states that the description of events in news articles inevitably contains a point of view, which can also be seen in the macrostructure of the texts (see section 3.1.3). Fairclough remarks, however, that "ideology is more of an issue for some texts than for others" (1995a, 14).

"Ideologies . . . find their clearest articulation in language," writes Kress (1985, 29). Language is, Fairclough (1995b, 73) notes, a material form of, and invested by, ideology. Fowler (1991, 66) observes that representation always comes from a specific ideological point of view. He says: "Anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium" (p. 10). Fairclough (1989, 88) introduces the concept of ideological struggle, which takes place in and over language. In other words, language is not only a site of, but also a stake in, ideological struggle. At the centre of this struggle lies the power to decide things such as which word meanings are "appropriate" or "correct" (pp. 88-89). In Fowler's view (1987, 69), how things are said is as important as what things are said, as ideology is continuously expressed in the elements of linguistic structure. He underlines the fact that linguistically constructed representation of reality is not an intentional process: "The newspaper does not select events to be reported and then consciously wrap them in value-laden language which the reader passively absorbs, ideology and all. . . . [V]alues are in the language already, independent of the journalist and of the reader. Ideology is already

imprinted in the available discourse” (1991, 41-42). According to Fowler (1991, 66), values and ideology differ, for instance, in the different choices of words that are found in newspapers. However, it is not only vocabulary that may be ideologically invested. Any feature of linguistic structure can be ideologically significant, whether it be grammar, syntax, semantics, etc. (Fowler 1987, 69; 1991, 67; Fairclough 1995b, 74; Kress 1985, 35). Hence, such things as passivisation and nominalisation (see section 3.2) may carry ideological significance.

Many sources state that the media produce and reproduce power and in doing so maintain relations of domination and subordination. It is believed that social, political and economic factors have an effect on how the world is represented in the media. For example, van Dijk (1988a, 83) and Fairclough (1989, 51) observe that the media promote the power of dominant groups in society; Jalbert (1983, 282) and Fowler (1987, 68) aver that the production of news is connected with economic and political interests. According to van Dijk (1987a, 15), the media have an important role in the reproduction of hegemony, which he defines as ideologically framed and consensually based control. He says that the media are basically “the mediators of preferred meanings.” Accordingly, groups that have the means to formulate and communicate such preferred meanings are also supported by the media. Van Dijk (1987b, 203) and Fowler (1991, 2) note that news does not merely reflect reality but actively constructs it. Fairclough (1995a, 12) supports this view by stating that the ideological nature of media language entails specific constructions of the world and of social identities and relations. Fowler (1987, 68) regards language as a social practice which endeavours to maintain social and institutional relations through the continuous articulation of ideology.

Ideological assumptions in texts are generally implicit rather than explicit (Fairclough 1995a, 14, 44; 1995b, 6). Fairclough writes: “Ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible. . . . [I]nvisibility is achieved when ideologies are brought to discourse not as explicit elements of the text, but as . . . background assumptions” (1989, 85). Van Dijk

(1988a, 71) lends support to this view by stating that a significant use of indirectness signals ideological positions. According to Fairclough, ideologies may become naturalised and hence regarded as common sense (1995b, 35). He understands ideological common sense as "common sense in the service of sustaining unequal relations of power" (1989, 84). He states that ideological assumptions are embedded in ways of using language that are naturalised and commonsensical for reporters and readers. Therefore, ideologies are not normally "adopted" but taken for granted as common ground between the reporter and the reader (1995a, 45). Fairclough observes that the less likely an ideological representation is to become a focus of conscious awareness, the more secure its ideological position is (1989, 85).

#### 4.2. Objectivity

It is an old journalistic convention that news should be objective. News stories are supposed to be balanced, impartial and non-partisan. Facts and opinions should not be mixed, and reporters should not insert their own opinions into a story. Werlich defines the news story as a variant of the text form of the report, in which "the encoder presents changes from the point of view of an objective situational frame of reference outside himself. He records actions and events which can be checked and verified by others" (1976, 59-60). Werlich states that the news story makes it possible for the reader to form his own opinion of a matter without being affected by the reporter's own views (p. 64).

This principle of objectivity notwithstanding, many sources question the notion of objective journalism. Fowler (1987, 67) maintains that absolute objectivity can never be achieved: "There is no neutral representation of reality. Events, processes, objects and people are always mediated for us. It is not simply a question of objectivity on the one hand, and bias on the other." Fairclough (1995a, 47) is of the same opinion: "'The truth' in an absolute sense is always problematic." He adds, however, that different representations may be compared

with one another and conclusions drawn about their relative truthfulness. That absolute objectivity and truthfulness cannot be attained means that news is not neutral, but always told from a specific angle (Bell 1991, 212; Fowler 1991, 10). Thus, news is a construction of reality rather than a mirror of reality (Tuchman 1978, 12; Fowler 1987, 67; Fairclough 1995a, 103). News is not a "value-free reflection of 'facts'", Fowler observes, but a "representation of the world in language" (1991, 4). He views language as a "highly constructive mediator" (p. 1). Fairclough (1995a, 103-104) states that news produces versions of reality via choices that are made in the process of producing texts, e.g. what is foregrounded or backgrounded and what is made explicit or implicit. Fowler (1991, 120) notes that media texts are not particularly biased, because the structured mediation of the world is a feature that is found in all forms of discourse, not just in the press.

Merrill (1965, 74) states that readers do not expect to find the opinions of the reporter in a news article. Van Dijk (1988a, 5), by contrast, avers that news may contain opinions. One indication of this is the existence of the Comments category (see section 2.1 and Appendix 1), which appears in news articles often (p. 56). However, van Dijk (1988b, 124) admits that the opinions of the reporter are not in any pre-eminent position in news articles. Crystal & Davy note that things may be presented to readers in very different lights: "There is always the danger of bias . . . in any writing: the attitudes of the writer towards his subject tend to creep in" (1969, 191). They receive support from Pape & Featherstone who write: "[H]owever hard a journalist may strive for objectivity, he or she is likely to end up hoist on the petard of value-laden language" (2005, 49).

Expressions of opinion may be divided into different categories according to their degree of explicitness. Merrill (1965, 74) considers outright opinion to be the most blatant kind of subjectivity. He draws a parallel between outright opinion and Hayakawa's term judgment, by which Hayakawa means all expressions of the writer's approval or disapproval of the phenomena being described (1978, 37). There are also milder ways of expressing one's

opinion. Hayakawa calls this "slanting". Slanting does not give any explicit judgments but makes particular judgments unavoidable through one-sided selection of details (pp. 41-42). As far as implicit opinions and attitudes are concerned, they may be expressed indirectly by such things as the selection of topics, the importance given to different topics and features of style (van Dijk 1988a, 75; 1988b, 124).

Tuchman (1972, 676) and van Dijk (1987a, 8; 1988a, 84 ff.) state that reporters can resort to certain devices in order to claim objectivity. Some of such devices are the use of numbers to indicate precision, presenting opposing views on a matter, eyewitness accounts of events and the use of quotation marks to signal that the reporter is not making a truth-claim. In Tuchman's opinion, such news procedures are, essentially, strategic rituals through which reporters lay claim to objectivity (1972, 676-677). As van Dijk (1988a, 86) puts it, "It is not so much the real truth as the illusion of truth that is at stake in the rhetoric of news." Tuchman (1972, 676) remarks that the news procedures do not, as such, provide objectivity.

#### 4.3. Choice of words

"Journalistic information is based, to a large extent, on the use of words," writes Pisarek (1983, 156). Therefore, the choice of words is of great importance in news reports. Since different words carry different shades of meaning, it is not insignificant which words are used in a news text. There are always different ways to word people, events and phenomena. A classic example is the choice between *terrorist* and *freedom fighter*. Bülow-Møller (1989, 83) maintains that "there is no such thing as a free choice; no two expressions convey precisely the same message." The present author believes, however, that while the question of whether there can be absolute synonymity between words may be a matter of debate, there are words that can be said to mean practically, or even exactly, the same.

Adjectives play an important part in news texts, as they describe people and events.



Although adjectives are commonly used in news stories, "they must be used with extreme care or subjectivity will creep in and the mere use of adjectives will create a favorable or unfavorable impression," writes Merrill (1965, 73). He illustrates what he calls "subjective" adjectives with the expressions "*serene* state of mind" and "*flat, monotonous* voice", the former prejudicing the reader for and the latter against the person described. He gives "the *blue* sky" as an example of what he calls "objective" or "neutral" adjectives. Adverbs, for their part, are often used to reinforce another expression, e.g. "He barked *sarcastically*" (Merrill 1965, 73). The writer's opinion may also be expressed isolated in sentence adverbs: "*Fortunately*, the deal did not come off" (Bülow-Møller 1989, 121).

Merrill's ideas about subjective and objective adjectives might be developed further, expanding it to cover all parts of speech. It can be said that there are words that are objective, neutral and unbiased, and words that are subjective, partial and biased. Naturally, not all words can be classified as being clearly one or the other; instead, there exist degrees of subjectivity and objectivity. While there are clear-cut cases, i.e. words that can unambiguously be said to be either biased or unbiased, there are also words which lie somewhere between the two. Thereby, words can be presented in a continuum which shall be called "the scale of objectivity", running from subjective to objective. Below are some examples of words placed on the scale of objectivity.

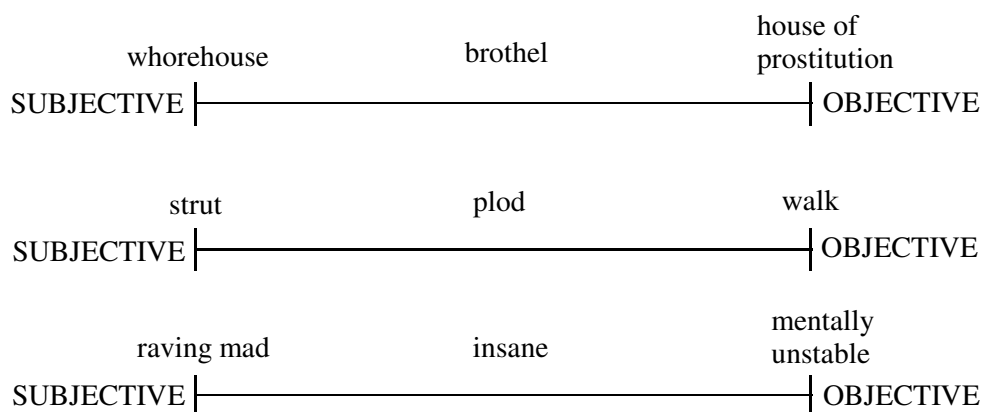


Chart 3: The scale of objectivity and some example words on it.

Of the words illustrated, *whorehouse*, *strut* and *raving mad* are subjective, and *house of prostitution*, *walk* and *mentally unstable* their objective equivalents. *Brothel*, *plod* and *insane* can be said to fall somewhere in-between, i.e. they are neither wholly subjective nor completely objective. While it is not appropriate to compare all words on the objective-subjective continuum and while different people will place words at different points of the continuum, the stand taken here is that there are words that are more/less objective and more/less subjective. If one pursues objectivity, one should try to use words which lie towards the objective end of the continuum.

That news reports may contain biased language need not be intentional, because, as Bolinger (1980, 120) puts it, "one reaches instinctively for words favorable to one's point of view." Van Dijk (1988a, 70) observes that the lexical choices that reporters make may have particular semantic implications. He illustrates this by listing verbal acts attributed to Jesse Jackson in a *Times* article: *lashed out at*, *claimed*, *disparaging about women*, *assailed the press*, etc. These descriptions show that Jackson is not represented too positively in the article. According to Hayakawa, words which convey judgments, i.e. expressions of the writer's approval or disapproval of what he is describing, should be kept out of news stories. Instead of *sneaked in*, *tramp* and *dictatorial set-up*, one should write *entered quietly*, *homeless unemployed* and *centralized authority*, respectively (1978, 38). The former words would be put towards the subjective end and the latter words towards the objective end on the scale of objectivity. Similarly, a reporter cannot write: "A crowd of suckers came to listen to Senator Smith last evening in that rickety fire-trap and ex-dive that disfigures the south edge of town." Instead, he writes: "Between 75 and 100 people heard an address last evening by Senator Smith at the Evergreen Gardens near the South Side city limits" (Hayakawa 1978, 38).

In a way, words classify and categorise things. As Kress puts it, "Words . . . represent categorizations of the world from a point of view. They exist within systems which are organized by, and represent, ideological systems" (1983, 124-125). Therefore, Kress

concludes, the words *terrorist* and *freedom fighter*, for example, do not exist in a vacuum, but within groups of related words. Fowler (1987, 69) writes: "Vocabulary encodes ideology, systems of beliefs about the way the world is organized."

Pisarek says: "[T]he lexical surface of the language of a journalistic text reflects and at the same time impresses upon a reader a specific image of the world and a particular attitude towards reality" (1983, 157). This means that whenever a reporter chooses one word over another, he is making decisions as to how things are represented and how the reader should understand them (Pape & Featherstone 2005, 49).

Different wordings may derive from different ideological positions (Fairclough 1995b, 34). In Fairclough's opinion (1989, 115), "the structure of a vocabulary is ideologically based." Van Dijk (1988a, 81) avers that there are a good many "opinion-controlled lexical choices" in newspapers, some more subtle than others. He writes: "[L]exical and semantic implications may involve evaluations based on the point of view and the ideology of the reporter" (p. 71) (see section 4.1 for a discussion on ideology).

## 5. The analysis of the articles

### 5.1. Aims and method

#### 5.1.1. Material

The articles that will be analysed come from *The New York Times*, which is a well-known newspaper with a wide circulation. The total number of the articles analysed is 45, one from each year of the Cold War period 1947–1991. Appendix 3 lists the articles along with their publication dates and headlines.

All of the articles concern the Soviet Union and are front-page news stories, i.e. articles that begin on the front-page and continue on the later pages of the newspaper. This choice was made because stories that are put on the front-page are usually deemed important by the editorial staff of the paper as well as its readers.

The articles are news articles; editorials, columns, human interest stories, etc. were not included in the study. The choice to focus on news articles was made because news stories are supposed to be completely objective, whereas editorials, human interest stories, etc. allow the reporter a certain degree of subjectivity. Thereby, deviations from objectivity have greater significance in the case of news stories.

The news articles were selected randomly. For each year (1947–1991), one month was first randomly chosen, and then one front-page news story regarding the Soviet Union from that particular month was picked out at random. However, very short articles were excluded from the study.

#### 5.1.2. Aim

The aim of this part of the thesis is to pinpoint occurrences of bias pertaining to the representation of the Soviet Union in *The New York Times* with the help of the theoretical

background outlined in the first part of the paper. The theoretical tools and concepts will be put into practice in the detection and determination of bias. The main focus will be on the occurrences of pro- and anti-Soviet biases and on the ways in which they manifest themselves.

The representation of the Soviet Union means all things related to it, e.g. Soviet people, institutions, policies, Communism, the Eastern bloc, etc. The analysis tries to locate and classify possible bias, i.e. first to find out if there is bias and then to specify the exact presentational features that express the bias, e.g. the headline, a reporting verb, etc. Bias is here generally understood as a deviation from objectivity. The occurrence of bias means that things are represented in a way that may be regarded as not completely objective or even subjective.

### 5.1.3. Method of analysis

As was noted in section 1, the method of analysis applied in this study will be linguistic. The 45 articles chosen will be approached from different syntactic and semantic perspectives.

The analysis of the articles is forced to be somewhat subjective, for text analysis of the sort carried out here deals with issues in which no definitive and indisputable truths can be reached. Different analysts will sometimes inevitably have different views on matters such as what word may be regarded as biased or unbiased in a given context or when passive agent deletion is ideologically motivated. Nonetheless, the present author shall try to analyse the articles as objectively as possible.

The approach taken in the analysis will be qualitative rather than quantitative, even though some remarks about the number of bias found will also be made. In the kind of study carried out here, it is not appropriate to analyse the exact structure of all the sentences in all the articles. Instead of counting all the occurrences of passive agent deletion or the use of scare quotes, for instance, it is more practical to concentrate on the cases where the use of the

feature in question is somehow significant, e.g. ideologically motivated.

The fact that the point of view taken in the analysis is linguistic excludes some other methodological approaches from this study. The study carried out here is not concerned with things such as how the reporter's gender, age or socio-political background, or the economic and political ownership ties of the paper, may have influenced the contents of the news stories. Nor will this study try to analyse the so-called "deep structure" of the texts, i.e. what kinds of connotations and meanings the news story may arouse in the reader.

## 5.2. General remarks on the articles

As was stated in section 5.1.2, this study concentrates primarily upon the representation of the Soviet Union and things related to it. The most important objective is to pinpoint occurrences of pro- or anti-Soviet bias.

The articles will be analysed in the light of nine different features of presentation: the headline and lead, quotations and reported speech, scare quotes, reporting verbs, grammar and syntax, lexical choice, evaluations, the element of surprise, and sandwiching. It will be analysed when, and how, each presentational feature is used in the realisation of bias.

The occurrences of bias have been tabulated in Appendix 4. The appendix shows what different features have been used to realise bias in each article. The occurrences of bias have been classified into clear and slight cases. Clear cases mean the occurrence of clear bias. Slight cases are cases where bias occurs only in a slight way and may be somewhat implicit. Some slight cases may, in fact, also be regarded as borderline cases, about whose degree of bias different analysts would disagree. As was said in section 5.1.3, text analysis of this kind cannot be totally objective, so different analysts will have different views on the existence and nature of bias. Since the type of bias (clear/slight) is not always of importance, it has not been mentioned in connection with some examples discussed. In such cases, the reader is referred

to Appendix 4 which lists the types of bias for all the articles analysed.

The contents of quotations and reported speech has not been taken into consideration in the determination of bias. For example, if quotations and indirect speech have included words and other expressions that are clearly negative in regard to the Soviet Union, they have not been counted as bias, because it is something that the person quoted or paraphrased has presumably said. Section 5.4 deals with the nature of quotations and reported speech in more detail.

On the basis of the occurrences of bias, it has been determined how they affect the article on a more general level. This yielded what shall be called the "overall attitude" for each article (see Appendix 4). It means the general impression that an analyst looking for bias would probably receive from the article. The overall attitude has been determined by appraising the number and type (clear/slight) of the biases found in the news story, and then deciding if their combined effect makes the article turn slightly or clearly biased. The overall attitude of the article may be one of the following: neutral, slightly pro-Soviet, clearly pro-Soviet, slightly anti-Soviet or clearly anti-Soviet. The more occurrences of bias there are, the more probably the overall attitude of the article becomes biased or slightly biased. One single occurrence of bias of any kind does not yet make the overall attitude either biased or slightly biased. There do not have to be as many occurrences of clear bias as slight bias for the overall attitude of the article to be biased or slightly biased. It should be emphasised that the subject matter of the article per se does not have any influence on the overall attitude, because it is determined solely on the basis of the biases found. For example, Article 16 (1962) and Article 33 (1979) have a neutral overall attitude, although the articles concern events that involve hostility and dispute between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is also worth stressing that the determination of the overall attitude does not play a central role in the analysis of the news articles, so it should not be paid excessive attention to.

All of the above-mentioned presentational features shall be dealt with in the following sections. The sections include general information about the features, some examples from the

articles, and commentary on the examples. For the sake of clarity, the articles are referred to by their number (see Appendix 3 and 4) followed by the year of publication, e.g. Article 1 (1947). In the case of examples set off from the body of the text, the articles are referred to by their number only, e.g. [Article 1].

### 5.3. Headlines and leads

Headlines and leads have an important role in news stories, because they are supposed to summarise the most important points of the article and orient it in a specific direction (see section 2.3). However, sometimes headlines may express secondary topics, as was pointed out in section 2.3.1. Headlines of this kind shall be here called "biased" after van Dijk (1987b, 209). Leads, too, may express secondary topics and therefore be biased. Hence, one way to reveal possible bias in headlines and leads is to determine if they reflect the main topic or some secondary topic.

In order to determine if the headlines and leads in the articles analysed exhibit bias, a discourse topic was derived for every article (see section 3.1.2 for a discussion on discourse topics). The discourse topic is the main topic of the article. Discourse topics were derived with the help of macrostructures, by applying the macrorules of deletion, generalisation and construction as outlined in section 3.1.3 (see Appendix 2 for an example of the derivation of a discourse topic from a news story). This yielded a one- or two-sentence macroproposition expressing the discourse topic. Appendix 5 lists the discourse topics of the articles analysed. We are able to discover possible pro- or anti-Soviet bias by comparing the headline and lead with the discourse topic of the article. It should be stressed that different analysts would yield different macropropositions from a text, as was pointed out in section 3.1.3. Therefore, the stand taken here is that the headline and lead need not reflect the discourse topic perfectly to be neutral. It is enough if they reflect the discourse topic or some part of it moderately well. If



they reflect the discourse topic poorly or not at all, they are considered to be biased.

Most of the headlines and leads in the articles analysed are neutral, i.e. they reflect the discourse topic or some part of it reasonably well. For instance, Article 7 (1953) has the headline "U.S. Insists Soviet Quit German Rule" and the subtitle "Conant Bars Big 4 Talks Until Moscow Ends Dictatorship Over the Eastern Zone", which agree perfectly with the discourse topic "The United States demanded that the Soviet Union end dictatorial rule in East Germany before talks about the German problem are possible" (see Appendix 5). The lead of the article also reflects the discourse topic very well:

Dr. James B. Conant, United States Ambassador, made it clear today that the United States Government would reject any Soviet proposal to hold a high-level four-power conference to solve the German problem unless Moscow was prepared to end its dictatorial control in East Germany and accept in advance Germany's reunification on the terms outlined in the Allied note of Sept. 24, 1952.

The discourse topic of Article 3 (1949) is "Yugoslav people learnt of the gravity of the discord between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union from a newspaper, which also highlighted that the West is on Yugoslavia's side on the matter" (see Appendix 5). The headline of the article, "Yugoslavs Learn of Soviet Threat", slightly simplifies the situation from that expressed in the discourse topic, and perhaps makes it appear a little more menacing through the use of the noun *threat*. The subtitle "Press Reveals Concentration of Russian Troops Near Nation's Boundaries" has the reference to the source of information in common with the discourse topic (newspaper/press), but otherwise concentrates on a secondary event that does not play a significant role in the article and is not part of the discourse topic. Neither headline mentions the sympathies of the West which is part of the discourse topic. The lead of the article reads as follows:

The Yugoslav people were warned today of the jeopardy into which they had been placed by the Soviet Government. For the first time since the Belgrade-Moscow crisis, the people were told of a concentration of Soviet troops on the Yugoslav borders and that there was a possible threat of war.

The lead, too, makes the situation appear slightly more menacing than the discourse topic ("were warned . . . of the jeopardy"). Unlike the discourse topic, the lead lacks a reference to the sympathies of the West and includes a reference to Soviet troops. Yet, both the main headline and the lead may be said to reflect the first part of the discourse topic ("Yugoslav people learnt of the gravity of the discord between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union") well enough to qualify as neutral, even though they do not agree with it completely.

In a couple of cases, the headline and lead reflect a secondary topic instead of the discourse topic. This is evident in Article 10 (1956) the discourse topic of which is "Khrushchev denounced Stalin and his rule of terror at the Communist party congress, unofficial reports say" (see Appendix 5). The headline of the article is "Rioting in Soviet Reported over Anti-Stalin Campaign". The theme of the headline is *rioting*, and Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin is referred to in a very general way at the end. The same can be seen in the lead:

Unconfirmed reports have been received in Washington that rioting has occurred in the Soviet Union in Stalin's native Georgia as a result of Moscow's effort to desanctify him. These reports assert that the riots occurred March 8 in Tiflis, capital of the Georgian Republic.

At the end of the first sentence is a general reference to the denunciation ("as a result of Moscow's effort to desanctify him"). Most of the lead concerns the rioting. However, the essence of the article is the denunciation of Stalin at the party congress. Of the 41 paragraphs of the story, only eight relate to Georgia and only six refer to the riots. The fact that the headline and lead mainly focus on a secondary topic and give only a little attention to the discourse topic means that they may be considered slightly biased against the Soviet Union, concentrating on an event which is negative from the Soviet viewpoint.

The discourse topic of Article 8 (1954) is "Soviet proposals on arms control got a mixed reception at the United Nations. The American and Soviet representative argued about Soviet policies on disarmament" (see Appendix 5). The headline is "U.S. Finds Soviet Dimming

U.N. Hope on Arms Control” and the subtitle ”Wadsworth Tells U.N. Group Vishinsky All but Quenches Optimism on Accord”, so the reader is given to understand that the Soviet proposals received only a negative reception. This is reinforced by the use of the metaphorical expression *dimming hope* in the main headline. The lead of the article gives the same impression:

The United States declared today that the ”ray of hope” created by the new Soviet proposals on disarmament and atomic control had been ”considerably dimmed though not extinguished” by Soviet explanations offered yesterday.

However, the negative reception of the Soviet proposals is only one part of the article. The text does begin with five paragraphs that deal with the American views, but then come three paragraphs concerning some positive Philippine views on the proposals. Moreover, the latter half of the article revolves around the American and Soviet representatives’ discussion on Soviet disarmament policies. The headline and lead cannot be said to concentrate on a secondary event, but to treat the main event rather one-sidedly by giving only the American views on the Soviet proposals. Since the headline and lead omit the second part of the discourse topic (”The American and Soviet representative argued about Soviet policies on disarmament”) and reflect the first part of the discourse topic in a way that does not give a wholly truthful picture of the situation, they may be said to be slightly biased against the Soviet Union.

#### 5.4. Quotations and reported speech

The articles analysed include a large amount of direct and indirect speech. The general tendency would seem to be that the most strongly-worded statements are usually put in quotation marks, whilst milder comments may be presented either as quotations or as reported speech.

Here are some examples of the use of quotations. The example from Article 4 (1950) deals with a Soviet demand to try the Japanese Emperor as a war criminal; the example from Article 8 (1954) concerns different views on arms control proposals; the example from Article 19 (1965) is an American aviation expert's comment on a large Soviet passenger plane; and the example from Article 36 (1982) is from President Reagan's speech delivered during a visit to West Berlin:

"These facts are known to the Soviet Government, which could have introduced a policy proposal in the Far Eastern Commission, in accordance with normal procedure, along the lines of the recommendations contained in its note. That the Soviet Government did not elect to do so but made these belated charges in a sensationalized manner raises obvious questions about the real motive behind the Soviet note." [Article 4]

Mr. Wadsworth declared that "on one and only one important matter" had the Soviet Union taken "a clear and unambiguous stand which somewhat narrows the differences which have separated the Soviet Union from the free world." [Article 8]

"It's just bigger," one company official said, "but not a plane that we could not have built if we had wanted it." [Article 19]

"If I had a chance, I'd like to ask the Soviet leaders one question," Mr. Reagan told a thousand cheering American soldiers at Tempelhof Airport here. "Why is that wall there? Why are they so afraid of freedom on this side of the wall? The truth is they're scared to death of it because they know that freedom is catching, and they don't dare let their people have a taste of it." [Article 36]

As said in section 2.4, by echoing someone else's words, even if they are very harsh indeed, reporters preserve objectivity, as they are merely reporting other people's statements and comments without committing to the truth of the utterance. However, the fact still remains that since some quotations, such as some of the ones above, include quite strongly-worded rhetoric, they paint rather a gloomy picture of the Soviet Union. Yet, the inclusion of such quotations in a news story cannot be viewed as biased, because reporters have a right, even an obligation, to tell readers what has been said at meetings, interviews, press conferences, etc.

Unlike quotations, reported speech does not have to involve the exact words used but can

also be the reporter's own reformulation of what was said, as noted in section 2.4. Here are some examples of the use of reported speech. The example from Article 7 (1953) concerns disagreements about Germany; the example from Article 9 (1955) revolves around Soviet-Yugoslav friendship negotiations; the example from Article 23 (1969) deals with Soviet intentions to restrict traffic to West Berlin; and the example from Article 39 (1985) is about a Soviet arms proposal.

Dr. James B. Conant, United States Ambassador, made it clear today that the United States Government would reject any Soviet proposal to hold a high-level four-power conference to solve the German problem unless Moscow was prepared to end its dictatorial control in East Germany and accept in advance Germany's reunification on the terms outlined in the Allied note of Sept. 24, 1952. [Article 7]

Yugoslav authorities said this appeal was not in accordance with their idea of what the current negotiations were to have been. They said they intended to complain to the Russians during the conference. Yugoslav authorities said they would insist that negotiations be held on a governmental level and not be mixed up with Soviet ideological propaganda. [Article 9]

But the phrasing of the [East German and Soviet] threats was qualified, and led Allied and West German observers to conclude that the bark was worse than the expected bite on Berlin. [Article 23]

Administration specialists in arms control said they were disturbed by a renewed Soviet effort to force reductions in American nuclear systems based in and near Europe and capable of striking the Soviet Union. They said Moscow had offered no comparable limitations on its medium-range nuclear weapons based in Europe. [Article 39]

All of the above examples make the Soviet Union appear in a negative light. It is very difficult to know what parts of reported speech contain the source's original words and what parts are the reporter's paraphrase of them. For instance, it may well be that the expressions "Soviet ideological propaganda" and "the bark was worse than the expected bite on Berlin" in the above examples are the reporter's own reformulations of what the sources said; however, there is no absolute certainty about this. The choice of indirect speech instead of direct speech enables the reporter to use his own words, which creates the possibility to represent the

reported statements in different lights, because different words carry different shades of meaning.

By omitting some statements and giving more coverage to others, reporters can emphasise things in different ways. The selection of quotations or indirect speech may not be objective, as reporters can choose to report only those statements that serve their ideological aims, as was stated in section 2.4. However, the only way to find out the possible ideological motivation would be to have access to everything that the source said, and then decide on that basis whether the selection of quotations, or the paraphrasing of the source's words in indirect speech, is ideologically motivated. This would require that one have a complete transcript of what the source said, or possibly that one compare the quotations and indirect speech of the source's statements in different newspapers and try to arrive at a conclusion of what was actually said. However, this is beyond the scope of this study.

#### 5.4.1. Scare quotes

Quotation marks can also be used to question people's statements, as was pointed out in section 2.4.1. This use is characterised by the fact that what is enclosed in quotation marks consists of only a few words, not of long strings of text. That only certain words are put in quotation marks emphasises the fact that the reader should be doubtful of the validity of the statement in question.

Here is an example of the use of scare quotes. It comes from Article 12 (1958), dealing with a Soviet satellite.

Anna T. Masevich, a Soviet scientist, said at a meeting of the International Astronautical Congress in Barcelona, Spain, three days after the launching of the first satellite, that it had been lifted "perfectly" on the first try.

"We had no failures," she said.

It is believed here, however, that the Russians probably failed about a dozen times before their first success.

The Soviet scientist's remarks about having no failures and about the launch succeeding "perfectly" are in clear contrast to the belief of a dozen or so failures, which is stated right after the quotation. The quotation marks around the word *perfectly* accentuate the unreliability of the scientist's comment and make it appear somewhat absurd.

The second example is from Article 23 (1969), concerning Soviet intentions to restrict traffic to West Berlin:

Alleging that "more than 25 West Berlin factories" were secretly producing a variety of weapons for West Germany's armed forces, the Soviet note said East Germany should halt such "unlawful" shipments. The East German statement said the Government would "effectively counter" this traffic. . . .

The East German declaration last night said that the Ulbricht regime had "proved" to the United Nations General Assembly in 1961 that West Berlin factories were producing "war material" in disregard of East German and international "laws." The West has persistently rejected this charge.

The fact that *proved* is enclosed in quotation marks makes it appear very questionable. Also, the scare quotes make the Soviet and East German statements about "unlawful" shipments, "war material" and international "laws" seem unreliable and even ridiculous. In the first paragraph, this interpretation is further reinforced by the use of the reporting verb *allege* at the beginning of the sentence (see section 5.4.2 for a discussion of the same example as for the reporting verb), and in the latter paragraph by the last sentence ("The West has persistently rejected this charge").

There are two cases where scare quotes have been used in a list, namely Article 2 (1948) and Article 5 (1951), both of which deal with Soviet views given in written statements:

(3) The statement of Wednesday evaded the question of the desirability of a peace treaty with Germany and tried to shift the blame for the lack of such a treaty onto the Soviet Union "where it does not belong." The actual blame rests with the United States Government for having rejected in the Moscow

and London conferences Soviet proposals for the preparation of a peace treaty with Germany. The present United States policy involves the danger of converting Western Germany into a "strategic base for future aggression." [Article 2]

1. The Soviet Union believes in a convocation of a council of foreign ministers as early as possible but considers it "inexpedient" to interrupt work of the deputies. [Article 5]

Quotation marks would not be needed in the texts, for it is clear to the reader that the lists contain Soviet statements, which are even presented in a numbered order. The use of the scare quotes implies that the statements in question should be viewed with reservation.

However, sometimes quotation marks may be used selectively merely to stress that what is enclosed in them are the exact words used by the person quoted.

The Soviet Union gave wide publicity today to an open letter from Soviet to Polish workers that invoked the Soviet and Polish Governments' obligations under the Warsaw Pact military alliance to defend Communism "from any encroachment." [Article 35]

The Russians put forward a somewhat more flexible position on "Star Wars" this week, but in his comments today Mr. Shevardnadze said the "Star Wars" program remained the "root problem" of American-Soviet relations and a major obstacle to an accord to reduce long-range nuclear weapons. [Article 41]

In the above cases, the reporter may have deemed it necessary to indicate that he is not paraphrasing the original statements but using the same words that the sources did. He may have wanted to underline the fact that "from any encroachment" was the original wording in the open letter, and that "root problem" was the expression that Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze used to describe the American defence program.

As the examples show, not all selective uses of quotation marks undermine people's statements. Sometimes it is difficult to determine if quotation marks have been used to question what the source said or if their use is explained by the intention to indicate that what is written are the exact words that the source used. Thus, the use of scare quotes is not a clear-



cut thing, with some cases being debatable.

#### 5.4.2. Reporting verbs

There are a number of different kinds of reporting verbs in the articles analysed. Most of the time, however, a comparatively limited set of speech verbs is used. *Say* is the most common reporting verb in the articles. The majority of the reporting verbs and other expressions introducing direct or indirect speech are neutral or nearly neutral. As stated in section 2.4.2, *say*, *tell* and *according to* are totally neutral expressions.

Some officials in Washington said they were inclined to treat the Soviet proposal as a tough opening position that left room for compromises. "Let's hope so," said one official. "The elements are blatantly one-sided." [Article 39]

"If I had a chance, I'd like to ask the Soviet leaders one question," Mr. Reagan told a thousand cheering American soldiers at Tempelhof Airport here. "Why is that wall there? Why are they so afraid of freedom on this side of the wall? The truth is they're scared to death of it because they know that freedom is catching, and they don't dare let their people have a taste of it." [Article 36]

The bulky silver-and-white aircraft, designated the AN-22, can carry 720 passengers or 80 tons of cargo, according to its designer, Oleg Antonov. [Article 19]

Besides these completely neutral expressions, there are verbs that, while carrying slightly different shades of meaning, may be said to be almost neutral reporting verbs that do not evaluate the statement which they introduce in any significant way.

Mr. Brezhnev did not say how or when such agreements might take place, or between what countries, declaring only that "all this will be seen as time goes on." [Article 29]

Other officials contended that the Soviet stand was so tough that it might preclude serious give-and-take. [Article 39]

A senior Bonn expert on the Berlin problem expressed the view that last

night's warnings should not be called a "threat of partial blockade," saying this would be "an unwarranted escalation in vocabulary." [Article 23]

They [officials] point out that tests of more effective missiles by the Russians could possibly strengthen the hand of the President in seeking Congressional authorization for a new generation of missile submarines, and weaken the position of Democratic hopefuls who have criticized this proposal as encouraging as further arms race. [Article 26]

Mr. Carter made it clear that he intended to keep developing international economic and diplomatic pressure on Iran to free the hostages. [Article 33]

*Declaring, contended, expressed the view, point out* and *made it clear* are expressions that do differ from one another, but the difference in meaning is so insignificant that they can be regarded as almost as neutral as *say, tell* and *according to*.

There are also speech verbs that evaluate the statement which follows. These verbs have specific meanings and cannot be said to be neutral. Not all reporting verbs of this kind are biased, however. *Suggested, stressed* and *hopes* in the below examples are evaluative speech verbs, but they do not bias the source's statement in any way.

But he [a senior adviser to Chancellor Helmut Kohl] suggested that the Soviet Union was trying to reap favorable publicity in the West by disclosing the report to West Germany's most widely read newspaper. [Article 40]

In his response, Marshal Tito stressed his philosophy of party autonomy, saying that "our relations rest on the principles of independence, sovereignty, equality and noninterference," all of which he called "a prerequisite for mutual understanding and trust." [Article 31]

At the same time, Mr. Carter hopes to be able to resume personal campaigning in the not-too-distant future, even if all the hostages have not been released. [Article 33]

Some evaluative reporting verbs may be viewed as slightly biased, meaning that they represent the statement which follows in a slightly negative or positive light.

The letter called Solidarity, the Polish trade union, a band of "counterrevolutionary and antisocialist forces." It accused the members of emerging from the union's recent congress at the Baltic port of Gdansk with a

series of "direct attacks on the very foundations of socialist order" and with a plan, ultimately, for a "seizure of power." [Article 35]

He [Mr. Vishinsky] charged also that Mr. Wadsworth had taken a quotation from Lenin out of context, and denied that the Soviet Union intended to export "the October Revolution" to Peru, the Philippines or any other country. [Article 8]

The Soviet leader insisted last night that his country did not intend "to advance any threats of any kind" in connection with the Berlin question. [Article 14]

Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist party leader, in a denunciation of the policies of the United States and China, warned today that his nation's armed forces were ready to meet an attack from any direction. [Article 21]

An hour later at the Soviet Embassy, Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze acclaimed the impending accord. "We have been able to reach as much agreement and as broad agreement as is possible today," he said. [Article 41]

*Accuse* and *charge* indicate blaming or criticising someone. *Insist* means saying something firmly and refusing to say otherwise, although other people do not believe the statement (Collins Cobuild English Dictionary, sense 2). *Warn* means cautioning someone about possible danger or harm. All these verbs have a connotation that is slightly negative or undermining and consequently biases the statement that follows. *Acclaim*, for its part, indicates praising and showing enthusiasm for something, so it has a positively biased connotation.

Some evaluative reporting verbs are clearly biased. They represent the speaker's statement in a clearly positive or negative light.

Alleging that "more than 25 West Berlin factories" were secretly producing a variety of weapons for West Germany's armed forces, the Soviet note said East Germany should halt such "unlawful" shipments. [Article 23]

Mr. Panov refused to go without his wife. The Panovs have claimed that they have since been the targets of increasing harassment. [Article 28]

*Allege* means saying something without proving (Collins Cobuild English Dictionary;

Webster's Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language, sense 1) and *claim* holding something to be true against implied doubt or denial (Webster's Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language, sense 2). Accordingly, the use of these speech verbs underlines the fact that the truthfulness of the utterances is in doubt and clearly biases the statements. The latter example exhibits pro-Soviet bias. This is because the article is about two Soviet dancers wanting to move away from the Soviet Union, and when their statement is represented in a negative light, it serves the interest of the establishment, i.e. the Soviet government.

### 5.5. Grammar and syntax

Aspects of grammar and syntax were also taken into account in the analysis of the articles. It was found, however, that grammatical and syntactic means are not used in the realisation of bias to a considerable extent. As for thematisation, there are three cases where it is used in a slightly biased way. Article 1 (1947) begins as follows:

Former President de Gaulle declared today his Reunion of the French People would seek alliances with the United States, Britain and other Western nations to resist the threat to the world from the Soviet Union. That threat, he said, is more to be dreaded than were those from "the empires of Charles V. or Wilhelm II or even the Reich of Hitler."

In the second sentence, *that threat* is thematised and the reporting clause *he said* comes after it. The sentence might as well have been written in the following way: "He said (that) that/the threat is more to be dreaded than . . ." The thematisation of the word *threat* strengthens the negative impression that the reader receives from the lead paragraph of the story.

The following example comes from Article 4 (1950):

Similar charges were made by the Soviet Union in a trial and conviction of twelve lesser Japanese officers held in Khabarovsk, Siberia, in December. The Soviet note to the State Department said that the Khabarovsk trials established that "in accordance with a special secret decree of Hirohito," a bacteriological

warfare center had been set up in Manchuria for the development and use of germ weapons.

In the active voice, the first sentence would read as: "The Soviet Union made similar charges in a trial and conviction of . . ." The thematisation of *charges* via passivisation emphasises the fact that we are dealing with charges, not with verified statements.

The next example is from Article 23 (1969):

Alleging that "more than 25 West Berlin factories" were secretly producing a variety of weapons for West Germany's armed forces, the Soviet note said East Germany should halt such "unlawful" shipments. The East German statement said the Government would "effectively counter" this traffic.

The thematisation of the clearly biased reporting verb *allege* (see section 5.4.2 for a discussion of the reporting verb) highlights the fact that we are dealing with an allegation, as in the previous example. The sentence could also have been written as follows: "The Soviet note said/alleged that 'more than 25 West Berlin factories' were secretly producing a variety of weapons for West Germany's armed forces, and that East Germany should halt such 'unlawful' shipments."

It should be noted that the order of words in the above examples is by no means unconventional. The use of participial phrases, and especially passivisation and the embedding of the reporting clause inside the reported clause, are not uncommon features in the news articles analysed. However, the fact still remains that the words thematised in the three examples carry comparatively negative connotations, so their thematisation might be classified as slightly biased.

There are two cases where passive agent deletion has been used in a slightly biased way. One of them is from Article 32 (1978), which concerns the trial of Soviet dissident Yuri Orlov.

Mr. Orlov, who is 53 years old, was not allowed to call defense witnesses and was denied full opportunity to cross-examine 15 prosecution witnesses who had been brought in to portray the Soviet Union as a land of democracy, decency and freedom, contrary to the picture painted in the statements of his watchdog group.

The verbs in the above sentence are in the passive and lack the agent. As a result of passive agent deletion, the doers of the actions remain backgrounded: we do not know for sure who did not allow, who denied and who had brought.

There was also tension outside the courthouse. Seven dissidents were arrested, five in a scuffle with the police in which Andrei D. Sakharov, the physicist and rights advocate, attempted to argue his way into the building. He and his wife were among those taken into custody after having struck policemen. They were later freed.

Two others were given 1 days [sic] in jail, dissidents reported, and Yelena Armand, who was identified as the granddaughter of Inessa Armand, Lenin's mistress, was fined. An eight dissident, Iosif Begun, who recently returned from exile in Siberia, was arrested last night and charged with violating residence regulations by being in Moscow without permission, his wife said. Residence in Moscow is restricted.

The two paragraphs include a great many expressions where the agent is absent: *were arrested, taken into custody, were later freed, were given, was fined, was arrested . . . and charged with, is restricted*. These actions, which, apart from *were later freed*, may be considered negative, were probably done by the police and other authorities, but this is not made clear. The dissidents, however, are identified as the doers of negative actions: "Andrei D. Sakharov . . . attempted to argue his way into the building" and "He and his wife were among those taken into custody after having struck policemen". The latter sentence, and the sentence "Seven dissidents were arrested, five in a scuffle with the police" are the sentences where the role of the police as the doers of negative actions is most clearly hinted at, but even in these cases the police are not explicitly connected with doing the arresting.

She was ordered not to take notes during the trial, and paper was taken away from her. Tape recorders smuggled into the courtroom by Mr. Orlov's two sons were seized. And yesterday she said she had been stripped by policewomen in

front of three men until she was wearing only her brassiere, and was searched as she left the courthouse. Today, as she walked away from the building, someone put some tulips and daffodils in her arms.

This paragraph, too, involves a number of agentless constructions: *was ordered not to take notes, was taken away, were seized, was searched*. The doers of the stripping are identified as policewomen, but even they are backgrounded through passivisation. Of course, it can be deduced from the context that the police and authorities were also the doers of the other actions, but the use of passive agent deletion makes this unclear.

As with thematisation, it should be stressed that passive constructions are not unusual in news texts, although the general tendency is to use the active, as was noted in section 2.2. In fact, in some contexts the passive voice may even be the more natural choice. In the case of the above examples, however, the passive voice and passive agent deletion may have been used in order to make the role of the police and authorities less visible than that of the dissidents. Hence, these cases of passive agent deletion exhibit pro-Soviet bias, because the negative actions of the representatives of the government have been backgrounded.

## 5.6. Lexical choice

As was said in section 4.3, the choice of words is of importance in news articles. The use of one word instead of another can change the tone of the sentence and create a wholly different connotation for the reader. Thereby, the lexical choice has a certain effect on the impression that the reader receives from an article.

The following example comes from Article 45 (1991), which deals with Mikhail Gorbachev's resignation:

Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the trailblazer of the Soviet Union's retreat from the cold war and the spark for the democratic reforms that ended 70 years of Communist tyranny, told a weary, anxious nation tonight that he was

resigning as President and closing out the union.

"I hereby discontinue my activities at the post of President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," declared the 60-year-old politician, the last leader of a totalitarian empire that was undone across the six years and nine months of his stewardship. . . .

Out in the night beyond the walled fortress as Mr. Gorbachev spoke, a disjointed people, freed from their decades of dictated misery, faced a frightening new course of shedding collectivism for the promises of individual enterprise. It is a course that remains a mystery for most of the commonwealth's 280 million people. . . .

The weapons are only one item in a long list of needed precautions that the commonwealth republics must attend to if they are to establish credibility in a decidedly sceptical world that has watched the Soviet Union reverse its totalitarian course in a matter of few years.

The article involves some highly biased choices of words that clearly lie at the subjective end of the scale of objectivity (see section 4.3). A more neutral choice for "the democratic reforms that ended 70 years of *Communist tyranny*" would be "the democratic reforms that ended 70 years of *Communist rule*". Instead of "*a totalitarian empire*", one might say "*a one-party system*". For "freed from their *decades of dictated misery*", "*no longer under centralized authority*" is a more objective formulation, and "reverse *its totalitarian course*" can be replaced by "*introduce some democratic reforms*".

The following example of biased words comes from Article 5 (1951), concerning talks between the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France:

Thus, although a note submitted by Andrei A. Gromyko, Deputy Foreign Minister, at today's sixty-fifth session of the four-party deputies' talks began with what sounded like optimistic words, it did nothing to terminate the stalemate that has prevailed for weeks. . . .

In a formal note submitted to the deputies' forum – and virtually duplicated by Ernest Davies, British Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Alexandre Parodi of France – the chief of the United States delegation sought to terminate the stagnant talks now wasting the time of some of the world's leading diplomats. Copies of the invitation and its acceptance by Britain and France were cabled to Moscow. . . .

As a result of today's exchange, opening a fourteenth week of increasingly futile



debates, the situation was frozen again into the same condition of stalemate as prevailed until Friday's dramatic effort to "shock" it into a new phase.

The above paragraphs contain a number of words that are subjective in nature. A more objective formulation for "*what sounded like optimistic words*" in the first paragraph would have been "*seemingly optimistic words*" or "*optimistic words at first hearing*". A more neutral choice of words for "*it did nothing to terminate*", which underlines the failure to resolve the stalemate, might have been "*it did not terminate*".

The phrase "*wasting the time of some of the world's leading diplomats*" has the subjective verb *wasting*. "*Occupying (the time of) the diplomats*" would have been a more objective choice. "*Stagnant talks*" in the second paragraph and "*increasingly futile debates*" in the third paragraph have the negatively affective adjectives *stagnant* and *futile*, *futile* being reinforced by the adverb *increasingly*. "*Talks that have not had much progress*" or "*debates that have made little headway*" would probably have been less subjective choices to describe them.

As regards "*the situation was frozen again into the same condition of stalemate*", the metaphorical verb *frozen* is subjective. A less subjective choice would have been "*the situation remained/stayed in the same condition of stalemate*".

As was pointed out in section 4.3, adjectives ought to be used with care in news texts, so that their use would not constitute bias. The following examples illustrate uses of adjective in which subjectivity has crept in.

The Soviet Minister's reported affability today, in contrast to his dour attitude of the last few days, was seized on by some delegates as indicating that a new and more optimistic phase was about to begin. [Article 13]

In earlier stages of its war of nerves over Poland, the Soviet Union mentioned the Warsaw Pact commitment of the Polish Government in the context of its obligation to defend Communism. But the link had not been made so bluntly for some time, not even in the angry letter the Kremlin sent to Polish leaders 12 days ago, in which it made demands for an immediate crackdown on Solidarity that raised the present period of tension to a new pitch. [Article 35]

Mr. Reagan even avoided mounting any steps to peer beyond the no man's land

into the bleak landscape of East Berlin over the wall. Jokingly, he dangled his foot across a freshly painted line in the street as if to toy with the notion of stepping into Communist territory. Of the wall, he said, "It's as ugly as the idea behind it." [Article 36]

The adjectives *dour*, *angry* and *bleak* may be said to be slightly biased. They are not particularly strong and cannot be viewed as blatantly subjective. Moreover, the description of the Soviet Minister's attitude as *dour*, of the Soviet letter as *angry*, and of the landscape of East Berlin as *bleak* might be the conclusions that many people would easily arrive at. Nevertheless, the adjectives are still closer to the subjective than the objective end of the scale of objectivity (see section 4.3), so it would have been more objective to omit them and simply say "in contrast to his attitude of the last few days", "not even in the letter the Kremlin sent to Polish leaders 12 days ago", and "to peer beyond the no man's land into the landscape of East Berlin".

### 5.7. Evaluations

Some of the articles analysed include parts where the reporter is speaking himself without quoting or paraphrasing anyone. These are the reporter's own evaluations of things. This feature corresponds roughly to van Dijk's Evaluations and Expectations categories (see Appendix 1), which van Dijk defines as "evaluative opinions about the actual news events" and as "possible . . . consequences of the actual events and situation", respectively (1988a, 56). Some evaluations in the articles are relatively mild and implicit, others stronger and explicit. In the case of the more explicit evaluations, the reporter's personal opinions may show through in a way that constitutes bias.

The first example of a biased evaluation is from Article 3 (1949), which deals with the Yugoslav press coverage of a dispute between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union:

The cumulative effect of the Acheson and McNeil statements and the editorials would be to impress the ordinary Yugoslav reader with the fact that the struggle between Belgrade and Moscow had reached a dangerous point and that his country was threatened with grave dangers. . . .

While only a small fraction of the Yugoslav people were aware of the gravity of the Belgrade-Moscow crisis until today's publication of Borba, it now is certain that within forty-eight hours people in the remotest hamlets will be fully aware of the situation in which this country finds itself today in relation to the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies. . . .

On the other hand, this disclosure of American, British and French sympathies for the Yugoslavs presents certain problems that may prove embarrassing to the three Western Governments, particularly the United States Government. On the other hand, the Yugoslavs believe the United States is an invincible power whose support for any cause must insure its success. There is indeed a remarkable appreciation in this country of American strength.

In the first above paragraph, the reporter appraises the press coverage of the situation by stating that it aims at making Yugoslavs realise that "the struggle between Belgrade and Moscow had reached a dangerous point" and that Yugoslavia "was threatened with grave dangers". These are straightforward assessments, but they have been softened with the modal verb *would*. On the other hand, this enables the reporter to present a very strong evaluation, because the use of the modal indicates that he is not making an absolute truth-claim.

In the second paragraph, the reporter is making an absolute truth-claim, because he is using the modal verb *will* and the adjective *certain*: "it now is certain that within forty-eight hours people in the remotest hamlets will be fully aware of the situation in which this country finds itself . . ." In this case, the evaluation is not softened but intensified by means of the modal. Also, the expression "people in the remotest hamlets" instead of "people everywhere in the country", for instance, underlines the point being made even more.

In the third paragraph, the reporter first again indicates that he is not making a truth-claim by using the modal verb *may* when assessing the effect of the disclosure of the sympathies of the West. Then he proceeds to make a truth-claim about what the Yugoslavs believe. After that, he makes an even stronger appraisal: "There is indeed a remarkable appreciation in this

country of American strength.” This assessment is intensified by the use of the adverb *indeed* and the adjective *remarkable*. The full sentence for *remarkable* would be ”Someone considers it remarkable that . . .” In this case, that ”someone” is the reporter, but the use of the adjective makes this unclear by removing the agent from sight. The obfuscation of agency makes *remarkable* seem a natural quality of the word *appreciation* (see section 3.2 for a discussion on the use of adjectives in the backgrounding of agency).

The second example of a biased evaluation comes from Article 5 (1951), which concerns talks between the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France:

In a formal note submitted to the deputies’ forum – and virtually duplicated by Ernest Davies, British Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Alexandre Parodi of France – the chief of the United States delegation sought to terminate the stagnant talks now wasting the time of some of the world’s leading diplomats. Copies of the invitation and its acceptance by Britain and France were cabled to Moscow.

After the week-end delay, Mr. Gromyko received his instructions on how to answer. They occasioned no surprise. The Soviet reply was diplomatically couched with an especial eye to its propaganda repercussions. When Mr. Vishinsky’s agent had completed reading its text the weary Western deputies knew just where they stood. . . .

Thus at this moment the deputies would seem again to be paralyzed as far as either forward or backward movement goes. It is indeed possible that the meetings may continue for some time, but certain distinguished delegation members may return to their regular jobs at home.

The text contains the reporter’s own subjective assessments of the situation. In the first paragraph, he states that the talks are ”wasting the time of some of the world’s leading diplomats”. This underlines the fact that it is not just any diplomats but the very leading diplomats whose time is being wasted.

In the second paragraph, the reporter asserts that the Soviet reply ”occasioned no surprise” and describes its contents as ”diplomatically couched with an especial eye to its propaganda repercussions”. Then he ventures to tell the reader how the diplomats felt and thought: ”the weary Western deputies *knew just where they stood*”.

In the third paragraph, the reporter states that the present situation in the negotiations leaves the diplomats "paralyzed". He signals that he is not making an absolute truth-claim by means of the modal verb *would* and the verb *seem*, which enables him to use the somewhat strong metaphorical word *paralyzed*. Then he presents a milder evaluation by using the modal verb *may* and the expression *it is possible*.

## 5.8. The use of paragraphs

The order of the presentation of information has importance in a newspaper article. The way in which the paragraphs are arranged has an effect on how readers absorb the text (see section 2.5 for a discussion on paragraphs). The order of, and the nature of the information within, the paragraphs may sometimes influence the reader's interpretation of the story.

### 5.8.1. Element of surprise

One feature of presentation involving the order of paragraphs is what shall be called "the element of surprise". It means that the article contains a paragraph that does not directly relate to the main subject matter and seems, therefore, surprising and out of place. This surprising new information is not referred to in the headline or in the lead, and is surrounded by paragraphs not connected with it, though the reporter may return to it later in the article. The fact that readers tend to co-interpret pieces of text that they find close to one another on a page (Brown & Yule 1983, 65-66) means that they may try to link the surprising paragraph with its "immediate surroundings", i.e. with the paragraphs before and after it.

The first example of the use of the element of surprise comes from Article 1 (1947), which deals with Charles de Gaulle's statements about post-war France and the aims of his party:

Former President de Gaulle declared today his Reunion of the French People would seek alliances with the United States, Britain and other Western nations to resist the threat to the world from the Soviet Union. That threat, he said, is more to be dreaded than were those from "the empires of Charles V. or Wilhelm II or even the Reich of Hitler."

[A new threat to French recovery was seen Wednesday night when the national committee of the Communist-dominated General Confederation of Labor adopted, 8 to 1, a resolution giving the Government until Dec. 19 to approve a general wage increase with the implied alternative of widespread strikes.]

Speaking at a press conference, M. de Gaulle said France should take the initiative because she was the country most threatened. He said war was possible and therefore the French must look it squarely in the face and be prepared.

The middle paragraph, reporting a decision made by a French labour organisation, is not directly related to the other paragraphs. This is indicated in the text with square brackets. It may be that there is an article on this topic elsewhere in the newspaper and the short piece of information on it is included here because the topics are broadly related. Be that as it may, the reader may infer a connection between the middle paragraph and the paragraphs around it, especially since it repeats the noun *threat* from the first paragraph and includes the adjective *Communist-dominated*. Hence, the reader may ultimately connect the "new threat" to France not only with the "Communist-dominated General Confederation of Labor" but also with Communism more generally and, perhaps, even with the Soviet Union.

The second example is from Article 12 (1958) and concerns a reported count-down of a Soviet satellite:

In the count-down, begun long in advance of the established time for launching, every working part of the missile is checked until a final state of readiness is declared and the switch or button pressed.

[Meanwhile, high winds at Cape Canaveral, Fla., appeared likely to keep the firing schedule of the United States Army's satellite-bearing rocket in doubt for several days.]

It is estimated by experts here that the Soviet launching will be attempted within a few days, possibly within twenty-four hours, if the count-down is satisfactory.

The middle paragraph dealing with difficulties involved in the count-down of an American satellite seems to be out of place on a first reading. It has been enclosed in square brackets, probably for the same reasons as the bracketed paragraph in the previous example. The fact that the paragraph is placed between the paragraphs about the count-down of a Soviet satellite, even though it is not directly related to them, may make the reader try to connect this paragraph with them. The result may be that the reader ends up thinking that the Soviet Union is partly to blame for the bad weather conditions which are preventing the launch.

The third example is from Article 19 (1965), which revolves around a large Soviet aircraft:

The Soviet Union unveiled today the world's largest plane after it had made a surprise flight from Moscow to the International Air Show here.

The bulky silver-and-white aircraft, designated the AN-22, can carry 720 passengers or 80 tons of cargo, according to its designer, Oleg Antonov. It is 187 feet long, has a wingspan of 211 feet and, with its maximum load, weighs 250 tons.

Less than two hours after the Soviet giant set down its 16 landing wheels, a United States B-58 jet bomber crashed in flames on a nearby runway while landing. Its pilot was killed and its two other crew members were seriously injured.

The huge Soviet plane was described by United States aviation experts at the show as impressive. But they added that it presented no innovation in aircraft design.

"It's just bigger," one company official said, "but not a plane that we could not have built if we had wanted it."

The third paragraph brings in an element of surprise, telling the reader that an American jet "crashed in flames" "[l]ess than two hours after the Soviet giant set down its 16 landing wheels". The fact that the unexpected juxtaposition is between the paragraphs dealing with the Soviet aircraft may make the reader attribute the accident to the Soviet plane. The reference to "the Soviet giant" at the beginning of the third paragraph reinforces this interpretation.

### 5.8.2. Sandwiching

The other presentational feature that involves the order of paragraphs is what shall be called "sandwiching". It means that paragraphs that are neutral or positive from the point of view of the main subject of the news story, in this case the Soviet Union, are mostly situated in the middle of the article, whereas paragraphs that are negative lie towards the beginning and the end of the article. That positive and neutral paragraphs are sandwiched between negative paragraphs strengthens the negative tone of the article.

The following example comes from Article 1 (1947), which deals with Charles de Gaulle's statements about postwar France and the aims of his party. The beginning of the article is negative from the point of view of the Soviet Union, which is said to threaten the world:

Former President de Gaulle declared today his Reunion of the French People would seek alliances with the United States, Britain and other Western nations to resist the threat to the world from the Soviet Union. That threat, he said, is more to be dreaded than were those from "the empires of Charles V. or Wilhelm II or even the Reich of Hitler." . . .

Speaking at a press conference, M. de Gaulle said France should take the initiative because she was the country most threatened. He said war was possible and therefore the French must look it squarely in the face and be prepared.

"But there are other countries that consider themselves threatened," he added. "It is natural, therefore, that those who are threatened in common should wish to arrange in common to prevent the worst and to win in the end if the worst should happen.

The middle part of the article is clearly neutral, as it deals with de Gaulle's thoughts on other topics and has only a couple of references to Communism. Towards the end of the article, however, de Gaulle's attack against Communism can again be seen, though this time concentrating on trade unions without direct references to the Soviet Union, and the tone changes into more negative:



”We intend that in the period the country is passing through all those who contribute to the activity of a group of enterprises shall be freely associated on a basis of equality to settle the whole question of wages and conditions of work,” he said. ”We want the criterion of remuneration of everybody from the laborer up to be set according to output. We believe that once the trade unions are liberated from the political influence that is strangling them this regime of association will be perfectly possible.

”For this it is necessary to wrest the trade union from the control of those who are abusing it for their political profit and deliver that control into the hands where it belongs, that is in the professions. The first condition for this is to impose – and I insist on that term – free secret universal elections. The second condition is that those who represent the trade unions shall belong to the profession. Unionism cannot be made into a profession.”

Concerning the nationalization of industries in France M. de Gaulle said coal, electricity and the banks had been nationalized under the Governments over which he had presided but since that time they had been misused and sidetracked by those who had taken possession of them.

In short, then, the tone of the article is, from the Soviet viewpoint, first negative, then changes into neutral, but towards the end again turns into negative. The fact that the article both begins and ends negatively, with the neutral paragraphs sandwiched between the negative paragraphs, creates an anti-Soviet bias.

#### 5.9. Concluding remarks on the articles

The most important results of the analysis of the articles will now be summarised, beginning with a discussion of the overall attitude of the articles and followed by comments on each presentational feature. This section includes some remarks about the number of the biases found, so the reader is referred to Appendix 4.

Most of the articles are neutral with regard to the Soviet Union: of the 45 articles analysed, 33 exhibit a neutral overall attitude. Fifteen articles do not contain a single bias, and twelve articles involve only one presentational feature that is used in a slightly biased way. All in all, then, over half of the articles are entirely or almost entirely bias-free in their treatment of the

Soviet Union.

Roughly one fourth of the articles exhibit a slightly or clearly biased overall attitude. Five articles are clearly biased, all of them against the Soviet Union. Seven articles are slightly biased, one of them in favour of and the others against the Soviet Union. The fact that only seven articles involve a clearly biased overall attitude shows that relatively few news stories revolve around a clearly anti-Soviet attitude. It is also worth pointing out that pro-Soviet bias is rare in the articles. There were only six occurrences of slight pro-Soviet bias and one single occurrence of clear pro-Soviet bias.

In the cases where features of presentation contain occurrences of clear bias, there may be underlying ideological motivations for presenting the Soviet Union in a clearly positive or negative light. The articles whose overall attitude is clearly anti-Soviet may be said to be ideologically affected.

The headline and lead are text-initial elements that express the most central information of the news story and focus it in a particular direction. Discourse topics turned out to be highly useful when possible bias expressed by headlines and leads was determined. The comparison of their content with the discourse topic reveals if they reflect the main topic or some secondary topic. The fact that there were no occurrences of clear bias and only a couple of occurrences of slight bias realised by headlines and leads in the articles analysed shows that they conform well to the summary-function that was discussed in section 2.3. However, when bias did occur, it was usually expressed by both the headline and the lead, which focused the story in a "biased" direction more strongly than would probably have been the case had only one of them been biased.

Quotations and reported speech may also be used to express bias. Indirect speech, in particular, is a potentially significant way to realise bias, because it allows the reporter to use his own words and, consequently, represent statements in a different way from what the source originally said. However, the use of quotations and reported speech in the realisation of

bias could not be assessed within the framework of this study, because it would have required the comparison of the source's original statement with the version published in the newspaper.

Scare quotes are the third most common presentational feature used in the realisation of bias in the articles. Their use may be prompted by the fact that they express bias very indirectly. Their application does not require words, only quotation marks. The use of scare quotes in a biased way can sometimes be almost indiscernible. Scare quotes may make the reader cast doubt on the truthfulness of the utterance that is reported. This is because the fact that only a few words are enclosed in quotation marks implies that one should doubt the validity of those specific words. On the one hand, the use of scare quotes can be justified by the intention to indicate that the source's own words have been used in the text. On the other hand, this also creates the possibility to question people's statements.

The reporting verb may affect the reader's interpretation of the utterance that follows. The use of speech verbs is a very easy way to represent statements in different lights, because it is usually only a matter of one word, and by changing it even slightly, e.g. using *insist* instead of *assert*, the reporter can guide the interpretation of the statement which the verb introduces. In the articles analysed, the bias realised by speech verbs was most often slight. The only clearly biased reporting verbs found were *allege* and *claim*. Nonetheless, when all the occurrences of bias are taken into account, reporting verbs are the second most common feature of presentation that is used to express bias in the articles.

Grammar and syntax are in a less prominent role in the realisation of bias in the articles. There are some occurrences of thematisation and passive agent deletion, all of which are slight. It may be that most, if not all, of the grammatical and syntactic means of presenting things dealt with in sections 3.1.1 and 3.2 are such in nature that they rarely express bias that may be classified as clear.

The lexical choice is the most common presentational feature that is used in a biased way in the articles. The fact that a specific word has been chosen instead of another may make a

difference. Sometimes, the negative connotations that a word possesses are only mildly biased. This is also the case in the articles analysed where most of the biases realised through the lexical choice are slight. However, some articles also contain clearly biased and objective choices of words, as was seen in section 5.6.

Evaluations involve the reporter speaking himself without hiding behind quotations from other people. In some cases, the reporter's partiality and personal opinions show through to the extent that bias is expressed, sometimes in the form of modal auxiliaries and some colourful expressions, as was noticed in section 5.7. Evaluations are not used to realise bias often in the articles analysed, but they are not particularly uncommon, either.

The element of surprise and sandwiching are more "technical" features of presentation. They involve the order of paragraphs in a news article and the nature of information within paragraphs, and its influence on the general impression that the reader receives from the article. Along with the headline and lead, the element of surprise and sandwiching are the most rarely used features in the realisation of bias. Thus, they are more marginal cases, although there is proof of their existence.

## 6. Conclusions

This study set out to outline a theoretical "tool kit" for the linguistic analysis of newspaper discourse and then used it in "the field" by analysing a group of news articles with an especial emphasis on the detection of bias. On the basis of the analysis that was carried out, it can be said that most of the theoretical tools and concepts turned out to be useful in practice. They helped to locate and classify bias.

Many of the biases that were found in the articles, particularly the slight cases, are of the type that would be easily missed were it not for the theoretical background. Often, only careful linguistic analysis revealed occurrences of bias. This shows that in-depth linguistic study, based upon a solid theoretical framework, can produce more extensive and detailed results in newspaper discourse analysis than an approach that lacks such a framework.

One of the major findings of this study is that the discourse topic is a very practical tool in the determination of possible bias residing in headlines and leads. By comparing the discourse topic with the contents of the headline and lead, it is possible to discover if they are neutral or focus the story in a "biased" direction.

The role of scare quotes in the realisation of bias is, perhaps, more significant than what might have been expected. Grammatical and syntactic means, in contrast, are not in a prominent position in the representation of things in the articles analysed. Their utilisation in the expression of bias does not have as strong an effect as the use of some other features, such as lexical choice. This suggests that some presentational features are more effective in the realisation of bias than others.

As regards the occurrences of bias in the representation of the Soviet Union in *The New York Times*, one important finding is that slight cases of bias are much more common than clear cases. Clear bias is relatively infrequent, though it does exist, and, furthermore, most of the articles analysed have a neutral overall attitude. That the majority of the articles are neutral

and the bias found is more often slight than clear shows that objectivity has been preserved relatively well in the articles analysed.

Another important finding of this study is that anti-Soviet bias is far more frequent than pro-Soviet bias. The small number of pro-Soviet biases in the articles analysed implies that there may have been a tendency to avoid presenting the Soviet Union, the adversary of the United States during the Cold War, in a positive light. However, as noted above, clearly anti-Soviet attitudes are not common in the news stories, either.

It is sometimes difficult to determine whether bias is clear, slight or non-existent. This was especially evident in the case of scare quotes and in some cases of lexical choice.

Accordingly, it is worth stressing that analysis of this kind cannot be totally objective. No two analysts would yield an exactly similar interpretation of the 45 articles selected for this study. Nevertheless, it has been the aim of the present author to approach the articles with an open mind without any preconceptions.

Naturally, no far-reaching conclusions can be drawn on the basis of a sample of 45 articles. The aforementioned observations about the nature and frequency of the bias found concern only the news stories analysed and cannot be generalised to apply to the representation of the Soviet Union in *The New York Times* during the Cold War.

## References

- Bell, Allan. 1991. *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1980. *Language – The Loaded Weapon*. London: Longman.
- Brown, Gillian & George Yule. 1983. *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bülow-Møller, Anne-Marie. 1989. *The Textlinguistic Omnibus: A Survey of Methods for Analysis*. København: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck.
- Caldas-Coulthard, Carmen Rosa. 1994. "On reporting reporting: the representation of speech in factual and factional narratives." In *Advances in Written Text Analysis*, ed. Coulthard, Malcolm, 295-308. London: Routledge.
- Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*. Third edition. 2001. London: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Corner, John. 1983. "Textuality, communication and media power." In *Language, Image, Media*, ed. Davis, Howard & Paul Walton, 266-281. Great Britain: Basil Blackwell.
- Crystal, David & Derek Davy. 1969. *Investigating English Style*. London: Longman.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 1977. *Text and Context: Explorations in the semantics and pragmatics of discourse*. London: Longman.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 1987a. "Critical News Analysis." Introductory paper for the Instituto de semiótica y comunicación.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 1987b. "Mediating racism: The role of the media in the reproduction of racism." In *Language, Power and Ideology*, ed. Wodak, Ruth, 199-226. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 1988a. *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 1988b. *News Analysis*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1995a. *Media Discourse*. Great Britain: Edward Arnold.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1995b. *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. London: Longman.
- Fowler, Roger. 1987. "The intervention of the media in the reproduction of power." In *Approaches to Discourse, Poetics and Psychiatry*, ed. Díaz-Diocaretz, van Dijk and Zavala, 67-80. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

- Fowler, Roger. 1991. *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Fries, Peter. 1994. "On Theme, Rheme and discourse goals." In *Advances in Written Text Analysis*, ed. Coulthard, 229-249. London: Routledge.
- Fries, Udo. 1987. "Summaries in Newspapers: A Textlinguistic Investigation." In *The Structure of Texts*, ed. Fries, Udo, 47-63. Tübingen: Narr.
- Hayakawa, S.I. 1978. *Language in Thought and Action*. Fourth edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Jalbert, Paul L. 1983. "Some constructs for analysing news." In *Language, Image, Media*, ed. Davis, Howard & Paul Walton, 282-299. Great Britain: Basil Blackwell.
- Jukanen, Leni. 1995. *Features of Discourse in Foreign News*. Pro gradu thesis. Tampere University.
- Kress, Gunther. 1983. "Linguistic and ideological transformations in news reporting." In *Language, Image, Media*, ed. Davis, Howard & Paul Walton, 120-138. Great Britain: Basil Blackwell.
- Kress, Gunther. 1985. "Ideological Structures in Discourse." In *Handbook of Discourse Analysis, volume 4: Discourse Analysis in Society*, ed. van Dijk, 27-42. London: Academic press.
- van Leeuwen, Theo. 1996. "The representation of social actors." In *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 32-70. London: Routledge.
- Longacre, R.E. 1979. "The Paragraph as a Grammatical Unit." In *Syntax and Semantics, volume 12: Discourse and Syntax*, ed. Givón, Talmy, 115-134. New York: Academic Press.
- Merrill, John C. 1965. "How *Time* Stereotyped Three U.S. Presidents." Reprinted in *Language Power*, ed. Boltz & Seyler, 71-82. 1982. New York: Random House.
- Mårdh, Ingrid. 1980. *Headlines: On the Grammar of English Front Page Headlines*. Malmö: Gotab.
- Pape, Susan & Sue Featherstone. 2005. *Newspaper Journalism: A Practical Introduction*. London: Sage Publications.
- Pisarek, Walery. 1983. "'Reality' East and West." In *Language, Image, Media*, ed. Davis, Howard & Paul Walton, 156-164. Great Britain: Basil Blackwell.
- The New International Webster's Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language*. Deluxe encyclopedic 1996 edition. Naples: Trident Press International.
- Tuchman, Gaye. 1972. "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity." *American Journal of Sociology* 77, 4, 660-679.

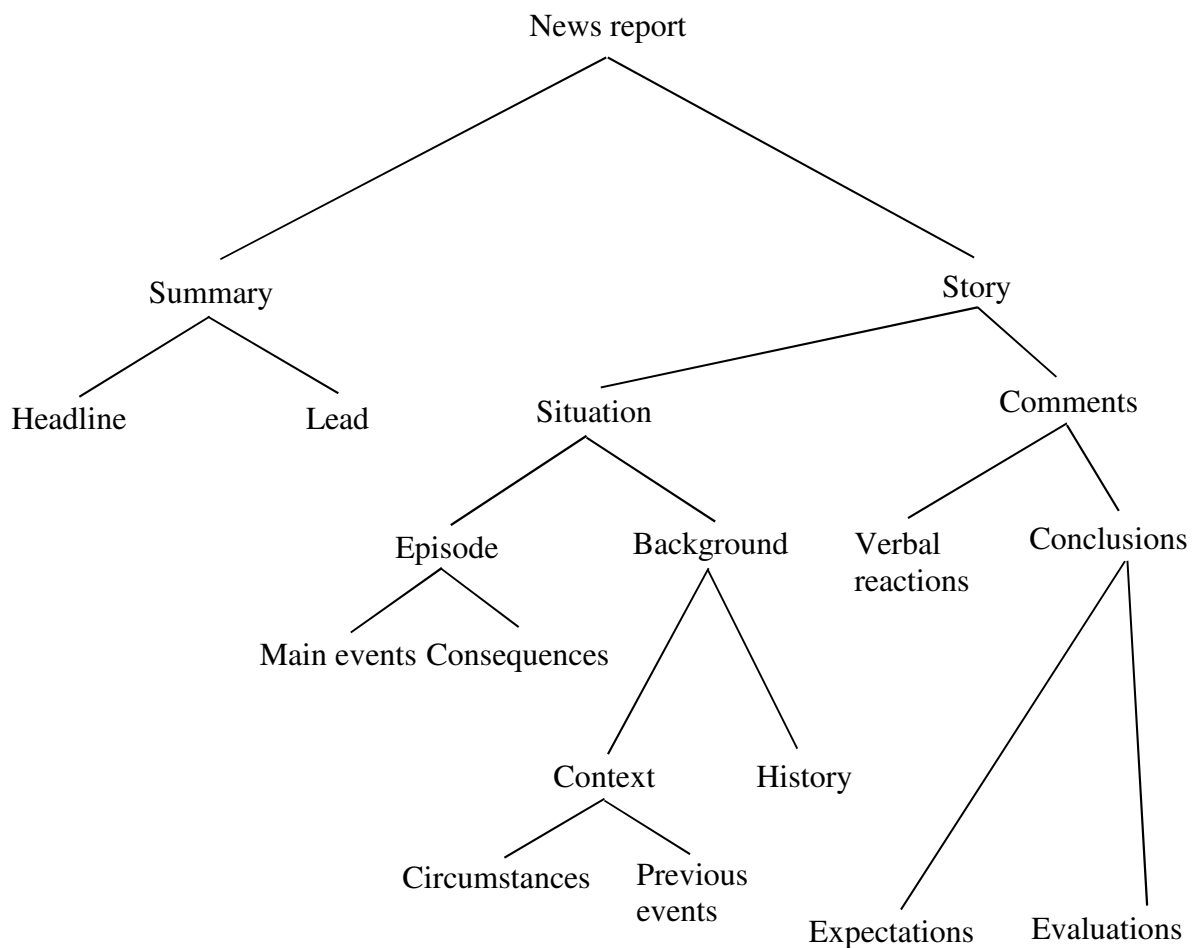


Tuchman, Gaye. 1978. *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: The Free Press.

Werlich, Egon. 1976. *A Text Grammar of English*. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer.

## Appendices

Appendix 1: An example of a news schema (taken from van Dijk 1988a, 55)



## Appendix 2: The derivation of a macrostructure from a sample text

Van Dijk (1988a, 37-40) derives a macrostructure for a news article from *The Times*. Below is the full article followed by the three levels of macrostructure produced in the topic-derivation process.

### Shultz joins critics of Indonesian rule

Mr George Shultz, the US Secretary of State, yesterday unexpectedly raised the issue of congressional concern over continuing Indonesian military activity in East Timor in a meeting with the Foreign Minister Professor Mochtar Kusumaatmadja.

Mr Shultz, who is here to attend an expanded Asean (Association of South East Asian Nations) foreign ministers' meeting, carried with him a letter of concern signed by a bipartisan group of 123 Congressmen. The letter said that the plight of East Timor, annexed by Indonesia after bloody fighting in the middle and late 1970s, was very much the concern of the United States as long as America continued to supply arms used in the territory.

The letter urged Jakarta to give unrestricted access to relief and humanitarian organizations, journalists and independent observers, and expressed concern over reports of the situation worsening since the Indonesian Army launched a new operation – still continuing – in the area last August.

Much of the source material used by the Congressmen came from the East Timorese apostolic delegate, Mr Carlos Felipe Belo, who said in a letter that about 100,000 of an estimated 600,000 people in East Timor had died since the conflict began.

Diplomatic sources pointed out that Mr Shultz had raised the subject with Professor Kusumaatmadja on the same day the ruling Labour Party in neighbouring Australia passed a strongly worded resolution. This was considered a narrow victory for the moderate faction in the Australian Government in that it did not call for self-determination for East Timor.

The text of the Canberra resolution, however, expressed grave concern in remarkably similar terms over the renewed fighting[.]

The Australian press and left wing of the Labour Party have been the most vocal critics of Indonesian policy in East Timor, while the United States has expressed its regret over the lack of an act of self-determination, while accepting Indonesian sovereignty.

The first level of macrostructure:

1. Shultz, U.S. Secretary of State, raised the issue of congressional concern about Indonesian military actions in East Timor, during a meeting with Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja.
2. Shultz carried a letter from members of Congress, saying that the plight of East Timor was of concern to the United States.
3. The letter urged free access to the area by independent organizations and expressed concern with the actual situation after new actions of the Indonesian army.

4. The letter used materials from the East Timorese apostolic delegate about the death of many people.
5. Shultz's declaration coincided with an Australian Labour Party resolution.
6. The resolution expressed grave concern about the new fighting in East Timor.
7. The Australian left and the press were the most vocal critics of Indonesian policy, whereas the United States regrets lack of self-determination while accepting Indonesian sovereignty.

The second level of macrostructure:

1. U.S. Secretary of State raised the issue of Congressional concern about East Timor in a meeting with the Indonesian Foreign Minister.
2. U.S. members of Congress urged for access to East Timor.
3. There are many victims in East Timor because of army actions.
4. Australian Labour Party also expressed grave concern with the situation in East Timor.

The third level of macrostructure:

1. U.S. members of Congress and Shultz and the Australian Labour Party criticized Indonesian policy in East Timor.

## Appendix 3: A list of the articles analysed

- the table shows the exact publication date and the main headline of the articles analysed

- for the sake of consistency, those headlines that have had all the letters in upper-case in the original article do not follow that manner of presentation here (or elsewhere in this thesis)

<b>Article number</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	November 13, 1947	De Gaulle for Ties to U.S. and Britain to Combat Soviet
2	May 23, 1948	Soviet Blames U.S. for Every Discord Between 2 Powers
3	September 5, 1949	Yugoslavs Learn of Soviet Threat
4	February 4, 1950	U.S. Rebuffs Soviet on Demands to Try Japanese Emperor
5	June 5, 1951	Impasse in Big 4 Unbroken As Soviet Replies to Our Note
6	March 7, 1952	Soviet Budget Sets a Record for Arms
7	July 1, 1953	U.S. Insists Soviet Quit German Rule
8	October 13, 1954	U.S. Finds Soviet Dimming U.N. Hope on Arms Control
9	May 28, 1955	Yugoslavs Aloof As Russian Talks Open in Belgrade
10	March 17, 1956	Rioting in Soviet Reported Over Anti-Stalin Campaign
11	September 6, 1957	U.S. to Fly Arms to Jordan to Bar Pro-Soviet Move
12	January 31, 1958	Soviet's Biggest Satellite Reported in Count-Down
13	June 18, 1959	Soviet Defers Showdown On West's Plan at Geneva
14	October 10, 1960	Khrushchev Says Soviet Rules out Aggressor Role
15	April 22, 1961	Kennedy Seeking a Space Project to Outdo Soviet's
16	October 23, 1962	U.S. Imposes Arms Blockade on Cuba on Finding Offensive-Missile Sites; Kennedy Ready for Soviet Showdown
17	November 12, 1963	U.S.-Soviet Talks to Seek Renewal of Cultural Pact
18	November 13, 1964	Strength of Soviet Forces In Europe Found Growing
19	June 16, 1965	Giant Soviet Plane That Can Seat 720 Unveiled in France
20	October 3, 1966	Moscow Reports Missile Advisers Undergo U.S. Raids
21	November 4, 1967	Brezhnev, Opening Jubilee, Denounces U.S. and China
22	June 14, 1968	President Makes Another Appeal to the Russians
23	March 1, 1969	New Berlin Curbs Backed by Soviet; Roadblock Put up
24	April 14, 1970	U.S. Says Soviet Nuclear Sub Apparently Sank in the Atlantic
25	October 1, 1971	U.S. and Soviet Sign Two Nuclear Control Accords
26	April 23, 1972	Soviet Prepares Big New Missile
27	January 17, 1973	U.S. Widens Trade Role, Triples Exports to Soviet
28	June 8, 1974	Two Soviet Dancers Reported Free to Go After Long Struggle
29	August 16, 1975	Brezhnev Hints Delay on Rights
30	April 19, 1976	Moscow Charges U.S. Interference in West Europe
31	August 17, 1977	Brezhnev Depicts Carter's Overture as a Positive Move
32	May 19, 1978	Dissident in Moscow Gets a 7-Year Term
33	December 30, 1979	Carter Tells Soviet to Pull Its Troops out of Afghanistan
34	March 3, 1980	Soviet and Afghans Start Attacking Rebel Strongholds, Insurgents Say
35	September 22, 1981	Moscow Stresses Duty of the Poles to Defend System

36	June 12, 1982	Reagan, in Berlin, Bids Soviet Work for a Safe Europe
37	March 9, 1983	Reagan Denounces Ideology of Soviet as 'Focus of Evil'
38	April 19, 1984	New Nato Offer to Reduce Troops Is Made in Vienna
39	October 1, 1985	U.S. Officials Say Soviet Arms Plan Is Not Balanced
40	February 3, 1986	U.S. and Soviet Reported to Agree To Shcharansky's Release to West
41	September 19, 1987	Reagan and Gorbachev to Meet This Year to Sign Missile Pact, Now Nearly Complete
42	January 28, 1988	Soviet Scraps a New Atomic Plant In Face of Protest Over Chernobyl
43	July 7, 1989	Gorbachev Spurns the Use of Force in Eastern Europe
44	February 1, 1990	Bush Calls on Soviets to Join in Deep Troop Cuts for Europe As Germans See Path to Unity
45	December 26, 1991	Gorbachev, Last Soviet Leader, Resigns; U.S. Recognizes Republics' Independence

## Appendix 4: The occurrences of bias in the articles analysed

- The table shows what different features have been used in a biasing way in the articles. It also includes the appraisal of the general tone of the articles. At the end of the table are the numbers of total occurrences of each type of bias found.

- The key to the encoding is as follows: CA = Clear anti-Soviet bias, SA = Slight anti-Soviet bias, CP = Clear pro-Soviet bias, SP = Slight pro-Soviet bias; T = Theme, P = Passive agent deletion (these two abbreviations occur in smaller font in the "Grammar & syntax" column).

Article number	Head-line	Lead	Scare quotes	Speech verbs	Grammar & syntax	Lexical choice	Evaluations	Element of surprise	Sandwiching	Overall attitude
1					SA <sub>T</sub>	SA		CA	CA	Slightly anti-Soviet
2			SA	SA						Slightly anti-Soviet
3				CA		SA	CA SA			Clearly anti-Soviet
4				SA	SA <sub>T</sub>	SA				Neutral
5		SP	SA			CA SA	CA SA			Clearly anti-Soviet
6										Neutral
7										Neutral
8	SA	SA		SA						Slightly anti-Soviet
9							SA			Neutral
10	SA	SA								Neutral
11			SA							Neutral
12			CA					SA		Neutral
13						SA				Neutral
14				SA		SA				Slightly anti-Soviet
15										Neutral
16						SA				Neutral
17						SA				Neutral
18										Neutral
19								SA		Neutral
20			CA SA	SA						Slightly anti-Soviet
21				SA		SA				Neutral
22			SA							Neutral
23			CA SA	CA	SA <sub>T</sub>	CA SA				Clearly anti-Soviet
24										Neutral
25				SP						Neutral
26										Neutral
27										Neutral
28				CP	SP <sub>P</sub>	SA				Neutral
29			SA							Neutral
30			SA	SA		CA SA				Slightly anti-Soviet

Article number	Head-line	Lead	Scare quotes	Speech verbs	Gram-mar & syntax	Lexical choice	Evalu-ations	Element of sur-prise	Sand-wich-ing	Overall attitude
31										Neutral
32					SP <sub>p</sub>	SP				Slightly pro-Soviet
33										Neutral
34										Neutral
35			SA	SA		CA SA	SA			Clearly anti-Soviet
36						SA				Neutral
37										Neutral
38						SA				Neutral
39										Neutral
40										Neutral
41				SP						Neutral
42										Neutral
43			SA	SA						Neutral
44										Neutral
45				SA		CA SA	CA SA			Clearly anti-Soviet
Slight pro-Soviet bias	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	<b>6</b>
Clear pro-Soviet bias	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
Slight anti-Soviet bias	2	2	10	10	3	15	5	2	0	<b>49</b>
Clear anti-Soviet bias	0	0	3	2	0	5	3	1	1	<b>15</b>
<b>All cases total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>All cases total: 71</b>



## Appendix 5: Discourse topics for the articles analysed

Article 1: De Gaulle stressed the importance of close relations of Western nations in the face of the Soviet threat. He outlined some aims of his party and commented on the labour question.

Article 2: A Soviet statement accused the United States for the disagreements between the two countries.

Article 3: Yugoslav people learnt of the gravity of the discord between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union from a newspaper, which also highlighted that the West is on Yugoslavia's side on the matter.

Article 4: The United States rejected the Soviet proposal to try Emperor Hirohito as a war criminal, drawing attention to the Soviet failure to repatriate 370,000 Japanese war prisoners and to a decision by the Far Eastern Commission to exempt the Emperor from indictment.

Article 5: The Soviet reply to the United States' proposal did not end the deadlock in the diplomatic talks.

Article 6: The Soviet budget for 1952 provides defence with the largest ever sum given in peacetime.

Article 7: The United States demanded that the Soviet Union end dictatorial rule in East Germany before talks about the German question are possible.

Article 8: Soviet proposals on arms control got a mixed reception at the United Nations. The American and Soviet representative argued about Soviet policies on disarmament.

Article 9: The Soviet-Yugoslav friendship negotiations were met with reservation by Yugoslav authorities. Marshal Tito was reported to be cold towards the Russian delegates.

Article 10: Khrushchev denounced Stalin and his rule of terror at the Communist party congress, unofficial reports say.

Article 11: In order to prevent Syria's pro-Soviet trend from spreading to other Middle Eastern countries, the United States decided to fly arms to Jordan, hinting at the possibility of invoking the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Article 12: The Soviet Union is preparing to launch a large rocket, accompanied by their biggest yet satellite.

Article 13: Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko made some complaints about Western proposals on the Berlin question and postponed negotiations. The proposals would make concessions to the Soviets in return for free access to Berlin.

Article 14: Khrushchev discussed different topics on American television, including the need to maintain peace, the Berlin question, the American reconnaissance flights over the Soviet Union and the African arms issue.

Article 15: President Kennedy expressed the desire to focus on those areas of the space

program where the United States can surpass the Soviet Union.

Article 16: The United States imposed a naval blockade on Cuba after finding Soviet offensive-missile sites there. In a speech to the nation, President Kennedy said he was ready for military action against the Soviet Union.

Article 17: The United States and the Soviet Union are to renew their cultural exchange program. There are, however, a number of disagreements between them on the different parts of the program.

Article 18: The Soviet forces in Eastern Europe have been reinforced.

Article 19: The Soviet Union unveiled the world's largest aeroplane in an air show in France.

Article 20: Some Soviet missile experts and North Vietnamese came under attack when American planes bombed a missile launching site in North Vietnam, a Soviet newspaper reported.

Article 21: Brezhnev both criticised and commended the United States and China at the jubilee of the Bolshevik Revolution. He also outlined Soviet foreign policy.

Article 22: President Johnson appealed to the Soviet Union for co-operation on different issues as a long-awaited consular convention was ratified.

Article 23: The Soviet Union and East Germany set up a roadblock and threatened to restrict road-traffic to West Berlin a few days before the West German presidential election there, stating that West Berlin factories were producing military material.

Article 24: A Soviet nuclear submarine sank in the Atlantic after failed attempts by Soviet ships to tow it, the Pentagon reported.

Article 25: The United States and the Soviet Union signed two nuclear control agreements. Hope was expressed that a broader strategic-arms limitation pact would be reached.

Article 26: The Soviet Union is preparing to test a large new intercontinental ballistic missile. American analysts are not sure about the exact nature of the missile and the time of the test firings.

Article 27: The United States tripled exports to the Soviet Union and became one of its major Western trading partners. Soviet exports to the United States rose only a little, and the need for balance in trade was stressed.

Article 28: Two Soviet ballet dancers are allowed to emigrate to Israel after facing numerous obstacles and receiving support from the West.

Article 29: Brezhnev talked about the nature and implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki declaration with some Members of Congress.

Article 30: Pravda accused the United States of interfering in the internal political affairs of Western Europe after warnings by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger against admitting Communists into governments.

Article 31: President Carter's statements about the need to improve Soviet-American relations were greeted positively by Brezhnev during a visit of Yugoslav President Tito.

Article 32: The Soviet dissident Yuri Orlov received a severe punishment in Soviet court. His wife was treated roughly in the court.

Article 33: President Carter demanded the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan or face serious consequences. He seeks international condemnation of the invasion.

Article 34: Soviet and Afghan troops have attacked insurgents in different parts of Afghanistan.

Article 35: A letter from Soviet to Polish workers condemned the trade union Solidarity and referred to the Warsaw Pact commitment to defend socialism.

Article 36: President Reagan spoke of the need of arms control and of the importance of Berlin to the West during his visit to West Berlin and the Berlin Wall.

Article 37: President Reagan denounced Soviet Communism. He gave reasons for his stand on the nuclear arms issue and discussed some social proposals.

Article 38: NATO presented the Warsaw Pact a new plan on troop reduction in Central Europe.

Article 39: The Soviet proposal on the reduction of nuclear weapons is not considered to be balanced.

Article 40: The Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky will be released to the West in a prisoner exchange.

Article 41: The United States and the Soviet Union will sign an agreement banning medium- and short-range nuclear missiles, after some specifics have been worked out. On long-range nuclear missiles and antimissile systems, the two sides still have different views.

Article 42: The Soviet Union has cancelled the construction of a new nuclear power station because of public protests that have their roots in the Chernobyl accident.

Article 43: Gorbachev ruled out the use of force in Eastern Europe. He talked about the reduction of short-range nuclear missiles and proposed a conference of European countries.

Article 44: President Bush proposed large new troop reductions in Central Europe in the wake of the events of 1989.

Article 45: Gorbachev resigned and the Soviet Union ceased to exist. Gorbachev was pessimistic about the Commonwealth of Independent States, whereas President Yeltsin was optimistic about its prospects and assured everyone that the nuclear weapons were in safe hands.