



## TRACKING THE DISCOURSE OF NATIONALISM: THE FALKLANDS WAR ANNIVERSARY IN THE BRITISH PRESS

**Andrea Roxana Bellot**

**Dipòsit Legal: T 826-2015**

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**Andrea Roxana Bellot**

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ANNIVERSARY IN THE BRITISH PRESS**

**DOCTORAL THESIS**

**Supervised by**

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**Department of English and German Studies (URV)**



UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

**Tarragona**

**2014**

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

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**Para Facu**

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**I hereby certify that the present study “Tracking the Discourse of Nationalism: the Falklands War Anniversary in the British Press”, presented by Andrea Roxana Bellot for the award of the degree of Doctor, has been carried out under my supervision at the Department of English and German Studies, Rovira i Virgili University, Tarragona, and that it fulfils all the requirements for the award of Doctor.**

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## **Abstract**

The Malvinas /Falklands War was fought in 1982 between the United Kingdom and Argentina over the sovereignty of a small group of islands in the South Atlantic. Nationalisms played a key role in this conflict, since the prestige of each nation was at stake. The British press was a key mechanism in the promotion of nationalist identities during the war, triggering patriotic feelings and serving as a vehicle for political propaganda. The year 2012 marked the thirtieth anniversary of the war, amidst a revival of the conflict due to the Argentine demand that the issue of sovereignty be reconsidered. The purpose of this research is to explore how the discourse of nationalism was constructed and developed by the British press regarding the commemoration of the war. The thesis will offer an analysis of language and press imagery of a selection of tabloid and quality British national newspapers of the year 2012.



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## **Juan López y John Ward**

Les tocó en suerte una época extraña  
El planeta había sido parcelado en diversos  
países, cada uno provisto de lealtades, de  
queridas memorias, de un pasado sin duda  
heroico, de antiguas o recientes tradiciones,  
de derechos, de agravios, de una mitología  
peculiar, de próceres de bronce, de aniversarios  
de demagogos y de símbolos.

Esa arbitraria división era favorable a las guerras.

López había nacido en la ciudad junto al río  
inmóvil; Ward, en las afueras de la ciudad  
por la que caminó Father Brown. Había estudiado  
castellano para leer el Quijote.

El otro profesaba el amor de Conrad, que le  
había sido revelado en un aula de la calle Viamonte.

Hubieran sido amigos, pero se vieron una  
sola vez cara a cara, en unas islas demasiado  
famosas, y cada uno de los dos fue Caín, y  
cada uno, Abel.

Los enterraron juntos. La nieve y la corrupción  
los conocen.

El hecho que refiero pasó en un tiempo que  
no podemos entender.

**Jorge Luis Borges**

*Los Conjurados* (1985)



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## Chapter 1: Introduction

The Malvinas/Falklands war was an armed dispute between the United Kingdom and Argentina that lasted for 74 days (2 April - 14 June 1982) leaving around a thousand dead: 255 British, 649 Argentine and 3 civilian Islanders. The reason for the war was the claim of sovereignty over the Malvinas/Falkland Islands, which had been part of the British overseas territories since the eighteenth century though Argentina had always alleged that the archipelago belonged to its own national territory. Although the war was relatively short and did not involve a great number of losses, it represented an important blow in the collective memory of both nations. For the British, it was the last “colonial” war and one which allowed Margaret Thatcher to stay in power for almost a decade after the British victory. For the Argentine, it was the only war fought and lost in the twentieth century and it brought about the fall of the dictatorship.

The war implied a major nationalist project for both nations since national honour and national dignity were at stake. Moreover, the governments of the UK and Argentina were undergoing severe social and economic crises which may have led their national leaders to use the war as a political strategy in order to raise patriotic feelings and thus unite public opinion against a common outside enemy. As a result, the focus of the problem was changed from the inside to the outside of the two nations. The surge of patriotic and nationalist passions was provoked during the wartime with the intention of gaining public support.

Anthony Smith (1991, 1996, 2005) highlights the importance of national identity as the most potent and durable influence of current collective cultural identities. The media, as a massive, omnipresent and powerful ideological apparatus played a key role in getting people into a patriotic mood during the conflict. Newspapers, radio and television combined forces to promote nationalist feelings or – if possible – challenge the war. The war became not only a battle between two armies who struggled for the power over a group of small islands in the South Atlantic; it also became a war of words.

The British press, especially the popular press, was a key element as regards the formation of public opinion during the war. As Patricia Holland states, “behind the

banner headlines and sensational pictures there lies a coherent ideology that plays an important role in forming people's ideas" (from Honeywell & Pearce 1982: 119). Many newspapers, especially mass circulation tabloids, produced striking front pages with sensationalist large-lettered headlines, as well as double pages with dramatic photographs of the war. The front pages and the inside articles were fully triumphant and conveyed a very patriotic mood which tended towards xenophobia and jingoism on some occasions. Robert Harris argues that "in London the Falklands war enabled Fleet Street to indulge in emotions and language which had been denied to British newspapers for a generation" (1983: 38).

The year 2012 marked the thirtieth anniversary of the war, amidst a revival of the conflict due to the Argentine on-going claims for a re-evaluation on the issue of sovereignty over the Malvinas/Falkland Islands. The main objective of this thesis is to assess the discourse of nationalism in the British national press regarding the commemoration of the war. This is based on the premise that anniversaries of war are relevant days for the nation, playing a key role in the construction of national identity and the development of a national memory. By studying the symbolism of war commemoration in journalism, this dissertation will analyse how commemorative practices serve to construct a master national narrative by bringing together a common past and the desire of a shared future. Sabina Mihelj believes that the news media are sites for the creation, revision and reproduction of collective memories (2009: 120). She argues that the historical events commemorated by the media are mainly national events. As a consequence, the collective memory reproduced or negotiated by the media takes the form of national memory. Mihelj observes a strong link between the formation of national identities and the process of forgetting and/or remembering the past: "narratives about history are central to the engendering, reproduction and transformation of collective identities" (2009: 124).

The main objective of this thesis is to analyse the way the Falklands War, and the different aspects of it, are remembered and portrayed in the British national press on its thirtieth anniversary. By doing so, I will examine if and how the discourse of the British press reinforces the nationalist project of the Falklands War in the year 2012. A second objective is to design a protocol model for the analysis of the press reports on the anniversary of the Falklands War. This could become a post-doctoral research project

which would focus specifically on the standpoint of the Argentine during the anniversary and would ultimately establish a comparative analysis between the way the war is remembered and portrayed in the media of the two nations over the years. In order to do so, the thematic categories developed in this thesis should be useful for the analysis of the commemoration of war in Argentina. Eventually, this model could be applied to the study of the discourse of any war anniversaries in the press, with a few adaptations to specific cases.

A number of personal and professional reasons have moved, motivated and encouraged me to pursue research on this particular subject. At a personal level, there are reasons linked to certain experiences, memories, perspectives and preoccupations dating from the time I was living in Argentina, my place of birth. When the war broke out, I was six years old and in my first year at primary school. I still keep a vivid memory of the rehearsal protocol our teachers made us perform in case the school was bombed, which mainly consisted in seeking protection by hiding under the school desk. I doubt these over simplistic techniques would have actually protected us in an air attack. Perhaps due to the constant fear campaign led by the totalitarian government, there were widespread rumours that cities in the country might be attacked by the British air force. It has never been proved whether these rumours actually had any solid base. I also recall how we collected chocolates and other sweets together with encouraging letters of support to send to our soldiers fighting on the front with the hope that this would help them to get warm in the freezing conditions. Volunteers formed citizen solidarity groups which sent off much-needed goods such as blankets and foods. Much of this did not arrive in time or was “lost” amidst the bureaucratic and corrupt system. A further memory I have kept from my childhood is that of a local traffic police officer in my hometown who had lost an arm in battle. I used to stare at him every single time we crossed paths, with a mixture of fear and curiosity, trying to make sense of it all. I learned he was a Malvinas veteran, but by then, I could not fully comprehend what that meant. As I grew older, I became interested in the political implications of the conflict. I observed then how Argentine soldiers were put aside and ignored by fellow citizens who wanted to forget. The Malvinas veterans, a majority of inexperienced convicts who were forced to take action in the battles, have had a hard time trying to reintegrate in society. Apart from the trauma left by the war, many of them have

suffered from discrimination or ill-treatment; they have at times been blamed for not having been brave enough to defend the nation (thereby making them responsible for the defeat of their own country), and they have been accused of cowardice<sup>1</sup>. *Desmalvinización* was the name given in Argentina for this phenomenon of ignoring the Malvinas veterans; *desmalvinizar* implying deactivating the nationalist feelings towards this shameful war through silence (*La Nación*, 5 March 2006). Fortunately, the situation has now changed as regards their acknowledgement by the public. At present, the Malvinas veterans are considered heroes and/or victims.

My curiosity in the issue grew during my undergraduate studies in English Philology, when I came to learn about the history and the culture of the *other* nation involved in the conflict. My reasons for writing a research project on the topic have to do, perhaps, with the political content of the study. I began working on the Malvinas/Falklands War as an undergraduate student. As a PhD candidate, my area of interest has turned to the analysis of the media from a Cultural Studies perspective. I have become increasingly keen on the social and political power of the media and in exploring their ideologically loaded discourse, which constructs and shapes identities.

For the purpose of this thesis I have narrowed the study down to newspapers, since they offer me the possibility of combining my trainee as a language analyst incorporating the cultural studies dimension. I have found it the optimum manner of channelling my professional skills with my academic interests. Moreover, according to my knowledge, there seems to be no academic research publications on the anniversary of this war. Therefore, this thesis might be taken as an original contribution to the state of this research area and open new ground for further analysis.

The thesis will set out to offer an analysis of language and press imagery of a selection of tabloid and quality British national newspapers of the year 2012. The months chosen correspond to April and June, which are the dates of the beginning and end of the thirtieth war anniversary. It will begin by looking backwards at the way the war was reported in 1982. However, the purpose of the thesis is not to establish a direct comparison between the two periods (1982 and 2012) as this might not be possible. There are marked differences in the way an on-going war is reported (newspaper

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<sup>1</sup> Personal interview with Antonio Francisco Pérez Aguilar (Malvinas veteran), August 2007.

discourse of war) to that of the anniversary (newspaper discourse of war anniversary). For example, the language and press images in times of war are much more provocative than in times of anniversaries, when they tend to soften and calm down as it is a remembrance of a past war.

My minor dissertation for my Master's degree of Cultural Studies in English (URV) focused on how nationalist identities were constructed during the war. I looked at the way in which the governments and other powerful discourses of both nations made use of the war as a political strategy to raise patriotic feelings. I tried to deconstruct the hegemonic discourses of the media and the politicians. My initial intention when starting with this doctoral project was to make a comparison between the British and the Argentine press for the anniversary of war. Soon I realised of the time and resources constraints, which is why I have decided to pursue the British side. My decision was based on a number of causes. For a start, as a member of the English Department, I thought my work on the British press could be of further relevance. Moreover, I had a personal inclination and curiosity to know what the British media were saying about the war anniversary, as I already know in great detail how the Argentine ones would react. Last but not least, it was also an attempt at keeping a higher degree of objectivity to the material under study. I would like, however, to write a future research paper with a balanced comparison between the two national newspapers.

The initial questions that came to my mind when this study began were the following: Is the anniversary of war reported at all in the main British national newspapers? If so, what type of coverage does it receive? How is the war remembered and how are the victims portrayed? How is the present conflictive situation dealt with? As I have studied the implications of this war in the British society, I inferred that the war anniversary, together with the coverage of the commemorative celebrations, would certainly have a certain impact on the press. One of the reasons for this is that, although the war is over, the tensions with Argentina are not. Moreover, the Falklands War is regarded as a very successful war for the British, since it was a short, easily-won war with very clear objectives. A war like this is often used to raise public morale. The Conservative government of David Cameron would make use of the anniversary to recover the pride of the nation in present day times of crisis. His statements have been widely reported in the newspapers.

Below is a list of the subtopics, specific research questions and hypotheses that this dissertation will address:

### *1. Justification of the War*

Is the war which was fought in 1982 justified in the press of 2012? This research question is to be contextualised within the framework of the Just War theory, which is used by some governments to justify their decision for going to war and inscribing truth on their side. The hypothesis is that the war is firmly supported in the war anniversary as a “just war” since it would be contrary to the national interests and even illogical to advertise an unjust war.

### *2. Heroes and Heroism*

How is the hero described or portrayed? The national discourse of war gains support by glorifying the heroic figure of the soldiers who fight, or fought and die, for the defence of the nation. The portrayal of the soldiers as outstanding is a very common technique in times of war to increase national feelings of patriotism. The same applies to times of commemoration, when the soldiers are remembered with pride for their heroism.

### *3. The Enemy*

Is the enemy who engaged in war remembered? Is there an enemy nowadays? If so, how is this current enemy represented, how is the enemy constructed emotionally and in language? The classical representation of the ‘us/them’ dichotomy still applies in times of anniversaries. Along with the hero being glorified, the enemy is remembered by their wrong decisions and deeds. This is even more notorious in this particular case, as the conflict is not over, there is still the need to find an enemy figure.

### *4. Gender and Nation*

What role does gender play in the commemorative events? Does the discourse of the war anniversary reinforce gender stereotypes? How is gender used to call for an emotional response on the readers? 30 years after the war, men are still stereotyped into the heroic figure while women are portrayed as the ‘weeping’ widows.

The thesis is structured in 9 chapters. Chapter 1 is this present general introduction where I present the case study, lay out the aims and motivations, and state the main research questions and hypotheses. Chapter 2 is composed of three parts. First

there is a geographical, cultural and societal overview of the Malvinas/Falkland Islands, followed by a historical contextualisation of the conflict that will provide a background for the readers to better comprehend the representation and narration of the war 30 years later. Finally, there is a short account of the current state of the dispute, which provides a necessary political context of some of the events that took place coinciding with the timeframe of the press analysis for this thesis. Chapter 3 is composed of two parts. The first part introduces the critical theories that will serve as a theoretical framework for this dissertation, while the second is a literature review of the state-of-the-art of the media and the Falklands War. Chapter 4 deals with the methodological approaches involved in the elaboration of the present research as well as a description of the selection of the textual materials employed. Chapters 5 to 8 focus on analysing the texts from the press that form part of the corpus. Chapter 5 explores whether the Falklands War is justified by the British newspaper discourse of the year 2012. This chapter draws on notions from Just War Theory, which is a set of principles that impose moral discipline and humanity when engaging in armed conflicts. Chapter 6 discusses the construction of heroism and heroes. It analyses how the Falklands War hero is portrayed, exploring whether the press discourse deconstructs the figure of the classical hero or if it simply conforms to the traditional patterns of heroism. Chapter 7 follows, which deals with the enemy, analysing how the press recalls the war enemy and how it constructs the present day one(s). Finally, Chapter 8 explores the representation of gender as regards the concept of nation-building, focusing on the role men and women perform in the national discourse of remembrance and commemoration. The concluding chapter takes up and develops the general conclusions of the whole thesis and suggests new areas for research.



UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

TRACKING THE DISCOURSE OF NATIONALISM: THE FALKLANDS WAR ANNIVERSARY IN THE BRITISH PRESS

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Dipòsit Legal: T 826-2015

## Chapter 2: Contextualising the Malvinas/Falklands Conflict

### 1. Introduction

This chapter is composed of three parts. The first part is a geographical, cultural and societal overview of the Malvinas/Falkland Islands. The second part provides a historical contextualisation of the conflict that will hopefully be useful to comprehend the representation and narration of the war 30 years later. This is followed by an account of the current state of the dispute, which provides the necessary political context of some of the events that took place simultaneously with the timeframe of the press analysis for this thesis.

### 2. The Malvinas/Falkland Islands

The Islands<sup>2</sup> are located in the South Atlantic, 480 km from the mainland coast of South America. The archipelago comprises two main islands and about 700 islets, with an overall extension of 12,000 km<sup>2</sup>.

Both main islands are mountainous, and most of the land is used for sheep keeping and farming. The climate is heavily influenced by the ocean, with high levels of humidity and strong winds. The economy depends mainly on farming and fishing, with plans for tourist development and hydrocarbons.

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<sup>2</sup> The name of the islands in English is *The Falkland Islands*, and in Spanish *Las Islas Malvinas*. Hereafter, I shall refer to them as the *Islands* in order to maintain a certain degree of neutrality. The compound Malvinas/Falklands will be used when referring to the war. Nevertheless, the Falklands will be used when discussing the British context and the Malvinas when the Argentine context is stressed.



**Image 1: Map of the Falkland Islands**

According to the latest Falkland Islands Census from 2012, the population consists of 2,562 permanent residents (excluding military personnel). 74.7 % of the total population lives in Stanley, the capital city. The main religion is Christianity and the official language is English. 61 % of the population is under the age of 45. As for their place of birth, 47% of the overall population was born in the Falkland Islands, 28% born in the UK, 10% in St. Helena, 6% in Chile and 8% born elsewhere. The Argentine living on the Islands constitute a small group of 1.3%. The population of the Islands at the time of the war was over 1,800 inhabitants, as recorded in the 1980 census. For the first time, the 2012 Census asked people to state their National Identity. As the official report states, “this was included to ascertain the cultural group that people most closely identify with (and need not be related to the person’s place of birth or citizenship)”. The results show that 57% of residents consider their national identity to be ‘Falkland Islander’; 24.6% consider themselves British; 9.8% St. Helenian and 5.3% Chilean. There were 89 respondents who described their national identity as “Other”. Regarding their place of birth, 47% of the overall population was born in the Falkland Islands, 28% born in the UK, 10% in St. Helena, 6% in Chile and 8% elsewhere.

The Islands are part of the United Kingdom overseas territory. The supreme authority is the Queen and a Governor exercises power on the territory on her behalf.

The present Governor, Colin Roberts, took office in April 2014. The Islanders are autonomous for internal affairs, but defence and foreign affairs are the responsibility of the British Government. The recent Falklands Constitution (1 January 2009) established an Executive Council that advises the Governor and a Legislative Assembly with ten members.

Travel communications between the Islands themselves and abroad have always been difficult. Prior to the war, the main link with the outside world was a weekly flight to and from Patagonia (Comodoro Rivadavia, Argentina) operated by LADE, the Argentine government air service. At present, there are weekly flights from Chile, operated by the Chilean airlines LAN. From Britain, there are MoD (Ministry of Defence) charter flights twice a week. People from Argentina can visit the Islands without special restrictions, according to the information provided in the official webpage of the Islands.

There are no daily newspapers in the Islands but there are two weekly newspapers. The more important one is the *Penguin News*: founded in 1979 and published by Mercopress, it is issued weekly with an online edition (<http://www.penguin-news.com/index.php>). The second newspaper in relevance is the *Teaberry Express*, with a weekly publication by The Falkland Islands News Network. There are seven FM radio stations and one AM; two local television stations are run by the British Forces Broadcasting Service.

As regards sovereignty, the Islanders sustain they are a United Kingdom Overseas Territory *by choice*, according to the official Government website. On the subject of the war, some of them expressed joy and relief at being liberated from the traumatic “Occupation”, as they called the Argentine invasion (Smith 1984: 255). Moreover, some said they were grateful for “the determination of the British people who came to our aid without hesitation at a time when we needed it most” (Ibid.).

The Islands still hold a military base of around 1,700 men, both military and civilian, for self-defence. This large number of military personnel is justified by the authorities:

The Falkland Islands Governor hopes for peaceful co-existence between Argentina and the Falkland Islands, without diluting or adapting the position on sovereignty. For as long as there is a perceived threat from Argentina, a military presence on the Islands will be maintained on a scale sufficient to deter

aggression and provide a holding capability pending reinforcement (Falkland Islands Government's website).

### 3. History of the War

The Malvinas /Falklands War was fought in 1982 between the United Kingdom and Argentina. The reason for battle was the claim to sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. Even though the Islands have formed part of the British overseas territories since the eighteenth century, Argentina has always alleged that they belong to its national territory. As previously said, this small archipelago in the South Atlantic has a reduced surface of 12.000 km<sup>2</sup> with land that is frozen over 8 months of the year and winds that blow at 130 km/h. The population totalled 1,800 inhabitants at the time of the war with 360 sheep per capita. How could such an *insignificant* place bring two nations to war and cause so many years of controversy?

The dispute certainly has a long and complicated history. The controversy, which has been going on for almost two centuries now, goes back to the discovery of the Islands themselves. According to the British, Captain John Davis was the one who first sighted them. The Argentines tend to favour the argument that the Malvinas were discovered by a Portuguese named Alvaro de Mesquita. Other sailors, such as Vespucci, Magellan, Sebald de Weert and Hawkins, have also been mentioned as being the first to sight the Islands. There is, however, no real evidence for prioritizing one claim over another and thus, the issue is still unresolved. Consequently, Spaniards, the British, the Dutch and Portuguese are all possible candidates. In 1690, Captain John Strong was on an expedition to Chile when he had to stop on the islands due to a fierce storm at sea. On landing, he named the islands after the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Falkland (Hastings and Jenkins 1983: 1; Freedman 2007: 3-8). Other names given to the isles were: the Sansons, the Sebaldes, Hawkins Land, the Malouines and the Malvinas (Ibid.). The first settlements on the land were the French in 1764, followed by the Spanish and thereafter the British. Around the year 1828 the Argentines established a penal colony on the islands but the British forces succeeded in imposing their control over the area. The territory became a strategic point for navigation and the Royal Navy set up a base there shortly after the first colony had settled. In 1829 there was an attempt to recover the islands by the government of Buenos Aires, which was easily and quickly

repelled by the British. The British settled down permanently in 1833. This high interest in the possession of the islands makes sense when considering the key role they have played in the formation of empires for international geopolitical reasons. As Houchang Esfandiar Chehabi argues “In the era of classical imperialism the big powers had to possess as many islands as possible, so as to control the great shipping lanes and to supply routes of their fleets” (1985: 215).

According to Hastings and Jenkins, the Falkland Islands have never been of any great strategic importance yet, “from the moment of their discovery they seem to have embodied the national pride of whoever held them” (1983: 6). The Argentines are convinced that the Malvinas belong to their nation, but they were taken by force by the British colonialists in 1833. In the same way, many Britons are assertive about their sovereignty. This argument is combined with the principle of self-determination: the majority of the islanders are of British descent and they passionately desire to remain British. As Margaret Thatcher declared during the war:

Argentina has, of course, long disputed British sovereignty over the islands. We have absolutely no doubt about our sovereignty, which has been continuous since 1833. Nor have we any doubt about the unequivocal wishes of the Falkland Islanders, who are British in stock and tradition, and they wish to remain British in allegiance. We cannot allow the democratic rights of the islanders to be denied by the territorial ambitions of Argentina (quoted in Barnett 1982: 28).

Ironic as it may sound, Great Britain, the former colonial power, engages in war in order to defend the self-determination of the islanders. Those critical of the Prime Minister, such as Anthony Barnett, claim that Margaret Thatcher was demagogically using the wishes of the islanders for her own benefit (Ibid.) The argument of self-determination is rejected by the Argentines who consider that, if their territory is colonised by a foreign power, the citizens who are colonizers cannot legally justify their possession of that land.

The intricacies in the discussion of sovereignty may be put aside but the fact is that, from the moment the British colonists settled there in 1833, the Argentine government has made several attempts to regain the archipelago, all of them unsuccessful. In the second half of the twentieth century Argentina submitted an official report to the United Nations in which they laid claim to the islands. This led to resolution number 2065 (XX) from 16 December 1965 titled “Question of the Falkland

Islands (Malvinas)”. It “invites the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to proceed without delay with the negotiations [...] bearing in mind [...] the interests of the population of the Falkland Islands”. This suggestion was ignored by both nations. Further mediation from the UN followed, such as Resolution 3160 (XXVIII) and 31/49, which acknowledged the need to “concede due attention to the interests of the inhabitants of the islands” (Cardoso et al. 1983: 33). This is a key point since the UN has always considered the Falklands’ case as a colonial situation, which needs to be solved with the participation of the local population. However, this has never been accepted by Argentina which wants government-level discussions with a commission formed by international members. Further debate took place in the 1960s and 1970s between the foreign missions of the two nations, but again it failed to come to any meaningful conclusion.

Just before the breakout of war, Argentina sent the UN subtle hints of a possible invasion. The British ignored these threats and did not react as they thought that the Argentine would never dare to confront them directly. To complicate things even further, the Argentine government wrongly assumed that the British would not go to war because they inferred that Britain had lost interest in the islands. This mistaken assumption derived from two facts that had occurred during the previous years. On the one hand, the British Nationality Act was reformed in 1981, reducing considerably British citizenship rights to the inhabitants of the Falklands (full citizenship rights were granted in 1983). On the other hand, the HMS *Endurance*, which delivered supplies to the islands, was withdrawn from service in January 1982, a few months before the beginning of the war. London ignored the voices that warned the Foreign Office against that course of action which could lead to the interpretation that the British commitment to the *Kelpers* was weakening. The residents of the Falkland Islands are nicknamed Kelpers. The name comes from kelp, which is a large brown type of seaweed that grows around the islands.

In January 1982 Admiral Sir Edmund Irving published an article titled “Does withdrawal of *Endurance* signal a Falkland Islands desertion?” in which he predicts the risks of the operation (quoted in Chehabi 1985: 220). H. E. Chehabi blames the successive British governments for not giving top priority to the interests of the local population and, as a consequence of that neglect, little was done for the development of

the colony, thereby letting the infrastructure deteriorate. In 1978 he suggested a course of action for Britain's smaller possessions, in which the Falkland Islands, together with other overseas dependencies, would be transformed into "overseas counties". That would have meant that the Islanders could have claims to their own representatives at Westminster, receiving the same rights as citizens of the United Kingdom. According to him, this would have put an end to colonialism, legally speaking (Chehabi 1985: 219-220).

Moreover, and following the same line of thought, Geoffrey Regan believes that the war could have been avoided if the British government had sent clear signals of a territorial commitment. Instead, it sent ambiguous messages giving the impression that it did not care about the fate of the Falklands (Regan 1987: 172-177; Cardoso et al. 1983: 37). The following quote summarizes the thought of the Argentine politicians:

The problem has no political importance for the United Kingdom. England does not know what to do with the Falklands. They find them expensive and far away. Those 1,800 inhabitants give them endless trouble. [Consequently,] there will be no British counterattack if the [Argentine] military action is carried out 'cleanly' (Cardoso et al. 1983: 31-32; 54).

Rosana Guber points out that the military regime governing the country at the time did not really intend to go to war. This theory, shared by Guber and others, sustains that the invasion of the islands was designed to put pressure on the British government since that would have enabled the Argentine to raise the discussion entailing international organizations (Guber 2001: 29).

The absence of serious, constant and effective diplomatic talks increased the tension among the two nations and gave way to misleading presuppositions. On 19 March 1982, the Argentine flag was raised at South Georgia (a Falklands dependency) by a group of Argentines who were sent to work there, in a somewhat confusing incident that was interpreted by the British authorities as a provocation. The Junta ordered the invasion on 2 April. The operation was quick and the British garrison surrendered the same day. Together with the early British military reaction of deciding to send a Task Force alongside a submarine to the South Atlantic, in the following weeks there was intense diplomatic activity while the main expeditionary force assembled and sailed towards the area of conflict. In the meantime, Argentine troops were being reinforced, reaching a total number of 10.000 soldiers. The British



counterattack began with the retaking of South Georgia (21-26 April) and the bombing of the local airport at Stanley, followed by the crucial sinking of the ARA *General Belgrano* (2 May). Argentine air attacks hit and sunk British destroyers HMS *Sheffield* (4 May), *Ardent* (21 May), *Coventry* and *Atlantic Conveyor* (25 May). British forces advanced eastwards across the island while the Argentines prepared to defend Stanley, the capital city. The final serious land battle took place between 11 and 13 June around the mountains surrounding the capital. On 14 June, British forces reached the outskirts of Stanley. The Argentines still had some 8.000 troops and supplies there, but their morale was diminishing. As a consequence, Argentine commanders agreed to negotiate the surrender on the evening of 15 June. Repeated mistakes due to disorganisation, poor military strategy together with a severe lack of training and weapons made Argentina lose the war (Regan 1987: 172-173; Guber 2001: 112).

As regards the reasons for going to war, the official version given by both nations was that it was for a “just cause”. That is to say, both countries affirmed they had a right over the possession of the islands since they believed they formed part of their national territory. The Argentines have always claimed that the islands were inherited from Spain after the Independence of 1816 but were taken from them by the British who, on the other hand, felt obliged to defend their colonial subjects from any foreign aggression. Moreover, the British could not allow themselves to be threatened by a dictatorial regime, since that would have made Thatcher’s government look weak and therefore lose ground in international politics. As Barnett claims, “[Thatcher’s] political image had been constructed around the projection of determination, resolution and iron fidelity to national defence” (1982: 29). Argentine leaders also considered geopolitical reasons. In 1980, Chile had won the dispute over the Beagle Channel, so there was a growing concern about the strategic position of Argentina in South America. Besides, some members of the Argentine government believed that there was a good potential for exploiting the natural resources on the area, such as krill fishing and oil (Linford 2005: 3).

Another important factor to take into account is that both countries had been going through severe crises by the time war broke out and there was a great deal of public discontent, unrest and even censorship. Margaret Thatcher, leader of the Conservative Party, was British Prime Minister from 1979 to 1990. She had been

preceded by James Callaghan from the Labour Party, whose government had been extremely unpopular resulting in the union strikes of 1978-1979, which forced him to call for general elections in 1979. When Thatcher took power, she was determined to counteract what she perceived as the national decline: social unrest, high inflation and unemployment. She believed that “the years of managed decline were the real testament to the ills of the British economy and the necessity to try a new approach” (Pearce & Stewart 1992:522). Besides, she wanted the nation to recover leadership in international affairs. The main policies implemented in her premiership were deregulation of the financial sector, privatization of national companies, flexible labour markets, and a reduction of the budget for social services and education. All these measurements brought about a deep recession of the economy; “the tight fiscal policies and very high interest rates were maintained through the period 1979-82 and Britain experienced its fiercest recession since 1931” (Ibid.:523). Unemployment stood as one of the main consequences of this recession. By 1982, it had risen to three million, the highest number since the 1930s, affecting especially the manufacturing sector and the mining industry, which was the initial cause of the many confrontations between the Trade Unions and the Prime Minister. At the same time, social unrest was growing and there was a new outbreak of violence in some of the major cities around Britain. Examples were the Brixton riots in April 1981 and the Toxteth riots in July 1981. To make matters worse, Margaret Thatcher was rather intolerant with the complaints of the population, and ordered police repression for public demonstrations. Due to these measures she became famous for her resolute approach which later on gave her the nickname “Iron Lady”. As a consequence of all this, Thatcher's government reached the lowest rates of popularity at that time.

By the time of the war, the leader of the military government ruling Argentina was General Galtieri, who only managed to stay in power for one year. This National Reorganization Process, an umbrella term by which the dictators called themselves, came to power in 1976 through a military coup which deposed President Isabel Martínez de Perón. She was the widow of the former President Juan Domingo Perón, leader of the popular “Peronist” political and social movement, who inherited the presidency once her husband had passed away in office. The Junta immediately abolished the national constitution, depriving the citizens of most of their fundamental

civil rights: soon it was also announced that the Death Penalty was to be re-established. Although Argentina had already suffered under other military regimes, this was considered to be the worst dictatorship in Argentina (Corradi 1996: 92), a *Dirty War* that violated human rights and which resulted in thirty thousand political activists “disappearing”, according to the CONADEP (Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas). Apart from the atrocities to human rights that were being committed and the corruption that invaded even the highest ranks of the government, the country was going through a devastating economic crisis. By 1981 the inflation rate rose to 100 per cent, foreign debt reached a record high, deindustrialization rate reached 22.9 per cent, net salaries decreased by 19.2 per cent, GDP (Gross Domestic Product) fell by 11.4 per cent and the national currency collapsed at rates of 600 per cent (Floria 1988: 245-252; Rock 1988: 459-461; Romero 2001: 212-216). Moreover, popular opposition was at its peak and civil rights movements, such as the Madres de Plaza de Mayo, were managing to claim international attention. The recovery of the Malvinas Islands was a good card for the President to play at that moment. On the one hand, an eventual Argentine victory would help to counteract the national chaos. On the other hand, it would somehow legitimize the military government (Canelo 2004: 304-305; Guber 2001: 19). So, in a way, both nations needed the war to mask the troubles at home. Consequently, the war was used to raise nationalist feelings and thus unite public opinion against a common outside enemy by creating an “us/them” dichotomy. The two governments, led by Thatcher and Galtieri, used this dichotomy to displace the attention of those who were unhappy, unemployed, discriminated against or repressed.

The war lasted 74 days and left behind a total of 907 dead. After the war, the British presence on the islands was reinforced and some important British figures, such as the Prince of Wales and Thatcher herself, visited the islands. In 1983, the British Nationality Falkland Islands Act was passed, giving back full citizenship rights to their inhabitants. Thatcher’s popularity rose after the British victory: from being considered the most unpopular of British Prime Ministers, she managed to become the most popular one (Marr 2010). She was re-elected in 1983 by a huge majority, successfully channelling the high public support of this reawakened nationalist mood into the polls. The Conservatives were 188 seats ahead of Labour and had an overall majority of 144 constituencies. The Labour Party recorded its worst performance since 1918, obtaining

only 27.6% of the popular vote (Pearce and Stewart 1992: 526). As Malcolm Pearce and Geoffrey Stewart said: “The dark days of the Falkland war were over and the country could rejoice in its recent victory, and feel that Britain’s prestige had risen under the stern and unyielding leadership of Mrs Thatcher” (Pearce and Stewart 1992: 525). In Argentina, General Galtieri resigned shortly after the war, on 17 June 1982, and he was also forced to leave his position of Commander-in-Chief of the Army. In the following year, 1983, the dictatorship collapsed and democracy was restored. The fall of Galtieri and, in consequence, the fall of the military government, was not only because the war had been lost but also because the people of Argentina realised the serious mistakes committed by the regime and its incapacity to solve the internal and external conflicts. The armed forces had lost all credibility and the fall of the military Junta was inevitable.

There were several attempts to try and reach a peaceful solution after the invasion and just before the British counterattack. The first intervention came from the USA by President Ronald Reagan and his Secretary of State, General Alexander Haig. Reagan’s intervention was well received both in the UK and in Argentina. On 7 April 1982 the national newspaper *Clarín* welcomed the news and published the following editorial:

La propuesta del presidente norteamericano Ronald Reagan de interponer sus buenos oficios a fin de lograr una solución pacífica en el pleito que la Argentina sostiene con el Reino Unido por la reconquista de las islas Malvinas [...] constituye una novedad de sumo interés [...] (Clarín, 7/4/1982).

[U.S. President Ronald Reagan’s proposal to make good use of his office in order to obtain a peaceful settlement of the dispute that Argentina maintains with the United Kingdom over the control of the Falkland Islands [...] is very interesting and is to be welcomed.] (*my translation*).

President Reagan’s proposal was of great interest. However, Haig’s peace plans were rejected by Argentina because they failed to guarantee that sovereignty would be eventually granted. On 30 April Haig declared:

We had reasons to believe that the United Kingdom would consider an agreement along the lines of our proposal, but Argentina informed us yesterday that she could not accept it. The position of Argentina continues to be that she must receive present assurances of her eventual sovereignty, or else an extension of the *de facto* role concerning the government of the islands (Cardoso et al 1983: 245).

Haig recalled the “extraordinary effort” made by the United States in their role of mediators in trying to reach a peaceful agreement in an attempt to preserve “human

lives and international order”. He also warned that the crisis was about to “enter a new and dangerous phase during which it [was] probable that military action on a large scale [would] take place” (Ibid.). The Argentine refusal moved the USA to abandon their neutral stance and take sides with the British, announcing economic and military sanctions on Argentina. President Reagan went even further when, from the White House, he told reporters that he considered Argentina to be the “true aggressor” (Ibid.: 217).

The second international intervention came along with the initiative of the President of Peru, Fernando Belaunde Terry. He set out a seven point peace plan, point one and two being the immediate cessation of hostilities and mutual withdrawal of forces (Cardoso et al 1983: 219-220). Although there were some initial disagreements, both nations were about to accept it. However, the controversial sinking of the *Belgrano*, torpedoed by the British navy when it was outside the war zone (2 May), caused the peace proposal to backfire. There has been some speculation as to whether the *Belgrano* was then a military or a political target. By 8 May war became the only alternative as negotiations were going through a weak phase. At this point, Britain sent reinforcements to the South Atlantic. Two factors contributed to the strengthening of the British position. On the one hand, the international support the UK received from the NATO and the USA. On the other hand, the internal support the Conservative Party obtained due to the victory in the Town Council elections on 7 May in England (*La Vanguardia*, 8 May 1982).

Thereafter came the intervention of the UN, led by its Secretary General, the Peruvian Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. He collected the points for discussion that both nations were willing to offer in order to negotiate an agreement, while battle continued. The UK demanded the creation of a local council on the islands, accepted to withdraw the troops in a fortnight (providing that Argentina did the same), but refused to talk about sovereignty. Argentina, aware of the fact that most Falklanders wished to remain British, responded that the council should be formed by members of the UN and not by local people. It also asked for free access to settle on the islands (*La Vanguardia*, 19 May 1982). Britain rejected Argentine claims, broke off negotiations and commenced its final attack towards the end of May.

#### 4. Current State of the Dispute

This section will offer a short contextualization of the historical and political situation from the post-war period to the present time (January 2014). Specific information about the main events that took place just before and during the war's anniversary days will be provided within each chapter when the news item appears.

A UN resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its ninth meeting on 18 June 2004 “*requests* the Governments of Argentina and the UK to consolidate the current process of dialogue and cooperation through the resumption of negotiations in order to find, as soon as possible, a peaceful solution”. 30 years after the war, there is still confrontation between the two nations over the same issues and the basis of the conflict remains substantially unsolved. The claims presented by Argentina are based on the concept of territorial integrity while Britain focuses on the islanders' wishes and vigorously proclaims its commitment to defend them against any aggression. This is shown by the continuous presence of a combined naval, air force and army deployment on the islands.

In 2010, the British government threatened to use military force if needed to protect the search for oil reservoirs around the islands. This prompted a hostile Argentine reaction in the form of transit restrictions for the ships involved (*El País*, 28 Jan. 2010). In June 2011, the conservative government of David Cameron declared that there was no possibility for negotiations as long as the will of the islanders was to remain British. President Cristina Fernández replied by calling David Cameron "arrogant" and qualifying his words as "mediocre and stupid" (*El País*, 17 Jun. 2011; *El Periódico*, 18 Jun. 2011).

2 April is a national holiday in Argentina for the commemoration of the war; the holiday is termed as the day of the 'Islas Malvinas' (Falkland Islands). In 2012, the commemorative activities were more pompous than usual, not only because it was the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary but also for the heated-up environment between the two nations due to the by then recent events, such as the conflicts for the oil exploration, the visit of Prince William to the Islands and the insistence of the Argentine government in its claims for sovereignty.

Britain has always insisted that the power to decide should be given to the local inhabitants. To be consistent with its argument, a referendum was celebrated on the

islands on 10 and 11 March 2013 asking the Falklanders if they wanted to remain British. As expected, 99.8 per cent voted ‘yes’ (Milmo, *Independent* 12 Mar. 2013a). The government of Argentina gave no credibility to this referendum and assigns no legal value to it. David Cameron, on the contrary, insisted that Argentina should “respect the wishes of Falkland Islanders, who have overwhelmingly voted to stay British” (Milmo, *Independent* 12 Mar. 2013b). The fact that Thatcher’s family had made a special request that the Argentine president should not be invited to the late Prime Minister’s funeral in April 2013 was interpreted as another provocation by the South American country, though the President pretended not to care about it (Goni, *Guardian* 11 Apr. 2013).

August 2013 was yet another month of information and confrontation. In the business sector, shares of British exploration firms Rockhopper and Premier Oil fell in the market when oil production offshore the Islands was delayed as these British oil companies operating in the region announced that they would not take a final investment decision until the end of 2014 (Macalister, *Guardian* 22 Aug. 2013). The diplomatic controversy was whipped out by Alicia Castro, Argentine ambassador to London, when she accused David Cameron of being ‘stupid’ and regarding his policies over the sovereignty conflict as ‘inefficient’. Castro’s attack on the Prime Minister sprang for Cameron’s expressed disagreement with the Pope, Francis I, and his suggestion of Britain’s having usurped the Islands (Hall, *Independent* 21 Aug. 2013).

In the UK, some critical sectors expose the never ending dispute and demand a solution. The prestigious journalist Simon Jenkins wrote a thought-provoking article in which he compares the Falklands to Gibraltar. The article is titled “Gibraltar and the Falklands deny the logic of history” and was published in *The Guardian* on 14 August 2013. The author denounces the privileged situation in both Gibraltar and the Falklands. One of his main complaints is the taxation system since he argues that the inhabitants of these two colonies claim to be “more British than the British”, but pay hardly any UK taxes: “These relics of empire pay hardly any UK tax – but when the neighbours cut up nasty, they demand the British protect them”. According to Jenkins, the colonies will eventually disappear: “One day these hangovers will somehow merge into their hinterlands and cease to be grit in the shoe of international relations. This day will be hastened if world governments take action to end tax havens”.

In January 2014 a new governmental secretary was created in Argentina: “Secretaría de Asuntos Relativos a las Islas Malvinas” [Secretary for Matters Relating to the Malvinas]. Daniel Filmus, the appointed secretary, explains that the President’s aim when creating this new department is to highlight the relevant position that the issue of the Malvinas has in the country’s political agenda. The function of the secretary is to find a solution for the conflict of sovereignty (Cibeira, *Página/12* 13 Jan. 2014).

As mentioned before, the central problem of the whole conflict revolves around the notion of sovereignty. In his article, “Sovereignty and the Falklands Crisis” (1983), Peter Calvert analyses the complexity of the legal issues connected to the sovereignty of the islands. He concludes that “the claims on both sides are based on historical facts that are by turn vague, confused and disputed, and if there is to be any resolution of the question a great deal of homework will have to be done first by both parties” (405). As previously discussed, the several peace plans proposed by international mediation during the war failed due to the fact that they were unable to bring a solution to a complex issue.

Nowadays, frictions among the two nations still continue. In the last years, the confrontation has been related to the oil exploration on the islands by British companies, the Falklands referendum and the Argentine recurrent claims for resuming negotiations, which sometimes include aggressive manners. All in all, this old dispute for the Malvinas/Falkland Islands has become utterly symbolic for both nations. The probabilities of a solution that would satisfy the three parts involved (Argentina, UK, residents of the Islands) are scarce in a near future. Fortunately, the possibility of another war is also unlikely.

## **5. Chapter Summary**

This chapter is an attempt to contextualise the Malvinas/Falklands conflict. It begins by providing a geographical socio-cultural description of the Islands; which is followed by a detailed history of the war, the events that led to it, as well as the possible reasons and main consequences. The chapter ends by outlining the current state of the dispute. All in all, the main aim of this chapter is to offer a thorough chronological as well as historical framework regarding the dispute, which hopefully will prove useful for a better understanding of the material under study.



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TRACKING THE DISCOURSE OF NATIONALISM: THE FALKLANDS WAR ANNIVERSARY IN THE BRITISH PRESS

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## **Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review**

### **1. Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is twofold: to introduce the critical theories that will serve as a framework for this dissertation and to review the state of the art in this area of research. This framework might be understood as a spider's web of interconnected elements which will lead to the discussion of the different chapters. The chapter begins with a discussion on the links between language, identity and identity construction, followed by a theoretical approach to the definition of nationalism and its implication in modern society. The second part of the chapter aims to discuss the links between collective memory, war commemoration and its representation in the media. Finally, the last part comprises a literature review of the texts connected with the media and the Falklands War.

### **2. Nation, Identity and Language**

Identity is an umbrella term that encompasses the different traits of individuals and communities. There are many perspectives on identity which range from essentialism to performance theories. What is relevant for this research is the structure of national identity: how it is socially constructed and what factors are challenged and negotiated. Is there space for agency or are individuals and communities simply “puppets on a string”? The individual has different “identities” since they are the result of many cultural features which together construct the self. Identity is not fixed but always in process. People do not create a completely new identity every time they speak but negotiate and arrange certain categories in order to present and maintain a coherent identity in different circumstances. As Karyn Stapleton and John Wilson state, “individual and collective identities are located within a range of overlapping contexts and socio-cultural categories, e.g. gender, class, race, nationality, age and ethnicity” (2004: 46). Whenever individuals express their identity – in the form of verbal language or any other form of expression – there is a negotiation and prevalence of any of these categories. Stapleton and Wilson also point out that personal identity is achieved by

*agentic* negotiation/mediation of social structures and categories. The main mechanism in the construction of identity is the use of language in all its forms: spoken, written, imagined, and what we understand as body language, especially in the form of personal accounts and self-narratives. It is called *agentic* because the individual is the agent, the doer of the action. Such processes can be conscious or unconscious.

When dealing with identity it is necessary to start off with a discussion on the concept 'subject', the 'self', the 'I'. The liberal humanist approach can be recognized as the Cartesian Subject expressed in *Cogito ergo sum*: "I think, therefore I am" (cited in Skirry 2008), which connects identity with human nature and describes it as fixed and constant. This self is defined as a transcendental subject, with a subject-based component placed at the centre with the power of decision over its own actions and with the capacity of transcending society, experience and language. This subject, usually called the "humanist self", is conscious of its being and is autonomous. Through post-structuralism we learn that individuals are subjected to the bombarding from institutional discourses that mould them as to what to do or which ideologies to follow. As a consequence, individuals may think they are independent and in control of their actions but they are being controlled by powerful discourses. Subjects do not create or control their own worlds but are the result of language and cultural discourses. Besides, identity is multiple, since each individual is exposed to many discourses and ideologies in life. Michel Foucault (1980) develops the notion of *discursive fields* to explain the links between language, social institutions, subjectivity and power. These discursive fields reflect the way in which powerful discourses influence and frame the individual's subjectivity and result in complex and unstable identities.

Language, as the basis of all communication, literature, media and discourses of any kind, shapes reality and is central in the construction of identity. Language does not only construct subjectivity but also positions and defines the subject in society since it is through language that we are able to interact with others. Furthermore, language is never neutral: it is always politically and ideologically loaded, therefore it has the power to promote nationalist identities. It is the main tool of governments and other powerful groups to create the patriotic feelings and nationalist behaviours for their citizens when needed, war being a case. Identity is narrated, constructed and promoted through language; individuals would not be able to put their experiences of the world into order

or their thoughts into order without language. Language gives us the possibility of naming things: what we see, do, think, feel, know and do not know; all this is articulated in through language. However, at the same time, poststructuralist thought illustrates the instability of signification and this instability constructs in turn unstable subjects rather than coherent subjects. Jacques Lacan (1966 [2002]) argues that language is the key factor in the construction of subjectivity and the formation of the individual. He states that the subject is an effect of unconscious processes and desires which are articulated in language. This subject is not stable, in the same way that language is not stable. Lacan claims that language constructs or speaks through the subject, which might imply that the subject is passive in its relation to language and subjected to it. Subjects may try to construct their own identity and believe they have total freedom of choice, but according to post-humanist discourse this is not possible because individuals have to articulate their thoughts and desires in a language that is not of their own making. Thus, subjectivity is never stable but is constantly in process.

Postmodern identities are conceived of as fluid, multidimensional and personalised constructions (Misztal 2003: 134). As Linda Alcoff (2003) argues, “in postmodern times, identities are conceived as plural, fluid and hybrid constructions” (quoted in Castelló et al 2009: 1). Psychoanalysis has become very relevant in post-structuralism. According to Lacanian theory, the language of the Symbolic Order tries to fix the self into positions within a relational system (such as male/female, sister/brother, mother/father/daughter), but it is subverted by the language of the Imaginary which is fluid and resists fixation. The Symbolic Order is patriarchal, what Lacan calls the Law of the Father, ‘le nom/non du père’. The Imaginary is a state previous to the Law of the Father and it is defined by the symbiotic relation between mother and child. When the child enters language, it is forced to repress its desire to stay with the mother; thus the Imaginary is similar to the Unconscious. For Lacan, both the Symbolic Order and the Imaginary are expressed in different types of language. The former is based on structure, syntax, rationality and fixed meanings. The latter is like a language with no structure, no syntax; it is the language of desire, body language, the language of dreams and it destabilises meanings.

Powerful institutions also construct identity through a variety of discourses. One of the most powerful is the ideological state apparatus which can control the media and

use it in order to spread their message, a message claiming absolute truth. Individuals may believe that they are free to choose whether they have nationalist or patriotic feelings/ideals or not. However, for many thinkers, Louis Althusser amongst them, the individual is a product of society, culture and ideology. Althusser (1971) states that society makes the individual in its own image; in other words, society frames subjects to be able to construct its own desired citizens imposing certain social roles on each individual member or groups of individuals. Consequently, individuals are, to a certain extent, passive ‘receivers’ of their identity traits. The sum of different ideologies constitutes a subject, and these ideologies give each person the idea or the notion of who they are. Following this line of thought, it can be said that it is not the individuals who construct and control ideologies but precisely the other way round: ideologies construct and control the individuals.

Althusser argues that human values, desires and preferences are all inculcated by ideological practice. He calls the process by which individuals become indoctrinated into one or different ideologies *interpellation*, which means hailing, in other words, catching a person’s attention. For this mechanism of interpellation to work, an ideology must be presented as a “given”. In this way, it will be believed and taken for granted as normal. Althusser believes that ideology works by common sense assumptions which he calls obviousness about meaning: thus, “linguists and those who appeal to linguistics for various purposes often run up against difficulties which arise because they ignore the action of the ideological effects in all discourses” (cited in Fairclough 2001: 84-85). Following Althusser’s line of thought, this ideological practice works thanks to the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) which is formed by the family, the media, educational and religious institutions, among others. These institutions work in a silent way, and individuals are not aware of the fact that they are being indoctrinated and manipulated by these tools that powerful groups use in order to maintain power. Althusser claims there is a more visible method to control people, the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) formed by the police, the army, the penal system and the law. The RSAs lay down rules and regulations and also a penal system to punish those who do not obey the law. However, the ISAs are much more dangerous than the RSAs since they are subtler; they work through seduction and are able to “interpellate” without the individual’s awareness. Thus, individuals may believe they are nationalist or patriotic

by choice, but according to Althusser's theories, this is not the case. They have been indoctrinated into having such ideologies during their education, upbringing and even later through the media.

This concept of power exclusively being a top-down structure like a pyramid was challenged by other thinkers. Michel Foucault, for instance, challenged the belief that power has a centre and that the dominant group or institution victimises and directly oppresses those who suffer from power. This would create a binary of subject / object and also oppressor / oppressed. Foucault suggests rather that power is like a network where people who are oppressed are not only victims but can be oppressors also, they can reproduce power themselves. He states:

[...] between every point of a social body, between a man and a woman, between the members of a family, between a master and his pupil, between everyone who knows and everyone who does not, there exist relations of power which are not purely and simply a projection of the sovereign's great power over the individual [...] (Foucault 1980: 187).

He discusses the meaning and implications of power and its effect on individuals and society. He widens the concept of power, since he believes that it transcends the power exercised on society by institutions, the government and economic groups; indeed, "power is omnipresent, it is everywhere, it comes from everywhere and embraces everything" (Foucault 1979: 93). He adds that "power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of non-egalitarian and mobile relations" (Ibid.: 94). Thus, to implement power, in any circumstance in life, there should be an asymmetry of forces: one part must necessarily be stronger than the other.

Language is directly linked to national identities, since it is one of the essential elements that define nations and a recurrent point for nationalist claims. Benedict Anderson (1991[1983], 1996, 2005) highlights the importance of the development of the printed word and the increase in literacy during the eighteenth century as the basis for the emergence of national consciousness. He defines the nation as an *imagined community*, limited, sovereign and worthy of sacrifices. Michael Billig (2001), a discursive psychologist, argues that the violence of war is not the result of the exhaustion of dialogue, but a direct outcome of language: "It is no coincidence that the only species which possesses the ability of language is a species which engages in organized warfare. Utterance is necessary to kill and die for the honour of the group"

(cited in Matheson 2005: 3). This means that language can arouse emotions of patriotism; it can call killing, murdering and dying as being an act of honour for one's country. Moreover, it shows that organised warfare requires an efficient means of communication, like any other complex activity.

According to Anderson it is the sense of fraternity that pushes millions of people to die for the sake of the nation. He states that "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (1991: 6-7). Language is also the essential tool in journalism, which is a powerful genre of communication. As John E. Richardson argues:

The power of journalistic language to do things and the way that social power is indexed and represented in journalist language are particularly important to bear in mind when studying the discourse of journalism. Journalism has social effects: through its power to shape issue agendas and public discourse, it can reinforce beliefs; it can shape people's opinions [...] it can help shape social reality by shaping our views of social reality (2007: 13).

The modern concept of nation and nationalism in Europe can be traced back to the late eighteenth century. The French Revolution (1789) brought romantic concepts of equality, freedom, solidarity and popular sovereignty. The introduction of all these ideals helped to give all male individuals – regardless of their social class – "citizenship" status; women's civil rights were put aside for much later. It was precisely these new established citizenship rights which provided the background for nationalist ideals to emerge. After the French Revolution small communities in Europe – those sharing a common culture, language and history – entered a nationalist mode to try to find a coherent identity in their struggle for independence and self-determination. Many instances can be found in Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries of revolutions and struggles for independence or unification. Examples of these are Holland, Poland, Belgium, Greece, Italy and Germany; countries that emerged with new boundaries. One century later, after World War I, there was also a radical change of national frontiers. European maps dating from the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries certainly differ from one another. Some of these new ideals regarding nationalist feelings and national identities had already been introduced in America by the American War of Independence (1776) which led the way for other American countries to free themselves from their European colonisers. Argentina, for instance, achieved its complete

independence from Spain in 1816 whereas Brazil became independent from Portugal in 1822.

At present, nationalism has become a very powerful ideology around the world and nationalistic claims are still very much present in many political agendas in nations such as Ireland, Spain, and the United Kingdom. There are also countries which are defined as stateless nations: Catalonia, Scotland, Quebec and the Basque Country are some well-known examples. Many are the academics and philosophers who have theorized on the concept, as well as its impact on modern society. Montserrat Guibernau refers to nationalism as:

[...] a sentiment that has to do with emotional attachment to the homeland, a common language, ideals, values and traditions, and also with the identification of a group with symbols (a flag, a particular song, piece of music or design) which define it as “different” from others. The attachment to all these signs creates an identity; and the appeal to that identity has had in the past, and still has today, the power to mobilize people (1996:43).

According to Elie Kedourie, nationalism is a doctrine involving a complex of interrelated ideas about the individual, society and politics. He adds that “the inventors of the doctrine tried to prove that nations are obvious and natural divisions of the human race, by appealing to history, anthropology, and linguistics” (1986: 80).

Nations have historically been assigned a feminine or a masculine identity. These gendered identities are expressed in the form of national images, ‘Mother Ireland’ or ‘Mother Russia’ being iconic examples. Some lexical terms linked to the nation are also gendered; both Motherland (*matrìe*) and Fatherland (*patrie*) exist in English, though Fatherland might imply negative connotations from the Nazi regime and it is not frequently used in modern day English (the neutral form ‘homeland’ is the most common). Surprisingly, in Spanish, the word *patria* is feminine: “La Madre Patria”, “La Santa Patria”. Gendered metaphors and/or analogies have also been produced: the colonizing nation is often personified as a strong man, while the colony is personified as a weak woman who has been invaded or penetrated (Stapleton & Wilson 2004: 47).

Heinrich von Treitschke, a German nationalist historian of the nineteenth century whose work is still cited today, thought that the emergence of nationalisms was a natural reaction against the imperial policies of Napoleon and that the unity of the state should be based on nationality. His work claims that “every nation over-estimates itself,



without this feeling of itself, it would also lack the consciousness of being a community” (Treitschke 1916: 284). An important contemporary thinker, Julia Kristeva, is strongly opposed to deep nationalist ideals, “national pride is comparable, from a psychological standpoint, to the good narcissist image that the child gets from its mother [...]” (1993: 52).

While the concept of nationalism denotes political action, patriotism, on the other hand, refers to individuals and their feelings towards the nation. Patriotism and nationalism usually have different connotations: the former are generally positive while the latter usually negative but this also depends on the socio-historical context. George Orwell argues that nationalism should not be confused with patriotism, since both ideas differ considerably. He defines patriotism as the “devotion to a particular place and a particular way of life, which one believes to be the best in the world but has no wish to force on other people” (Orwell 1945). He adds that patriotism is by nature military and culturally defensive. In the case of nationalism, he believes it is inseparable from the desire for power. He further claims that “the abiding purpose of every nationalist is to secure more power and more prestige [...]” (Ibid.). Patriotism can be popularly defined as love and devotion to one's country. The word comes from the Greek *patris*, which means Fatherland/Homeland. Émile Durkheim, the French sociologist, defines patriotism as “a sentiment that joins the individual to the political society in so far as those who get to make it up feel themselves attached to the bond of sentiment” (quoted in Guibernau 1996:28-29). He claims that the *patrie* is the normal milieu – the particular people and society that surround one and influence the way of behaviour – which is indispensable to human life. He points out that we cannot dispense with a *patrie* since we cannot live outside an organized society. According to Treitschke, “genuine patriotism is the consciousness of co-operating with the body-politic, of being rooted in ancestral achievements and of transmitting them to descendants” (Treitschke 1916:15).

Anthony Smith (1991, 1996, 2005) highlights the importance of national identity as the most potent and durable influence of current collective cultural identities. He believes it is essential to look back to the ethnic roots in history to understand how nations were built. His proposed definition of nation is as follows: “a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all

members” (1991: 14). For Özkirimli (2000: 175) the complexity in the definition matches the complex and abstract nature Smith assigns to a multi-dimensional national identity. Eric Hobsbawm (1990, 1996) marks a distinction between nationalism and ethnicity by claiming that “nationalism belongs with political theory [while] ethnicity with sociology or social anthropology” (1996: 258). Although he is strongly against nationalisms, Hobsbawm acknowledges that groups defined as nations possess the right to form territorial states, which means “exercising sovereign control over a continuous stretch of territory with clearly defined borders inhabited by a homogenous population that forms its essential body of citizens” (1996: 256). He claims that modern nations are based on a common history, ethnicity and language. Ernest Gellner (1996, 2005) theorises on the process of formation of modern nations, the emergence of nationalisms and the imposition of cultural homogeneity on nations. He links nationalism to modernity by marking the beginning of nationalisms in the passing from an agro-literate to an advanced industrial society. He sustains that the two main principles of political legitimacy in the industrialising world are economic growth and nationalism.

As regards language and national identity formation, Castelló, Dhoest and O'Donnell state that nations are unified through discursive practices. In other words, nations are “discursively constructed through emphasis on shared roots, history, ethnic characteristics, culture and (often) religion” (2009: 1). They add that the media have always been agents of the national as powerful “storytelling machines” through which the narration of the national is spread and reaches all the different social levels in a society.

Michael Higgins, Clarissa Smith and John Storey argue that national identity has traditionally been understood as coherent and fixed; that is to say, an essential quality of a group guaranteed by the nature of a particular territorial space. They view the nation as the symbolic articulation of landscape and folk culture, the latter being an integral part of nationalisms in Europe since the eighteenth century. To their minds, national identities are always a narrative of the nation becoming, as much about ‘routes’ as it about ‘roots’, which is the reason why nations often seemed rooted and routed in the very nature that provides them with their geographical space. To their minds, “part of the sense of belonging is bound up in the way the territory itself is articulated symbolically, making the fit between nature and nation seem natural” (2010: 14).

According to Tom Nairn (1977), the theory of nationalism represents Marxism's great historical failure as, for him, nationalism is a crucial feature of modern capitalism. Nairn defines nationalism as an internally-determined necessity in society, one that supplies people with identity, an important commodity according to his belief. He points out the positive and negative aspects of nationalisms: on the one hand, nationalism has been a "morally and politically positive force in modern history linked to the ideology of weaker, less developed countries struggling to free themselves from alien oppression" (331) but on the other hand, the term applied to fascism and Nazism.

Currently, national identities are conceived of as being in flux, as an on-going process, as a complex part of identity formed by many voices. Higgins, Smith and Storey explain that "although identities are clearly about 'who we think we are' and 'where we think we come from', they are also about 'where we are going'" (2010: 13). Nations are always being recreated; they need to be reinvented to be kept alive and functioning. Higgins, Smith and Storey sustain that in this process of national identity formation "powerful national figures and national institutions have engaged in creating new symbols, new ceremonies and new stories of historical origins as a means to present the nation to itself and to the world in a positive way" (Ibid.).

Returning to Benedict Anderson, the nation is imagined because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1991: 6). Anderson defines the nation as an imagined political community, which is limited and sovereign. As Higgins, Smith and Storey explain nations are formed by horizontal and vertical relations. Horizontal relations are the ones connected to national belonging, while vertical ones have to do with social class, ethnicity, gender and generation. Horizontal relations seem to be more important than vertical ones for national identity. Anderson considers the novel and the newspaper as two nation-enablers cultural forms. The fact that each reader performs a ceremony of reading a newspaper (or watching TV or listening to the radio) at a certain hour and place every day, make them somewhat aware that although being alone at that very moment, they can picture their imagined members of the community performing the same ceremony in similar ways. Anderson considers the newspaper an extreme form of a book, a book sold on a colossal scale but with ephemeral popularity, a one-day best-seller. He

believes that the act of reading a newspaper every morning is an extraordinary mass ceremony of simultaneous consumption. Anderson cites Hegel's observation that "newspapers serve modern man as a substitute for morning prayers" (quoted in Anderson 1991: 35).

Likewise, Higgins, Smith and Storey make the following statement:

The daily newspaper, with its juxtaposition of news stories, presents its own imagined community. It mimics and reinforces the type of imagination necessary in order to figure oneself as belonging in the imagined community of the nation. The very act of reading a daily newspaper reinforces and reproduces a sense of communal belonging (2010: 15-16).

Michael Billig (1995) believes that the national is reconfirmed on an everyday bases. He coins the term "banal nationalism" to define the mechanisms that established nation-states use for nationalist indoctrination. This banal nationalism is expressed in the daily details of life and it is associated with iconography such as flags, anthems, colours, symbols that are attached to the nation. The constant use of the collective inclusive pronouns 'we', 'us' and 'our', as well as the deictic forms 'here' and 'now' in the discourse of the daily media reinforces the sense of national belonging (114). Castelló, Dhoest and O'Donnell wonder about the effect of these 'banal' symbols on identities which become powerless when they are overused: "is there a limit beyond which the 'banal' is simply so inert that its power to shape our self-understanding is too minimal to warrant our attention? (2009: 335).

### **3. Media, War Commemoration and Collective Memory**

Another important aspect to take into account is the role that collective memory plays in the construction of national identity. Commemorating the past wars of a society is one of the ways of securing a commonly shared memory that would enhance group cohesion. In this section, I will discuss the four main theories of group-remembering, based on the classification made by Barbara A. Misztal in *Theories of Social Remembering* (2003); as well as the role of the media in the construction of national identities.

Maurice Halbwachs (1992 [1950]) was the first to introduce the concept of collective memory. Halbwachs was the most important figure within Durkheimian sociology in the interwar period (Coser 1992: 1). Barbara Misztal (2003: 50-55) discusses the influence of Émile Durkheim's beliefs on Halbwachs. Like Durkheim, Halbwachs was of the idea that every society needs and shows continuity with the past. Both thinkers emphasize the collective nature of social consciousness and that a collectively imagined past is crucial for a society to become united. Halbwachs also agrees with Durkheim in that the "function of remembering is not to transform the past but to promote a commitment to the group by symbolizing its values and aspirations" (Misztal 2003: 51). As I will explain later on, this notion of collective memory not altering the past is challenged by later conceptions. Halbwachs differs from Durkheim in that the former expands on the idea of collective memory as being a mechanism that all societies use, not only the most traditional ones.

For Halbwachs, collective memory works on any social group, and it involves a process by which the past events of a community are shaped and transformed in a way that those past experiences of the group are meaningful for the construction of the identity and values of the present society. In other words, collective memory is socially framed in the sense that every society decides what should be remembered and how to put this into practice. This last aspect links historical memory to power, as it is normally those who hold power in a society who decide the 'what' and the 'how' of the process of remembering. As Misztal argues, Halbwachs was a pioneer in the study of social memory, since "his assertion that every group develops a memory of its own past that highlights its unique identity is still the starting point for all research in the field" (Ibid.). Halbwachs' notions of the connection between past and present are questioned for being one dimensional and presuming a vision of frozen social identity.

The 'presentist' memory approach, also called the 'invention of tradition perspective' or 'the theory of the politics of memory', offers a different perspective, as it is believed that public rituals are modes of social control. The presentists argue that the past is moulded to serve the present needs of the dominant classes. They examine the manipulation of public notions of history through commemorations, education, mass media, and official calendars. As Misztal sustains, research following the invention of tradition approach has shown "how nationalist movements create a master

commemorative narrative that highlights their members' common past and legitimizes their aspiration for a shared destiny" (2003: 56). The landmark book within this categorization of the study of memory is *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. The book describes some constructed commemorations and rituals which were designed by modern states with the intention of promoting social cohesion, legitimizing authority and/or constructing a shared culture. Researchers in this area make an emphasis on those who promote social memories and how these new invented traditions serve those in power, which is why they pay special attention to the role of the dominant narratives. It is a top-down approach, and it coincides with the notion of the ISA described by Althusser in the sense that the ones in power frame the ideologies of the less dominant classes. Critics of this perspective question the issue of the imposition of fabricated traditions in democratic societies and that "the memory of a social group cannot always be reduced to the political aim of sustaining relations of power" (Ibid.: 61).

A third approach to collective memory is the so-called popular memory approach. This theory (also known as 'public memory', 'counter-memory', 'oppositional memory' or 'unofficial memory') argues that the construction of memory can follow a bottom-up direction. This means that different social groups can hold their own perspective of the past. This conception of memory sprang from Foucault's ideas on memory and from the work of the British cultural studies theorists, who created the Popular Memory Group at the Centre for Contemporary Studies in Birmingham in the 1980s. Foucault (1978) conceptualizes memory as discursive practice. He believes in the possibility of popular memory (the memory of the minorities) resisting and challenging dominant memory, the one imposed by the powerful classes. New research in public memory has shown that it can be both multi-vocal and hegemonic. Moreover, and as Misztal suggests, "studies of counter-memory illustrate that collective memory constructed from bottom up can exist in different relations to the dominant/official representation of the past, ranging from sharp contrast to close sharp similarity" (2003: 66). Critical voices to this approach believe that the past is still used for political reasons, and that it is made and remade in the service of new power arrangements (Schwartz 2000: 16, quoted in Misztal 2003: 67).

The fourth category according to Misztal's classification is the 'dynamics of memory' approach. This perspective adopts a more dynamic view in the sense that collective memory is a process of on-going negotiations (Mihelj 2009). This implies that the past is not fixed; it is always in the process of construction by the narrations in the present. Barry Schwartz provides a concise definition of collective memory widely used in the field: "Collective memory is a metaphor that formulates society's retention and loss of information about its past in the familiar terms of individual remembering and forgetting" (quoted in Edy 1999: 72). Schwartz believes that an essential process in the formation of collective memory is the contrast between retention/remembering and loss/forgetting. These processes usually occur with a hidden intention. Events that contribute to the formation of the national body of a society are usually recalled repeatedly in the present, such as successful battles or heroic events that set the foundation for the nation. Schwartz adds that collective memory is "a representation of the past embodied in both historical evidence and commemorative symbolism" (2000: 9 quoted in Misztal 2003: 72).

Jill Edy explains that communication is a critical element of collective memory since it is through communication that psychological aspects of memory transcend into the sociological sphere. Edy adds that "the media are extremely important in the construction and maintenance of a national collective memory [...]" (1999: 72). For Edy, past, present and future are linked into collective memory, which she defines as the meaning that the community makes of its past. She believes that "[collective memory] informs our understanding of past events and present relationships, and it contributes to our expectations about the future" (1999: 71). At the same time, media representations of identities are considered as useful material for the formation of cultural and national identities (Kellner 1995; Mato 2003 in Castelló et al 2009: 1). Basing her conclusions on previous studies of identity constructions and changes of identities at national and transnational levels, Ruth Wodak (2006: 19) suggests that the discourses about nations and national identities rely on four types of discursive macro-strategies:

- (1) **constructive strategies:** aiming at the construction of national identities;
- (2) **preservative or justificatory strategies:** aiming at the conservation and reproduction of national identities or narratives of identities;
- (3) **transformative strategies:** aiming at the change of national identities;

(4) **destructive strategies:** aiming at the dismantling of national identities.

Out of these four categories (constructive, preservative, transformative and destructive), the second one is of special interest to this study because the so-called preservative or justificatory strategies are those that aim at the conservation and reproduction of national identities. As will be shown in the analysis of the press in the following chapters, the commemoration of the anniversary of the Falklands/Malvinas War was echoed in the press with the aim of preserving the national pride that operated during the war time.

Norman Fairclough (1995, 2001) analyses the close connections between language, power and ideology. He sustains that “language is centrally involved in power, and struggles for power, and that [it] is so involved through its ideological properties” (2001: 14). His conception of language is that of discourse: language as social practice determined by social structures. For him, discourse is text, interaction and social context. Fairclough believes that ideological power is exercised in discourse, in other words, discourse is the optimum vehicle for the manifestation of ideology. He sustains that “discoursal common sense is ideological to the extent that it contributes to sustaining unequal power relations” (2001:89). Teun Van Dijk (1988, 1997, 1998) proposes a socio-cognitive theory for the study of media texts, considering discourse as a form of knowledge and memory. He develops theoretical models that explain cognitive discursive processing mechanisms. His socio-cognitive model derives from an assumption that cognition mediates between society and discourse. In other words, memory and mental models shape the perception and comprehension of discourse.

As Misztal points out, the media have played a key role in refashioning tradition and framing acts of commemoration. She argues that “commemoration is a struggle or negotiation between competing narratives [which] involves a constant tension between creating, preserving and destroying memories” (2003: 127). According to Ashplant, Dawson and Roper (2000), war has been one of the most productive topics in memory studies. War commemorations, for instance, have been studied “as an attempt at mourning and an effort to repair the psychological and physical damage of war” (Misztal 2003: 128). Various commemorative practices are used to assign symbolic meaning to the past. Through the study of war commemoration it has been noted that the remembrance of war helps in the construction of a rhetoric based on national



identity. As previously said, war and public memory have been greatly studied in the last century, as well as the process by which the language of mourning has found a way into art. Some of the main research on war, memory and art has been done by Fussell 1975, Mosse 1990, Winter 1995, Evans and Lunn 1997, Peitsch, Burdett and Gorrara 1999, Ashplant, Dawson and Roper 2000, Erll and Nünning 2008, among many others.

Concerning memory and identity, Misztal explains that collective identities imply notions of group bounding and homogeneity, involving a feeling of solidarity to the group as well as a felt difference to outsiders, the classical us/them dichotomy which is a common characteristic of all social groups. Memory and identity are interlinked; in fact, and as Gillis sustains, they “depend upon each other since not only is identity rooted in memory but also what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity” (1994: 3). Nationalisms see nations as communities of memory and use memory as a political instrument for group identity and cohesion. Many social groups look back into the past with the intention of glorifying specific aspects of it. Thus, they use memory to foster pride in their traditions and to demand recognition of suffering (Misztal 2003: 138). Likewise, Lucy Noakes (1998) argues that certain aspects of the past will be highlighted over others. This standpoint leads to a romanticized vision of the past.

Mass media is a key contributor to social remembering. The role that journalists play in the process has also been assessed. Barbie Zelizer (1992), for instance, demonstrated that journalists construct collective memory in ways that retain their roles as authoritative storytellers about public events (in Edy 1999: 72). Jill Edy adds that “journalists’ depictions of the past have repercussions for the ways in which a community relates to its past” (1999: 73). Edy identifies three forms for the manner in which stories about the past appear in the news: commemorations, historical analogies and historical contexts. Commemorative stories are usually referred to as ‘anniversary journalism’. In news reports of this kind there is a variety of social events attached, such as wreath laying, re-enactments, speeches at memorial sites, which constitute useful material for the development of the news story. Edy explains that because these events are usually sanctioned by some sort of social authority, the commemorated person or event is usually non-controversial. In this case study, the commemorated event is a war that has mainly been regarded as just and necessary while the commemorated people are the national heroes who put their lives at risk. The type of story within the

commemoration type makes the past come to life again, creating an emotional connection between the past and the present, by recalling touching moments of the past. In this research, it is the recalling of the heroic acts of the veterans or dead soldiers that are brought into the present through the reproduction of details of battles; and also by the narration of the tragic moments the family of the dead or injured soldier endured.

The second category identified by Edy is formed by the stories based on historical analogies. Such stories “attempt to make the past relevant to the present by using a past event as a tool to analyse and predict the outcome of a current situation” (77). There is a link between a past event and a present situation, though the focus remains in the present. The third category listed by Edy is termed historical context. The news stories in this category emphasize the historical process that results in present-day situations. Such stories are rare since journalism usually produces simple, straightforward and dramatic stories rather than complex analyses of situations.

Sabina Mihelj reflects on the role of the news media as sites for the creation, revision and reproduction of collective memories (2009: 120). She argues that the historical events commemorated by the media are mainly national events. Consequently, the collective memory reproduced or negotiated by the media takes the form of national memory. While Edy (1999) establishes a tripartite typology of commemorative journalism as explained above, Mihelj believes that news reporting relates to the past in two main ways: commemorative practices and historical analogies. Mihelj blends Edy’s second and third category into one. Commemorative news articles are produced to report commemorative activities such as memorial speeches, wreath laying, religious ceremonies to honour the dead, among others. She says: “analogous uses of history were also found in media reporting during ceremonial events” (Mihelj 2009: 123)

It is a well-known fact that journalism is not always as objective or neutral as it should be – if that is at all possible. According to Mihelj, among others, “during periods of war, mainstream journalists tend to put aside their disagreement and adopt a patriotic stance, organising their narratives around the basic conflict between “us” and “them”, between “our community” and its enemies (2009: 122). “In the context of war, they [journalists] also frequently encourage fear and hatred, and in response to the menace of social disintegration following a traumatic event, they may try to re-establish social bonds and a sense of direction” (Peri 1997 quoted in Mihelj 2009: 123). Although in

democratic systems media corporations have a high level of autonomy, they are usually linked to hegemonic powers; mostly political parties and economic groups (Castelló et al 2009: 5).

Edy explains that journalists try to avoid the inclusion of subjective material in news stories. However, a way of giving their opinion in an indirect way is by the inclusion of quotes usually of politicians or other relevant members of society. These inter-textual texts protect the writer's reputation while they introduce a biased opinion. In the case of the press articles analysed for the thesis, this trend is repeatedly observed by the numerous citations of authorities, especially David Cameron and William Hague among others; widows and war veterans. Direct opinion is given in editorial sections or opinion articles, which are to be found in the corpus. As Mihelj sustains, there is a strong link between the formation of national identities and the process of forgetting and/or remembering the past: "narratives about history are central to the engendering, reproduction and transformation of collective identities" (2009: 124). Olick and Robbins (1998: 124) argue that the mass media function as mnemonic sites in modern societies. Consequently, they play a crucial role in the process of nation-formation and maintenance of identities. Recent theories of nationalism point out that national identity formation are not a one-way, top-down process. Much on the contrary, it is an uneven process. Mihelj explains that there are periods of 'quiet' or banal nationalism and periods of 'hot' nationalism (2009: 125; 2011: 96-98). During the so-called quiet periods, which occur most frequently, the role that national identities play in journalism is minimal, it is always there but inactive and in the background. In other words, and as Mihelj argues, "national identity becomes reduced to a largely invisible narrative frame that holds together" (2009: 125).

As mentioned above, Benedict Anderson (2006: 32-36) explains that this narrative frame of nationhood relies on two sources. On the one hand, the daily information that appears in the media is related to members of the same imagined community, to use Anderson's words. On the other hand, these subjects that have accessed to the local or national mass media are also members of the same imagined community. Michael Billing, as previously said, coined the term 'banal' nationalism to describe those daily reminders of collective belonging. In the press, this phenomena can be observed in simple references such as 'us, we, them, here, there', among others. In

opposition to quiet nationalism, and in line with Mihelj's critique, there are exceptional moments of 'hot' nationalism in news stories. These hot moments are the ones in times of war, sports, and other national events. On these occasions, journalists adopt a first person narrator 'we' and they make numerous references to 'our' nation, 'our' team.

War commemoration recalls past experiences of suffering but at the same time of resistance. That is why mnemonic battles, such as the battle of Goose Green in the Falklands, appear front stage in news reports, occupying a central position in the narratives of war. Another function these news stories of battles play is to bring hopes of recovery from the traumas of war. All in all, Mihelj's ideas can be summarised in her concluding remarks:

During the period of relative peace, journalists generally adhered to the routines of objective reporting and rarely explicitly identified with the nation, as well as avoiding the use of historical references – except in reports covering routine commemorative events. In contrast, during the period of collective celebration and the subsequent armed conflict, journalists abandoned the requirements of balanced, neutral reporting, explicitly embraced a particular national identity (2009: 133).

All in all, this section has reflected on the symbolism of war commemoration in journalism, and how commemorative practices serve to construct a master national narrative by bringing together a common past and the desire of a shared future. Regarding collective memory, the main ideas expressed above are that a group's memory is a manifestation of their identity. Besides, a stable identity, personal or national, rests on an awareness of continuity with the beloved past (Misztal 2003: 52-53). According to Halbwachs, collective memory can play a solidifying role in societies (1950: 26 [1926]). As Edy states, "our collective memory binds us together, because our past is an important ingredient in our future, and because our social remembrance is a critical element in our social identity" (1999: 83). Four theoretical approximations to the study of social memory were described in this chapter. In this thesis, I will adopt the dynamics of memory approach, as I believe the formation of identities through the use of collective memory is a complex and dynamic process with many forces competing and negotiating meaning.

#### 4. The Media and the Falklands War

In this section I will outline the state-of-the-art literature concerning the British media and the Falklands War which have constituted necessary background material for this study. The thesis will draw on them but it will go a step further in the analysis as no academic research has been done so far studying the British national press for the thirtieth anniversary (2012) and this is where the innovative aspect of this thesis resides. Hereafter I will enlist the most relevant publications.

*Gotcha! The Media, the Government and the Falklands Crisis* (1983), by BBC journalist Robert Harris, provides a detailed account of the several problems encountered by the British government and the media regarding the coverage of the war, with a description of the accreditation process of the 29 journalists that managed to secure a place in the warships setting sail for the battlefields. Moreover, Harris gives an overall impression of the role of the press during the conflict and denounces some of the most patriotic and jingoistic papers, such as the *Sun*. However, his study concentrates mainly on TV and on the reporters covering the war rather than on the written press. He claims that there was a great deal of government and military control on journalists with the task force, as well as censorship over filming: the Navy did not want “unfavourable” publicity. As the technical drawbacks continued for so long, many reporters were forced to send their news reports from Buenos Aires. This fact was not welcomed by the British government. Both the BBC and ITN newscasters were very careful when reading about events on the war, and they did not display nationalist feelings openly. This was criticised by Members of Parliament; for example, Conservative MP Robert Adley accused the BBC of being “General Galtieri’s fifth column in Britain” (Harris 1983: 75).

A similar account of the management of the media during the battle is the one produced by Valerie Adams of the Department of War Studies at King’s College University, London. In *The Media and the Falklands Campaign* (1986) Adams studies the role of the media’s expert commentators during the war. She argues that the military and the Ministry of Defence exercised almost complete control over the limited number of journalists with the Task Force, while the government had a monopoly in the propagation of news about the war. Adams points out that the Falklands was the first overseas war for Britain which received modern media attention as the previous

campaign had been the Suez expedition of 1956. According to Adams, the Falklands crisis was for two months the single main news story in the British media. Newspapers regularly devoted whole sections to the conflict; some tabloids even developed a logo to identify reports. On the sinking of the *Belgrano*, Adams writes that “the popular press was stimulated to a further excess of jingoism” (89). She concludes that there was plenty of misleading and jingoistic material published; much of what was written and said during the war was inaccurate, much was extremely accurate.

William Lockney Miller, in “Testing the power of a media consensus: a comparison of Scots and English treatment of the Falklands campaign” (1983), explains that the outburst of jingoism over the Falklands War in the press suggests that the collective power of a media consensus is vast. Miller compares and contrasts the way the war was reported in the English and the Scottish newspapers and argues that there were some differences but also some similarities in the way the Scottish media treated the issue. The Scottish media supported a firm response to the Argentine invasion. Moreover, a popular support of the task force and the heroes was also popular. *The Record* (from the *Daily Mirror* group) was the best-selling tabloid in Scotland by the time of the war. Miller sustains that the paper supported Britain and the task force but not the Prime Minister: “it was a paper which ‘backed our boys’, but it did not back Mrs. Thatcher”. As Miller demonstrates, the word ‘Britain’ instead of ‘Thatcher’ was used frequently in headlines and there were only a few small pictures of the Conservative leader. Besides, editorials reminded Thatcher about the freedom of the islands, not the possession of them. This could be linked to Scottish nationalism and the move for the independence of Scotland. Moreover, Miller shows how some believe that the Prime Minister should have been capable of mobilizing “economic resources to attack the evil of unemployment, which is a greater threat than the junta”, as one editorial of the *Daily Record* suggested on 28 April. According to Miller, these trends in the Scottish press may have led to a diverse popular reaction in connection with politics and the decision to withhold support for the Conservative party in the 1982 elections: “throughout England, North as well as South, the Conservatives staged a major recovery in 1982 [...]. Within Scotland, the 1982 local election results showed Conservatives suffered their worst swings in the areas where the *Daily Record* most dominates the local media mix” (23-28).

*Falklands/Malvinas: Whose crisis?* (1982) by Martin Honeywell and Jenny Pearce includes an article in the form of an appendix about the role played by the British popular press in the process of forming a public opinion on the war. The appendix, written by Patricia Holland, is titled “Public Opinion, the Popular Press and the Organization of Ideas” (119-125). The main idea in the article is that “behind the banner headlines and sensational pictures there lies a coherent ideology that plays an important role in forming people’s ideas” (119). Besides, she sustains that “[...] even when the popular press is partial, garbled and inconsistent, these newspapers continue to offer their readers a highly coherent ideological framework within which to interpret and make sense of the war” (125). In “In these times when men walk tall: The popular press and the Falklands Conflict” (1984) Holland observes a sharp division in the way men and women were portrayed in the popular press. She argues that the image of the soldier corresponded to that of the heroic fighting man, always in control of the situation, exemplifying legitimate and righteous aggression. She describes how tabloid newspapers celebrate men’s hardness and aggressiveness in language and pictures, praising masculine toughness and stamina, admiring their strength and valuing their masculinity. Holland notes that the media celebrated Thatcher’s determination during the war: “[...] the national war, the assertive, masculine nation that we have seen constructed in the pages of the newspapers [...] had to have a leader, and Margaret Thatcher was determined to fulfil that role” (1984: 22). Holland’s research on the representation of gender in tabloids during the war suggests that women’s femininity existed as a complementation of men’s masculinity and at the service of it.

Once the war was over, the British Ministry of Defence awarded two grants to promote the study of the relationship between the government, the armed forces and the media in times of armed conflict in general and the Falklands in particular. One of these grants went to the Department of War Studies at King’s College University, London and the other was for the Centre of Journalism Studies at University College, Cardiff. The book *The Fog of War: The Media on the Battlefield* by Derrick Mercer, Geoff Mungham and Kevin Williams (1987) is based on the Cardiff study and it contains the result of 200 interviews carried out in the different areas involved in the war: the War Cabinet, chiefs of staff, task force commanders, commanding officers and Royal Navy captains. Oddly enough, refusal to participate came from the media: some Fleet Street editors

from the popular press declined to contribute to the research which sprang from the media's criticism to the way the authorities handled the information during the war. The results of the study were submitted to the Ministry of Defence (MoD) in 1985 and to the Parliament in the following year. The first point made by the authors is that there is a clash between the armed forces and the media. This clash is due to the fact that the essence of successful warfare is secrecy, whereas for successful journalism publicity is pivotal. The book also talks about the obsession of the government for the war propaganda: "for Margaret Thatcher's war cabinet in 1982, winning the battle for public opinion was regarded as essential to sustain the war" (6). Mercer, Mungham and Williams explain that there were two star journalists with the task force: Max Hastings, from the *London Standard*, and Michael Nicholson from Independent Television News (ITN). Hastings won the Journalist of the Year award for his job during the war. It was later known that many newspapers did not send their experienced journalist because they did not believe in the potentiality of a real war. The information was sometimes inaccurate since there was a lack of official, centralised information. Notwithstanding the criticism of the media to the MoD and the mishandling of news, Fleet Street gave broad support to the war, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, as the authors note.

In his book *War Photography: Realism in the British Press* (1991) John Taylor devotes a whole chapter to the study of the manner in which the war was represented and narrated in the media: "The Falklands Campaign" (88-115). The chapter starts with a reflection on the way the media was handled by the government and the military. He also talks about the several constraints in the coverage of the war due to technical difficulties, exclusion of journalists for operational reasons, and censorship for alleged security and strategic reasons which generated frustration, complaints and frictions between the press, the military and the Ministry of Defence. Once the war was finished, the MoD set a Defence Committee with the intention of clarifying rules of censorship and the role of the media in future wars. The result was an extensive report titled "The handling of public and press information during the Falklands conflict". A similar report was produced by the MoD Study Group on Censorship titled "The protection of military information". As for the lack of pictures and daily accurate information from the battlefields, Taylor points out that the press, especially tabloid newspapers, had the problem of keeping up with the demands of releasing daily news stories during the



conflict. To compensate, the newspapers produced daily stories of the personal aspects of the soldiers and their families in Britain, which added to the feeling of patriotism and the imagined British family. That is why it was common to find articles in the newspapers about mothers or wives in despair, or family reunions welcoming the hero at home. Moreover, it was an effective way to avoid censorship. As Taylor explains: “the silence and invisibility that lay over the military campaign forced the press to expand its cover towards the home front, and so towards the familial [...] which inflected with the imaginary unity of nationhood” (108). Taylor also discusses the absence of photographs of the dead and the Argentine surrender. The media showed no pictures of the British dead and very few of the enemy. According to Taylor, newspaper editors decided not to reproduce the few images available of dead or wounded soldiers. It was considered by many, especially from the MoD, to be of good taste not to have done so. However, Taylor points out that “the absence of the lurid war let in the illusion of a clean war” (113).

In *‘Rejoice!’ Media freedom and the Falklands* Susan Greenberg and Graham Smith (1983) interpreted the conclusions of the Defence Committee as an attack to media independence and journalistic ethics. In their view, Margaret Thatcher took a totalitarian approach to the media since most of the journalists were working under high levels of governmental and also military control: “normal demands of media independence became cast as a ‘luxury’ that the country couldn’t afford, for reasons of ‘operational security’, ‘morale’ or the ‘national will’” (7). The authors argue that the British media were extremely obedient towards the authorities. This resulted in some dilemmas and contradictions, such is the case of the BBC, which was accused of not being patriotic enough. Greenberg and Smith agreed that the images of war were carefully controlled as the MoD remembered the effects television had had on the Vietnam War and the growth of popular opposition in the USA. The effect of the shortage of pictures allowed the British media to create unreal and mystifying portrayals of the war. All in all, the main aim of the article, which in fact they call pamphlet, is precisely to denounce the mechanisms of censorship imposed on the media during the war and to show how some sectors complied with the requirements as it benefitted their political agenda: “it was often awful, perverse, sensational, inaccurate, distorted and

served the political needs of the people who own and control the media [...] This pamphlet has shown that Britain does not have a free media” (37).

Nora Femenia’s *National Identity in Times of Crises: The Scripts of the Falklands/Malvinas* (1996) studies how the political elites constructed national self-images and enemy images in both countries (Argentina and UK). She resorts to the traditional assumption that societies with internal confrontations look for an outside enemy to unite forces against it. This would shift the problems from the inside to the outside of the nation. She based her study on newspaper editorials, as well as other texts such as speeches given by politicians and military leaders. Her sociological study of the nature of the Malvinas/Falklands War is highly enriching for understanding and considering the non-explicit motives that led the two governments to war. As regards the media and identity promotion, Femenia believes that the media has the monopoly on power to manipulate the symbols of identity. She analyses the media control on both sides of the conflict. On the British side, she argues that “press personnel were integrated into military operations, subjected to military commanders and placed under technological censorship” (3) while on the Argentine side, the “accreditation of journalists was reduced to two officially designated press officers, and subsequent control directives upon domestic media were issued” (Ibid.). Femenia posits that the Falklands War is an interesting case study for the following three reasons: it was a conflict remotely situated in the globe; it was concluded in a very short time and it was easily isolated from the media. She based her research on the theoretical assumption that “a positive, confident self-image is a valuable element that helps states to maintain international peace, and confirm them in their national role as valued members of the world” (6). The data she provides confirmed her two hypotheses: in the pre-invasion period, the “elites” (according to Femenia) of both countries have no or few attributional behaviours whereas in post-invasion period, elites do promote discursively the attribution of positive qualities to their own nation/allies, and build up the image of the other nation as an enemy.

*Malvinas desde Londres* (2002) by Enrique Oliva offers a detailed account of the war making use of British newspapers. As an Argentine war correspondent in London, he narrates the daily political events during the war time, concentrating on diplomatic negotiations and political speculations. The book also offers a compilation of the main

news published in the British papers. Oliva sustains that, while the British government played the role of the victim, attacked by a totalitarian regime, the Argentine failed to make use of the opportunity to reach a peaceful solution through diplomatic negotiations. Published in the same year, Michael Skey's article "Undue Reverence: Questioning National Identity in the Media Coverage of the 1982 Falklands War" (2002) studies how nationalism is used to construct geographical and ideological divisions. His line of argument is based on Ernest Gellner's theories on nationalism and the ways the media helped to see these divisions as natural.

Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty* (2002), analyses the role of war correspondents around the globe. He believes that the Ministry of Defence skilfully manipulated the press in the Falklands crisis setting a model for the rest of the century: "the MoD achieved *exactly* [Sic!] what its political masters wanted it to do, and its role in the Falklands campaign will go down in the history of journalism as a classic example of how to manage the media in wartime" (478). Knightley described the process by which some journalists were given priority over others to cover the conflict in their own interests, and how the British MoD had the major advantage of controlling the war zone exclusively. Knightley gives the example of war photographer Donald McCullin, who was denied a place with the press corps because his work would challenge the image of war that the military desired to project. McCullin denounces that he was given the excuse of lack of accommodation on the ships sailing to the South Atlantic, though, as he points out, three million chocolate bars were able to be placed on board. Knightley reinforces the successful role of the MoD in managing the media with the following statement: "The MoD was brilliant –censoring, suppressing and delaying dangerous news, releasing bad news in dribs and dabs so as to nullify its impact, and projecting its own image as the real source of accurate information [...]" (481). He also denounces that some sectors of the media were compliant with the government in accepting the censorship imposed.

*The Falklands Conflict twenty years on: Lessons for the future*, edited by Stephen Badsey (2005) is a book of proceedings published out of the papers of a conference titled 'Falklands Conflict' in 2002 held at the Royal Military Academy in Sandhurst, organized by RMA Sandhurst and Britannia Royal Naval college Dartmouth. The main article used for this specific section is "The Falklands conflict as a media war" by

Stephen Badsey (39-53). The author sustains that the media provided an important part of the experience of the war; the media record in turn provided a framework for memory. He talks about the constant interaction between the media, the wider population and politicians during the conflict. The way printed journalism behaved during the Falkland conflict marked a breakthrough in the interaction between media and war, thereby setting the beginning of what was later on known as the ‘media war’, as Badsey points out. The expression was coined after the 1991 Gulf war to refer to the interaction of the media, the technology, the political and the military at war; it is also called the CNN effect: global real-time television.

Doreen King’s *The Falklands (Malvinas) war – as told by the British media* (2009) argues that the media coverage of wars has a substantial bearing on public opinion. In the case of the Falklands war, she observes that the media narration was centred on military action and politics. The Argentine position was hardly exposed in the British press for patriotic reasons. However, King points out to an article published in the *Times* on Saturday 24 April 1982, an advertisement for the Argentine case sponsored by a group of Argentine citizens resident in New York. It said that “Argentina did not wish to inflict injury or loss on local inhabitants, nor did it wish to modify their lifestyle”. The article makes reference to the resolution of the General Assembly of 20 December 1960 which established the need to put an end to colonialism.

In “Empire’s Fetish: Sexualised nationalism and gendering of the Falklands War” (2011) Zoe Anderson analysed tabloid newspapers during the war examining the representation of gender in the news. She observes that the media perpetuated the nationalist sentiment during the Falklands War by placing sexuality as central to the nationalist project in which English [sic!] women were positioned as symbols of national pride. Anderson argues that women occupied three main representations in the tabloid media during the conflict: “national boundary marker; good wives/girlfriends and mothers; and participating in the war effort through sexualised patriotism” (2012: 194). Anderson believes that the typical narrative of the suffering mothers or wives was very common in the popular press during wartime and denoted a nuclear heterosexual unit which is a traditional way to perceive nations. She concludes that “the Falklands War was a vehicle through which post-colonial anxieties surrounding British

nationalism could be exorcised – if not erased – in a grand tabloid spectacle of denial and collective imagination” (203).

In this last section I have tried to summarise the state-of-the-art literature about the media and the Falklands war, which can be divided into two parts. One part corresponds to the political aspects of the coverage of the war, the conflicts between the government, the journalists and the military, the censorship imposed on the media and the lack of information and images available. Research reflects that different sectors from the media and news corporations denounced the treatment they received from the MoD. However, it has also been stated that the majority of the newspapers supported the war and behaved patriotically. The other branch of research is connected with the press, the analysis of news and texts. It is this second line of analysis that is more pertinent to my study, since I will engage in a text-based analysis of language and imagery of the articles published in British newspapers in 2012, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the war. Most of what has been written in this area is related to gender: men were represented as masculine and heroic, a prototype of the hero; while women were portrayed either as the suffering mothers or as wives. These portrayals convey the image of a united family acting patriotically.

## **5. Chapter Summary**

This chapter seeks to provide the theoretical framework together with a selection of the main literature review. The chapter has been divided into interconnected parts, each part offering an ever-widening analysis of the subject matter, where language and identity are the common denominators. Moreover, the chapter sets out to show the links between media, war commemoration and the formation of collective memory. Last but not least, it ends by outlining the literature review about the Falklands War and the media.

## **Chapter 4: Methods and Materials**

### **1. Introduction**

The following chapter explains the aims, the methods and materials used in the thesis. The chapter will start by listing the objectives, hypothesis and research questions, followed by the process involved in the selection of the corpus and its nature. There is also a brief overview of the main characteristics of the British press that will help to contextualise the material to be analysed.

### **2. Aim of the Study**

#### *2.1. Objectives*

The main objective of this thesis is to analyse the way the Falklands War, and the different aspects of it, are remembered and portrayed in the British national press on its thirtieth anniversary. By doing so, I will examine if and how the discourse of the British press reinforces the nationalist project of the Falklands War in the year 2012.

A second objective is to design a protocol model for the analysis of the Falkland War anniversary in the press that could be applied, as a post-doctoral project, for examining the manner in which the Argentine press reported the anniversary. This would be useful for establishing a comparative analysis between the way the war is remembered and portrayed in the media of the two nations that waged war. This means that the thematic categories developed in this thesis should be useful for the analysis of the commemoration of war in the South American country. Eventually, this could be applied to the study of any war anniversaries in the press, with a few adaptations to specific cases.

#### *2.2. Hypotheses*

The initial hypothesis is that the Falklands War is revived and recalled on its 30 anniversary in the British national press. The British press adopts a patriotic stand in the way the anniversary is narrated. The manner in which this is done renovates and

reinvents British national identities in connection with the war. More specific hypotheses will be outlined in the next section corresponding to the precise research question.

I have identified three possible causes as to why this happens. The first reason is linked to the ongoing conflicts with Argentina for the sovereignty of the Islands. Although the war is over, the dispute is not, and the anniversary revived the ongoing claims of the South American country. In this sense, my work will serve to illustrate the reaction to the Argentine 'attack' reflected in the press. Another cause is the internal crisis in the UK in the year 2012 due to the financial recession, the consequent cuts in social expenditure by the conservative government and the critical voices that questioned the social policies of the government. The war implied a huge nationalist project that united the nation in 1982, which yet again is used in 2012 to remind the people of better times in the past so they will not lose faith in the nation. A third reason is that the Falklands War was a successful war for the British and their Armed Forces, a war with a clear objective that was short and apparently easy to win, restoring the credibility of the civil and military institutions. After the Falklands, the British have been involved in several overseas conflicts in which the political and military targets were unclear and arguable, so the Falklands is considered by many the last “successful” war for the British.

### *2.3. Research Questions*

Hereafter, I detail the main research questions addressed in the thesis, followed by a more specific hypothesis for each question. These research questions will be restated at the beginning of each chapter. Each chapter will also contain a theoretical introduction of the specific topic under discussion.

#### *2.3.1. Justification of the War*

Is the war which was fought in 1982 justified in the press of 2012? This research question is to be embedded within the framework of the “just” war theory, which is used by some governments to justify their actions of going to war, inscribing truth on their side. The hypothesis is that the war is firmly supported in the war anniversary as a “just war” since it would be contrary to the national interests and even illogical to advertise an unjust war.

### *2.3.2. Heroes and Heroism*

How is the war hero described or portrayed? The national discourse of war is supported on the glorification of the heroic figure of the soldiers who fight, or fought and died, in defence of the nation. The portrayal of the soldiers as outstanding is a very common technique in times of war to increase the national feeling. The same applies to times of commemoration, when the soldiers are remembered with pride for their heroism.

### *2.3.3. The Enemy*

Is the enemy who engaged in war remembered? Is there an enemy nowadays? If so, how is this current enemy represented, how is the enemy constructed emotionally and in language? The classical representation of the 'us/them' dichotomy still applies in the times of anniversaries. Along with the hero being glorified, the enemy is remembered by narrating their wrong decisions and actions. This is even more notorious in this particular case, as the conflict is not over yet, there is still the need to find an enemy figure.

### *2.3.4. Gender and Nation*

How are gender issues connected with the war anniversary? What role does gender play in the commemorative events? Does the discourse of the war anniversary reinforce these gender divisions? How is gender used to call on an emotional response from the readers? War has traditionally been constructed as a very masculine domain. The discourse of war is gendered and promotes references to masculinity with a veneration and glorification of violence. That is to say, men go to war while women stay at home taking care of the family and mourning the loss of the loved ones.

## **3. Methods**

A qualitative method will be used for the analysis. All parts of the newspaper article will be analysed, since the article will be taken as a text to be explored in its totality. The objective is to get to the core of the message, analysing the text closely and spotting not only what the article is saying, but also what it is not saying and why. As Pierre Macherey claims, "every text is necessarily accompanied by a certain absence; the explicit requires the implicit" (1978: 85). This implies that texts should be read on two levels: what the text says and what the text silences. The corpus will be approached



using two methods: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Close Reading. The reason for working with two methods of analysis has to do with my personal interest in the analysis of the media from a cultural studies perspective.

John Richardson defines CDA as “a theory and a method of analysing the way that individuals and institutions use language” (2007: 1). Critical discourse analysts focus on “social problems, and specially the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse and domination” (van Dijk, 2001: 96). Norman Fairclough (1995, 2001) identifies three stages in CDA: description, interpretation and explanation. Fairclough suggests performing a textual analysis taking into account the following four aspects:

- (1) Linguistic Aspects: vocabulary, grammar, syntax, figures of speech, register, tone, style.
- (2) Semantic Aspects: denotation, connotation.
- (3) Structural Aspects: relationship between words in the text.
- (4) Cultural Aspects: inter-textuality, interpretation applying different fields of study (history, psychology, philosophy, etc.), contradictions in the text.

Ruth Wodak (1996, 2002) develops the principles of CDA. Her main ideas are summarised hereafter (2002: 14-15):

- CDA is interdisciplinary since problems in our societies are too complex to be studied from a single perspective.
- CDA is problem-oriented, rather than focused on specific linguistic items. Social problems are the items of research, such as racism, identity, social change.
- The theories and the methodologies are eclectic and they adapt to the data under investigation.
- Multiple genres and multiple public spaces are studied, and intercultural and inter-discursive relationships are investigated.
- The historical context is always analysed and integrated into the interpretation of discourse and text.
- The overall aim is that the results of the study can change certain discursive and social practices.

Close Reading, a technique used in the literary method New Criticism, is centred on the analysis of the text itself without paying attention to authorship, historical context

or ultra-textuality. This method has become successful for the analysis of media products by cultural studies, implementing Jacques Derrida's deconstruction approaches for the analysis of popular culture. Close reading calls more on an interpretation of the text by the researcher or analyst, rather than on strict empirical verification. Apart from Derrida, close reading embraces other post-structuralist theories and theorists, such as Michel Foucault, Julia Kristeva, Jacques Lacan, among others (Castelló 2008: 207-211). Close Reading is also characterized as impressionistic, intuitive and randomised (Barry 1995: 207). Concerning the terminology employed in a close reading analysis, it tends to be less specific or scientific than the one used in other more structuralist methods of research.

As these two methodological approaches are flexible as to the specific manner in which the analysis should be done, I had a specific method to approach the corpus. Once the articles were collected, I applied a first in-depth analysis. From this primary analysis I extracted main topics and ideas, which were used to elaborate the different categories that form the structure of the thesis, in the form of headings and subheadings. In other words, I have followed a 'bottom-up' approach. The following table shows the resulted structure:

<b>Falklands War 30th Anniversary in the British Media</b>
<b>Justification of the War</b>
1. Reasons for War
1.1. Territorial Integrity
1.2. Self-defence
1.3. A Question of Principles
2. Margaret Thatcher's Response
3. The Falkland Islanders
4. 2012: Pride and Commitment
<b>Heroes and Heroism</b>
1. Individual Heroism
1.1. Survivors
1.2. Traumatized War Veterans
1.3. Dead Heroes
2. Collective Heroism
2.1. The British Task Force
2.2. The Islanders

3. Honouring the Heroes, Remembering the War
<b>The Enemy</b>
1. The War Enemy: the Dictatorship (1982)
2. The Political Enemy Today (2012)
3. The Argentine Armed Forces
4. The People from Argentina
<b>Gender and Nation</b>
1. Nationalism, War and Gender
2. Widows and Commemoration
3. Heroism and Military Masculinity

**Table 1: Theme-based structure of the thesis**

I believe this theme-based model for analysis can be useful for the analysis of different media (written press, television, radio). This proposal can be adjusted to the Argentine media, provided some minor changes are realised to suit specific needs.

I also looked closely at language and structures for performing a detailed textual analysis. The following categories were especially highlighted:

- Elliptical constructions with personal pronouns, such as ‘we’, ‘them’, ‘our’. These types of structures were frequently found in reference to the British people and nation and the enemy.
- Choice of lexical terms
- Allusions and references
- Play of words, such as puns, metaphors.
- Emotionally loaded phrases
- Descriptions of body language

## **4. Materials**

### *4.1. Overview of the British Press*

British daily newspapers are conventionally divided into two groups: popular press (tabloid) and quality press (also called broadsheet/up-market/ the ‘heavies’). A further sub-division can be applied into tabloids, giving way to a third category, the middle-market (or respectable tabloids) and the lower-market (or sensationalist tabloids). The following chart shows the categorisation of major British daily newspapers:

Classification of Newspaper	Name of Newspaper
Up-market	<i>Financial Times, Times, Daily Telegraph, Guardian, Independent</i>
Middle-market	<i>Daily Mail, Daily Express, Today</i>
Lower-market	<i>Sun, Daily Mirror, Daily Star</i>

**Table 2: Categorisation of Newspapers**

The British press is internationally known for its tabloid national newspapers. The term tabloid is a borrowing from medicine, from tablet form, and it originally meant mini-newspaper and picture-newspaper. The full ‘tabloidization’ of both down-market and mid-market British national newspapers was not completed until the 1980s (Tunstall 1996: 9). As Michael Billig (1995) explains, the terms ‘tabloid’ and ‘broadsheet’ make reference not only to the size of the newspaper but also to other characteristics, such as kind of readership and approximation to news. The distinction does not have to do with the ideology of the editorial line either since political alliances vary within each class of newspaper. Broadly speaking, the majority of the newspapers (both in number and readership) support the Conservative Party; while the *Daily Mirror* has traditionally supported the Labour Party; *Today*, the *Guardian*, and the *Independent* can also be classified as having left-of-centre tendencies (Billig 1995: 110). Ownership is another factor that cuts across the tabloid/quality distinction: the media magnate Rupert Murdoch owns newspapers from both categories, such as the *Sun*, *Today* and the *Times*. Below follows a description of some of the most common features of each group.

The *Sun*, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Star* are the popular ‘lower’ tabloids; also called red-top because their logo-name is in colour red. These daily papers are famous for their sensationalist presentation of news, the short and superficial articles, the striking headlines together with the large and numerous pictures; all of them combined to try to appeal to the readers. The language used in tabloids is generally colloquial and colourful, in the sense that puns, slang and idioms are frequent. As regards main themes, tabloids are newspapers whose main focus is on crime, sex, sport, television, show business, the monarchy and sensational human interest stories. Tunstall describes tabloids in the following way:

There is an overwhelming emphasis on personalities; such ‘serious’ news is often presented via one personality attacking another. Much material is look-at material, there are many pictures, big headlines and the advertising is also mainly display, which again involves pictures and big headlines. The remainder of the tabloid is ‘quick read’ material which most stories running to less than 400 words. The most densely written part of the down-market tabloid tends to deal with entertainment – such as the television schedule, the racing card, and sporting statistics. The tabloid is designed to draw the reader through the entire paper, looking at all pages; an alternative route is provided (mainly for male readers) which starts on the back page in sports (1996: 11).

The popular press is often undermined and accused of being sensationalist. Sylvester Bolam, editor of the *Daily Mirror* from 1948 to 1953, published the following self-defensive statement on the front page of the newspaper in the early 1950s, which helps to shed some light on the positive aspects of sensationalism:

The *Mirror* is a sensationalist newspaper. We make no apology for that. We believe in the sensational presentation of news and views, especially important news and views, as a necessary and valuable public service in these days of mass readership and democratic responsibility. We shall go on being sensational to the best of our ability. Sensationalism does not mean distorting the truth. It means the vivid and dramatic presentation of events so as to give them a forceful impact on the mind of the reader. It means big headlines, vigorous writing, simplification into familiar, everyday language, and the wide use of illustration by cartoon and photograph. As in larger, so in smaller and more personal affairs, the *Mirror* and its millions of readers prefer the vivid to the dull and the vigorous to the timid. No doubt we make mistakes, but we are at least alive (in Grahame 1995).

The middle-market group is also called black-top because the letters and the logo of the name at the front page are in black; such as the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express*. These two newspapers are associated with the British middle classes. They were circulation leaders in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but their success decreased with the introduction of television which has had a huge success among the middle classes. Meanwhile, the other two categories (up-market and down-market) have prospered, as Tunstall notes (1996: 11). He acknowledges that the entrance of the news magnate Rupert Murdoch in 1969 (when he bought the *News of the World* and the *Sun*) marked an end of independent journalism, as he used newspapers to make politics. The up-market group (also termed serious or quality press) is formed by the so-called broadsheet newspapers for their large size, popularly referred to as the ‘heavies’. Quality newspapers pretend to be more objective in the presentation of news and the narration of events. However, they include opinionated articles by star journalists which

usually deal with politics, economy and culture. The articles are frequently long, deep, and thought-provoking as quality papers are widely read by the higher, educated classes.

In *Newspaper Power: The New National Press in Britain* Jeremy Tunstall (1996) argues that the British newspapers constitute a mature and very competitive industry that has managed to remain powerful in the video age. Tunstall considers the British press an extreme case within Europe in the sense that the whole business is dominated by national newspapers published in one city: London. In “British Newspapers today” Michael Higgins (2010) highlights the importance of newspapers to Britain’s sense of political and cultural identity. He believes that the fact that all the major newspapers operate and are distributed at a national level contribute substantially to the formation of the national and cultural British identity. Another point of view is offered by Michael Billig, who argues that technically speaking, the British press cannot be considered national in the sense that the same edition does not cover the whole territory of the UK, such as Scotland and Northern Ireland. In Scotland, for instance, some editions are published independently and sometimes under a different name: the *Daily Record* is the Scottish equivalent to the *Daily Mirror*. Moreover, the *Scotsman* presents itself as the Scottish national newspaper in opposition to local or regional papers. Billig concludes that “the British press, in common with so many other things described as ‘British’, is English-based” (1995: 111).

Higgins acknowledges the long-time decline in newspaper sales since the emergence of the Internet especially<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, he believes that newspapers remain important in the construction, maintenance and reproduction of social, cultural and political identifiers: “Even as the sales and marketing power of the newspapers decreases, their political and cultural influence remains steadfast” (2010: 280). He assigns to the press the role of the “fourth state of the British realm” and believes that it is a key institution in British politics. Another differentiating characteristic of the newspaper market in Britain is that it is sharply segmented in social class lines. While some countries have middle-class readership only, all social classes consume

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<sup>3</sup> Though this is a global trend, newspaper circulation around the world dropped by only 0.9% in 2012 according to the latest survey conducted by the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers: <http://www.marketingcharts.com/wp/print/global-newspaper-circulation-and-advertising-trends-in-2012-30062/> (accessed December 2013).

newspapers in the UK and this is the reason why the tabloid newspapers are so powerful<sup>4</sup>. Higgins argues that the press plays a key role in maintaining divisions of culture and class. He adds that the divisions in newspapers market extend beyond popular and quality press. As mentioned above, editorial attachments between newspapers and political parties should also be considered, as most British newspapers take an active role in politics and elections. With the recent shift in British politics towards the centre, some traditional alliances between papers and parties have been altered. The strong links between the newspapers and the British politics and society is ironically illustrated in the following lines from “A conflict of interest”, an episode from the BBC series *Yes, Prime Minister* (1987):

The *Daily Mirror* is read by people who think they run the country; the *Guardian* is read by people who think they ought to run the country; the *Times* is read by people who actually do run the country; the *Daily Mail* is read by the wives of the people who run the country; the *Financial Times* is read by people who own the country; the *Morning Star* is read by people who think the country ought to be run by another country, and the *Daily Telegraph* is read by people who think it is. the *Sun* readers don't care who runs the country, as long as she's got big tits (quoted in Higgins 2010: 286).

The following chart shows basic information about the newspapers chosen for this research:

Name	Foundation	Format	Characteristics	Editorial Line	Owner (2012)
Sun	1964	tabloid	red top tabloid	right wing populist	Rupert Murdoch News Corporation
Daily Mail	1896	tabloid (1971)	black top tabloid/ middle-market	conservative	Lord Rothermere & General Trust
Daily Mirror	1903	tabloid	red top tabloid	socialist pro-Labour	Trinity Mirror Group
Daily Star	1978	tabloid	red top tabloid	conservative	Richard Desmond Northern & Shell
Daily Express	1900	tabloid/compact (1997)	black top tabloid/ middle-market	conservative	Richard Desmond Northern & Shell

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<sup>4</sup> The UK has historically had the second highest newspaper readership in the world (Baistow, 1985 quoted in Billig, 1995).

Daily Telegraph	1855	broadsheet	quality press	Conservative, pro-Tory	David & Frederick Barclay
Times	1785	broadsheet/compact (2004)	quality press	centre-right, conservative	Rupert Murdoch News Corporation
Financial Times	1888	broadsheet	quality press	Economically liberal, Politically Conservative, business oriented	Pearson PLC
Guardian	1821	broadsheet/Berliner (2005)	quality press	Left-of-centre, socially liberal	Scott Trust

**Table 3: Information about newspapers<sup>5</sup>**

As previously mentioned in Chapter 3 (Theoretical Framework), Benedict Anderson believes that the temporal synchronicity of reading a newspaper promotes a shared sense of national community as the reader imagines other members of the nation performing the same action at the same time. Michael Rosie (2004) argues that although Anderson’s proposition is appealing; it implicitly assumes that the reader would indeed imagine other fellow readers in specifically nationalised terms. Moreover, another issue arises in the case of the UK, which is composed of various nations. When the reader thinks in national terms, what is the nation that is being evoked, the English, the Scottish, the Welsh or the Irish in Northern Ireland? Michael Rosie believes that the mass media are central to the reproduction and evolution of national identity and newspapers; in particular, acting as national institutions:

Newspapers which have more than a local or regional remit are essentially national institutions which encourage their readers to see the world in general in specifically national terms, ‘re-mind’ them of their own nation in particular and help them to think in patriotic terms about it (2004: 437).

#### 4.2. Corpus

The corpus is formed by articles that appeared in British newspapers. The study is limited to the paper editions of the newspapers, as it was considered it constituted a valid sample for the representation of the written press. In some cases, online articles

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<sup>5</sup> Sources: Higgins (2010); Tunstall (1996); Eldridge et al (1997); Curran and Seaton (2010); Negrine (1994).



from other dates or other papers were also used to add complementary information to the primary sources. Moreover, some online pictures were used when the quality was significantly better than the printed version. All the articles about the topic of the Falklands that appear in the British national press on certain days of the year 2012 were included. I am aware of the different kinds of newspapers articles (editorials, opinion articles, news articles, letters to the editors), the different functions they perform (to inform, to give opinion), as well as the different voices implied (voice of the newspapers, voice of the journalists, voice of the people). I always mention the source of the article in the analysis, however, I treat all the articles as ‘texts’, and as such each of them have the same narrative value. Below will follow the different criteria used for selecting the corpus.

#### 4.2.1. Dates

The first parameter to select the corpus is based on dates. The following table shows the four dates that were chosen and the reasons for the choice:

	<b>DATES</b>	<b>REASONS</b>
1	Monday, 2 April 2012	The day of the thirtieth anniversary of the beginning of the war; a national holiday in Argentina for the remembrance of the war and the Argentine victims.
2	Tuesday, 3 April 2012	Newspapers report on the official acts and celebrations that took place the previous day both in Britain and in Argentina.
3	Thursday, 14 June 2012	It is the day the war ended in 1982. The Falkland Islanders celebrate Liberation Day, a national holiday on the islands, which commemorates the day the war ended.
4	Friday, 15 June 2012	Newspapers report on the official acts and celebrations that took place the previous day both in Britain as in Argentina.

**Table 4: Dates and reasons for selection of articles**

#### 4.2.2. Categories of Newspapers

The corpus is formed by British national daily newspapers. Both tabloid (popular press) and broadsheet (quality or serious press) are discussed with the intention of having a wider spectrum of topics, registers, styles and points of view.

#### 4.2.3. Circulation

The next criterion for choosing specific newspapers is based on circulation figures. The first four daily newspapers on each day from each category were selected. The next table shows the circulation figures for UK national daily newspapers for April and June

2012. The top four of the list of each category (tabloid and broadsheet) were considered. While the figures for the broadsheet remain similar, the fourth category changed in tabloids, which is why the *Daily Star* is replaced by the *Daily Express* in June for the fourth position. Consequently, to respect circulation patterns, the corpus includes articles from the *Daily Star* for the month of April and the *Daily Express* for the month of June. The circulation figures were taken from ABC (Audit Bureau of Circulation) and published in the *Guardian* on 11 May 2012 and 13 July 2012.

	APRIL 2012	JUNE 2012
<b>TABLOID</b>	<i>Sun</i> [2,624,008]	<i>Sun</i> [2,583,552]
	<i>Daily Mail</i> [1,991,275]	<i>Daily Mail</i> [1,939,635]
	<i>Daily Mirror</i> [1,084,355]	<i>Daily Mirror</i> [1,081,330]
	<i>Daily Star</i> [611,081]	<i>Daily Express</i> [602,482]
<b>QUALITY</b>	<i>Daily Telegraph</i> [576,79]	<i>Daily Telegraph</i> [573,674]
	<i>Times</i> [393,187]	<i>Times</i> [400,12]
	<i>Financial Times</i> [305,685]	<i>Financial Times</i> [297,225]
	<i>Guardian</i> [214,128]	<i>Guardian</i> [211,511]

**Table 5: Circulation Figures for April and June 2012**

#### 4.3. Collection of Texts

Most of the articles were collected from newspapers libraries and archives in London during my three-month research visit to the GWACS (Group for War and Culture Studies, Westminster University) from September to November 2012. Table 6 gives detailed information about the libraries and archives from where the articles were gathered:

LIBRARY	LOCATION
British Library Newspapers (Colindale)	London
British Library	London
University of Westminster Library	London
Lewisham Reference Library	London
Lambeth Reference Library	London
CRAI URV, Campus Catalunya	Tarragona
Hemeroteca Tarragona	Tarragona

**Table 6: Libraries and Archives**

In addition, some internet newspaper websites were used:

Websites	Accessed from
Library.PressDisplay.com	URV
NewsBank.com	British Library

**Table 7: Newspapers websites**

The following table shows all the articles that form the corpus, with a summary of the essential information:

NO	DATE	NEWSPAPER	TITLE	AUTHOR(S)	PAGE, SECTION
1	2 Apr.	<i>Sun</i>	Cameron Vow over Falklands	unnamed	2, News
2	2 Apr.	<i>Sun</i>	We ran up that mountain with no armour, no helmet no compensation if we were hurt ... but I'd do it again tomorrow-Says Capt ROBERT LAWRENCE Military Cross hero	David Willets	22-23, News
3	3 Apr.	<i>Sun</i>	Isles will survive	editorial	8, The Sun Says
4	3 Apr.	<i>Sun</i>	255 FALLEN HONOURED BY HEROES-FALKLANDS CONFLICT 30TH ANNIVERSARY	David Willets	12-13, News
5	3 Apr.	<i>Sun</i>	WAR OF WORDS-'Absurd Britain' blast Argentine Pres	Graeme Wilson	12- 13, News
6	14 June	<i>Sun</i>	IT WAS WORTH IT	Kevin Schofield, Darren Fletcher	12, News
7	15 June	<i>Sun</i>	British Isles	editorial	8, The Sun Says
8	2 Apr.	<i>Daily Mail</i>	U.S. wanted to hand the Falkland to Argentina	Tim Shipman	8, International
9	2 Apr.	<i>Daily Mail</i>	Radio Choice-Fathers and Sons-From the Falklands to Helmand (Radio 4)	unnamed	51, Radio

10	2 Apr.	<i>Daily Mail</i>	The Falklands War; Falklands Hero (Discovery Channel)	unnamed	52, Satellite, Cable and Digital
11	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Mail</i>	Pray for peace between our nations	David Wilkes	10-11, News Home
12	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Mail</i>	But in Argentina, mob targets our embassy	Tim Shipman and Ian Drury	11, News Home
13	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Mail</i>	Triumph that Left Britain's leaders hooked on War	Max Hastings	28-29, Opinion
14	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Mail</i>	Desire on Wane	unnamed	65, City and Finance
15	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Mail</i>	Cameron must heed the Falklands lessons	editorial	14, Comment
16	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Mail</i>	Falklands a British 'colony': Argentine president	Tim Shipman and Ian Drury	14, Opinion
17	15 Jun.	<i>Daily Mail</i>	Argentina's tirade taints Falklands Liberation Day	Ian Drury	26, News
18	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Mirror</i>	Boyle's sick Weston jibe sparks fury	David Collins	3, News
19	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Mirror</i>	30 YEARS ON ... AND WE SET SAIL AGAIN	Chris Hughes	6, News
20	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Mirror</i>	Big gamble as Thatcher rode wave of fortune	Jason Beattie	6, Opinion
21	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Mirror</i>	Stay Strong	editorial	10, Voice of the Daily Mirror
21	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Mirror</i>	THE HIDDEN TOLL OF WAR	Melissa Thompson	18-19, Opinion
22	14 Jun.	<i>Daily Mirror</i>	After the battle it seemed like all my friends were dead...I came back to lay a few ghosts to rest	Alun Palmer	30-31, News
23	15 Jun.	<i>Daily Mirror</i>	We'll always be grateful to heroes who freed us	Alun Palmer	18-19, News
24	2 Apr.	<i>Daily Star</i>	CAM BACKS WAR ISLANDS	unnamed	2, News Summary
25	2 Apr.	<i>Daily Star</i>	Falklands: Make friends not war! Hero vet gets kids talking	Ed Riley	20, News
25	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Star</i>	Falklands: We would do it again. We'd fight Argies all over again	Paul Robins	1; 9, News
27	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Star</i>	Still proud of you all	editorial	6, Daily Star Says
28	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Star</i>	The Falklands: Healing the Wounds	unnamed	31, TV guide
29	14 Jun.	<i>Daily Express</i>	On this day: 10 years ago	unnamed	10, Archive
30	14 Jun.	<i>Daily Express</i>	Now PM dare not ignore clamour for a referendum	Patricia Holden	31, Letters
31	14 Jun.	<i>Daily Express</i>	It must be out turn once Falklanders have had say	Elissa McDonald	31, Letters
32	14 Jun.	<i>Daily Express</i>	Letter of the day: If Islanders can have vital vote we should too	John Allen	31, Letters
33	15 Jun.	<i>Daily Express</i>	One way to fix Falklands row for ever	editorial	15, Editorial
34	15 Jun.	<i>Daily Express</i>	30 years on ... veterans of the Falklands pay their tributes	John Chapman	22, News
35	2 Apr.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	I hope we would do it all again if we had to, says widow of Col H; Hague: We will always defend the islanders' rights	Duncan Gardham	1; 2; Front Page
36	2 Apr.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	I told them I was British to get food, so they made me their translator	Jonathan Gilbert	17, News
37	2 Apr.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Why we still want to work with Argentina	William Hague	22, Comment

38	2 Apr.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	A special anniversary	editorial	23, Comment
39	2 Apr.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	I didn't need therapy – I had a close family	Elizabeth Grice	25, Features
40	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Widow lights a candle to the fallen, and remembers the pain that never leaves	Nick Britten and Richard Alleyne	4, News
41	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	For the islanders, just quiet remembrance of a grim ordeal	Neil Tweedie	4, News
42	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Protesters march on British embassy	Jonathan Gilbert	4, News
43	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Falklands referendum	Ken Shuttleworth	21, Letters to the Editor
44	3 Apr.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Falklands referendum	Geoff Snape	21, Letters to the Editor
45	14 Jun.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	I said to them, 'No funny business'	Thomas Harding and Neil Tweedie	23, Comment & Features
46	14 Jun.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	The Falklands message that still holds true	unnamed	25, Comment
47	14 Jun.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Service Dinner, HMS Drake, Plymouth	unnamed	32, Court and Social
48	14 Jun.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Today's birthdays	unnamed	32, Court and Social
49	14 Jun.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	In memoriam their name liveth for evermore, South Atlantic Task Force	unnamed	32, Announcements
50	15 Jun.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Time's running out. Rusting Falklands warship doomed	unnamed	13, News
51	15 Jun.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	You should feel shame for flying Falklands flag, says Kirchner	Mark Hugues	19, News International
52	15 Jun.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Seeing a crash coming in the European Union	Tim Coles	25, Letters to the Editor
53	2 Apr.	<i>Times</i>	Falklands liberator in attack on Cameron; Task Force leader attacks Cameron	Deborah Haynes, Tom Coghian	1; 14, News
54	2 Apr.	<i>Times</i>	Capturing the jagged peak of rocks came at a terrible price	Deborah Haynes	14-15, News
55	3 Apr.	<i>Times</i>	Argentina fans the flames with attack on 'absurd' Britain	Hannah Strange, David Sanderson	1; 8, News
56	3 Apr.	<i>Times</i>	The memories of war are vivid, but islanders know it led to greater prosperity	Deborah Haynes	8-9, News
57	3 Apr.	<i>Times</i>	Don't blame me, I only went for a bit of scrap	Hannah Strange	9, News
58	3 Apr.	<i>Times</i>	Falklands Futures	Michael Bedford	23, Letters to the Editor
59	3 Apr.	<i>Times</i>	Falklands Futures	Neil Murphy	23, Letters to the Editor
60	14 Jun.	<i>Times</i>	Kirchner takes sovereignty battle to UN	Will Pavia	39, News International
61	14 Jun.	<i>Times</i>	Let us bring colonialism to an end by complying with United Nations resolutions	Cristina Fernández de Kirchner	39, News International
62	15 Jun.	<i>Times</i>	Kirchner's new Falkland claim	Hannah Strange	15, News

63	2 Apr.	<i>Financial Times</i>	Economic reality hits home over Falklands	James Blitz	3, News
64	2 Apr.	<i>Financial Times</i>	Argentinian oil threat. Banks told to steer clear of oil search	Jim Pickard, Anousha Sakoui	1; 3, News
65	2 Apr.	<i>Financial Times</i>	World Diary. Today. Falklands Anniversary	unnamed	28, Diary
66	3 Apr.	<i>Financial Times</i>	Falklands Anniversary. Fernández attacks Falklands ‘injustice’	Jude Webber et al.	1-2, Front Page/National News
67	2 Apr.	<i>Guardian</i>	30 years on, we still feel the effects of Thatcher’s lucky war; How an eccentric war turned around Thatcher’s fortunes	Simon Jenkins	1; 6-7, Opinion
68	2 Apr.	<i>Guardian</i>	US cables reveal covert support for Thatcher over fears of the Soviets being drawn into conflict	Julian Borger	7, National
69	2 Apr.	<i>Guardian</i>	Buenos Aires fires warning letter to banks	Nick Fletcher	6, National
70	3 Apr.	<i>Guardian</i>	Oceans apart, Britain and Argentina remember	Caroline Davies	4, National
71	3 Apr.	<i>Guardian</i>	President goes to southern capital to re-state claim	Uki Goni	4, National
72	3 Apr.	<i>Guardian</i>	"It was a terrible, terrible time"	Helen Clifton	4, National
73	3 Apr.	<i>Guardian</i>	Price tag grows in search for Falklands oil	Dan Milmo	23, Financial, Resources
74	3 Apr.	<i>Guardian</i>	Corrections and clarifications	unnamed	31, Reply
75	14 Jun.	<i>Guardian</i>	Let us bring colonialism to an end by complying with United Nations resolutions	Cristina Fernández de Kirchner	23, International
76	15 Jun.	<i>Guardian</i>	At No 10 and in Stanley, Falklands flag flies on	Caroline Davies	11, National

**Table 8: Corpus description**

The full list of articles is referenced in the general bibliography of the thesis in the following way:

- Author’s surname, author’s name (if any). “Headline”. *Newspaper*, date (day/abbreviation of month/year): page(s). Source (e.g. web, print, microfilm with additional information).

For example:

- Hastings, Max. “Triumph that left Britain’s leaders hooked on war”. *Daily Mail*, 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29. Library.PressDisplay.com (June 2012).
- Haynes, Deborah. “Capturing the jagged peak of rocks came at a terrible price”. *Times*, 2 Apr. 2012: 14-15. Microfilm (The Times, April 2-7, 2012. MLD 1, 2144: British Library Newspapers).
- “A special anniversary”. *Daily Telegraph*, 2 Apr. 2012: 23. Print.

Within the chapters, the way the articles are cited has been simplified to dates, authors and newspapers mainly, in order to facilitate the reading. Thus, the quotation for instance:

- (Hastings, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29)
- (Haynes, *Times* 2 Apr. 2012: 14-15)
- (*Daily Telegraph*, 2 Apr. 2012: 23)

## **5. Chapter Summary**

This chapter has attempted to outline the methodology used in the elaboration of the thesis. It details the structure, the corpus and the objectives of the research. It poses questions and selects modes of analysis for the texts under study. The chapter ends by categorising newspapers which have discussed, supported and sometimes questioned the development of the war.

## Chapter 5: Justification of the War

### 1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyse whether the Falklands War is justified by the British newspaper discourse of the year 2012. The initial hypothesis is that the war continues to find support in its thirtieth anniversary. The Falklands War is portrayed as a successful war which is legitimized by the press in order to seek the support of the general public and in turn, arouse nationalist emotions. The British readership is reminded and convinced once more that the nation has engaged in warfare for a *just* cause; consequently, it is expected that it will find enough convincing arguments that would validate the armed conflict. This chapter draws on notions from Just War Theory, which is a set of principles that impose moral discipline and humanity when engaging in armed conflicts. A brief theoretical introduction is followed by a close analysis of the corpus selected for this dissertation.

### 2. Just War Considerations

War and its justification have always been controversial. Why do modern societies still need to resort to violence as a means to solving conflicts? What are the arguments that some groups use to justify their engagement in armed conflicts? Just War Theory is an age-old concept with a set of principles that define a fair war and try to explain in which cases wars should be fought. Some of the rules and concepts in modern Just War Theory date back to the late fourth and early fifth century though most of the beliefs form part of a vast historical tradition that has stretched over the centuries with roots in several cultures around the globe. As Stephen Coleman defines it,

Just War Theory argues that in some cases states (and some non-state groups) are justified in engaging in armed conflict, provided certain conditions are met before the use of armed force is resorted to, and provided that certain limitations, which are designed to limit the destructiveness of this armed force, are followed (2013:63).

Some of these Just War principles are: having a just cause, being a last resort, being declared by a proper authority and possessing the right intention. A few of these



principles are controversial and may lead to different interpretations, especially the ones concerning having a just cause or possessing the right intention since most nations or authorities that go to war claim to possess the right to do so. The part that declares war appropriates the just war claims because truth is on their side. In some cases, when the war is over, it is discovered that some of the intentions that were supposed to be just at the moment of declaring war were not valid or were unable to be proved as true. A well-known controversial example has been the Iraq War, when the Bush administration invaded Iraq because they believed it stored weapons for mass destruction; this was eventually proved to be untrue.

Jean Bethke Elshtan believes that Just War issues are not *just* about war, but a central and complex debate at the core of politics and ethics. She writes: “Just war is a set of essentially contested concepts around which political life is focused. Contests over the range and applicability of just war precepts generate and focus political debate [...] touching the poles of moral reasoning” (1992: 1-3). Coleman makes a distinction between morality and legality when arguing that the morality and the legality of a war might not coincide, and then a war can be legal while not being ethical and vice versa. He also points out that “war always causes death and suffering [which] are bad according to all ethical theories; therefore, war always requires justification” (2013: 65). Consequently, there is a need for a Just War Theory.

Just War Theory *per se* is not part of International Law. However, International Law embodies similar principles such as those established by Just War Theory, for instance the Geneva Conventions and the United Nations Charter (Bluth 1988: 189). The Charter of the United Nations was the foundational treaty that established the UN in 1945 and it is of key importance for international relations, making it the most important piece of international law in history (Coleman 2013: 71). Moreover, the Charter set the UN Security Council, the UN institution responsible for safeguarding peace and security at international levels. Article 2(4) prohibits the use of force between the members of the UN, except under certain special circumstances, such as the right to self-defence. It reads: “All Members shall refrain in their international relations from

the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations”<sup>6</sup>.

War and morality have been a topic widely discussed throughout history and across cultures. Greek philosophers like Plato and Aristotle together with ancient Chinese and Indian thinkers wrote about the moral issues of soldiers going to war (Coleman 2013: 66). In Western Christian traditions, the initiator of the idea that war can be just was St. Augustine in the late fourth and early fifth century. He was the first to think and write concerning the notion of just war within Christianity and from a religious point of view. According to Augustine’s *The City of God*, book XIX titled “About Social Justice and the Nature of the State”, war can be justified in Christian conscience. Augustine exalts justice, not peace, as the highest value, since peace may be an unjust order (Ramsey 1992: 8-22). He sustains that not all wars are wrong; focusing on the idea that some wars can be ethically justified if they are fought with the right intention and provided there is a just cause, such as self-defence. It was Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century who further developed the ideas previously stated by Augustine and added reflections on just conduct during war. Contemporary in-depth discussions for just war theorists are to be found in: *Just and Unjust Wars* by Michael Walzer (1977); *Just War Theory* by Jean Bethke Elshtan (ed.) (1992); *Just War. The Just War Tradition: Ethics in Modern Warfare* by Charles Guthrie and Michael Quinlan (2007), to name but a few. Nicholas Fotion’s *War and Ethics: a New Just War Theory* (2007) argues that many critics complain about Just War Theory for not being used enough, or for being used insincerely, for being too vague and even out-dated in some aspects. He proposes a reassessment of the theory with a two-fold aim: to incorporate the changes introduced by cutting edge technology used in modern wars and to contemplate asymmetrical situations in cases when war occurs between nations and non-nations, such as rebels, insurgents or terrorist groups.

Some war scholars argue that actual wars can never gather the conditions proposed by Just War theorists. Michael Howard, in “Temperamenta Belli: Can War Be Controlled?” (1992), reminds us that war, as it is understood in Western societies, is a

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<sup>6</sup> United Nations Charter I, Article 2(4). <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter1.shtml> (accessed January 2013).

highly social activity that demands social categorization and control. On reflecting about the possibility of war being controlled, Howard refers to Carl von Clausewitz and his landmark work in war studies titled *On War*. Clausewitz argues that war is, in essence, uncontrollable since, according to him, war also belongs to the realm of feelings, to the passionate hatred of different groups:

War is an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfil our will. [...] Attached to force are certain self-imposed, imperceptible limitations hardly worth mentioning, known as international law and custom, but they scarcely weaken it. [...] To introduce into the philosophy of War itself a principle of moderation would be an absurdity. [...] War is in its essence uncontrollable ([1832]1986: 101- 103).

James Turner Johnson explains, in his article “Threats, values and defence: does the defence of values by force remain a moral possibility?” (1992), that there are 2 streams of moral reflection in Western history about the use of force. Is it ever morally allowable to employ force in the protection and preservation of values? If the answer is ‘no’, this stream of thought leads to Pacifism. If the answer to the question is ‘yes’, this leads to the Just War Tradition. In other words, Pacifism and Just War Theory are two approaches to the morality of warfare in modern western society, though pacifists may consider 'just war' as an oxymoron in itself. A further consideration to be made is whether late forms of war, such as nuclear wars, may be ever justifiable.

A different perspective is to be found in Islamic cultures, in which the followers of the ‘Jihad’ movement fight the ‘Holy War’ (Kreider & Yoder 1977, quoted in Bluth 1987, p. 18, note 1). According to Guthrie and Quinlan (2007), the structures of Islamic thinking about ethics in public affairs including war are markedly different from those of Christianity. Although there are no explicit set of principles analogous to those in Just War tradition, many similar concepts are to be found in the Islamic sacred texts: the Koran and the Hadith. As Guthrie and Quinlan note, peace is a central element in the Islam, especially peace within the Muslim community. War is regarded as an evil, but it is regulated by divine law rather than forbidden, and, it is justified when it prevents greater evils to occur. Jihad, which means ‘effort’ or ‘striving’, does not necessarily imply fighting war, though it does not exclude armed action as a duty in the right circumstances.

James Turner Johnson identifies four justifications that have classically responded to the use of force in reply to a threat to values. Thus, force should be used:

- (1) “to protect the innocent”: this idea can be traced back to Augustine in Christian thought. It implies an interventionist model of the justified use of military force and, more broadly, of national power;
- (2) “to recover something wrongly taken”: this is a necessary counterpart to the idea of defence against aggression in progress;
- (3) “to punish evil”: this notion is of course highly arguable and subjective, since being evil can imply different things to different groups;
- (4) “to defend against a wrong attack in progress” (Johnson 1992: 57).

Although any one of these four arguments can be contested, number 2 is of special interest to the Falklands War. Johnson argues,

[T]he Argentine claim to the islands was not without some merit, but this was hardly of sufficient value to justify military invasion and occupation against the will of the inhabitants. The principle of self-determination often cited to protect weak nations against military and other forms of aggression by stronger ones though not the only meaningful principle here was certainly violated by Argentina’s action. If only defence against an aggression in progress were justified, the British and the British inhabitants of the islands would have had no recourse, after the failure of the intensively pursued negotiations, but to accept the newly established status quo of the Argentine military rule. The allowance of after-the-fact use of force to regain something wrongly taken is the source of moral justification for Britain’s military actions in the Falkland war (Johnson 1992: 57).

Just War Theory is composed of two main parts: *Jus ad bellum* (the right and justice of making war; justice of war) and *Jus in bello* (law of war; justice in war) (Elshtan 1992: 3; Coleman 2013: 67). *Jus ad bellum* corresponds with the rights to engage in war while *Jus in bello* deals with the behaviour of those fighting in battle. Recently, a third aspect has been added: *jus post bellum* (justice after war), which deals with peace agreements and maintaining peace after war.

*Jus ad bellum* is formed by six rules that a state must comply with in order for it to be ethically justified to engage in an armed dispute. It is important to note that all the six rules have to be satisfied. I will now offer a short explanation of each rule, based on the book *Just War. The Just War Tradition: Ethics in Modern Warfare* by Guthrie and Quinlan (2007: 12-15). The six criteria under *jus ad bellum* are:

- (1) **Just Cause:** there must be a valid reason to engage in war, such as the protection of innocent people, the restoration of rights denied, the re-establishment of just order or self-defence against aggression.
- (2) **Proportionate Cause:** there must be a proportionality of the overall cost of the war. It should be expected that the outcome of war will bring enough good to compensate the pain and destruction. Proportionality makes reference to material and non-material values.
- (3) **Right Intention:** there must be the right intention on the part that declares war since the main objective should be the pursuit of lasting peace and reconciliation as well as to end hostilities as soon as possible.
- (4) **Right Authority:** war must be declared by a legitimate authority.
- (5) **Reasonable Prospect of Success:** there should be a likelihood of success; there must be a reasonable chance of succeeding before taking up arms.
- (6) **Last Resort:** other solutions must have been explored before entering into war; every other way of solving the conflict should have been tried.

*Jus in bello* is composed by two main principles: discrimination and proportionality. The former has to do with the protection of the innocent while the latter involves the management of the right amount of resources.

Christoph Bluth argues that both the governments of Argentina and Britain justified their actions on the basis of Just War Theory, and their decisions to go to war as morally right and even imperative (Bluth 1987: 5). He analyses Britain's decision to engage in the Falklands War in the light of International Law and Just War Theory; his main conclusions being that "Britain's resort to force did not satisfy Just War criteria, that a negotiated solution [...] may have been possible, and that the Falklands conflict has not been successfully resolved despite Britain's military achievements" (Ibid.). He believes that Britain's main failures to satisfy Just War criteria are proportionality and the likelihood of success. As regards the likelihood of success, Bluth states that "it is generally agreed by military experts that the whole operation was a big military gamble and could easily have failed catastrophically" (1987: 16). Through his statement, it could be inferred that it did not fulfil the 'last resort' requirement either.

Coleman shares a similar view, adding that the war cost nearly 900 lives and 1,800 wounded; the UK invested 2,000 million pounds; and the loss of equipment. He

claims: “One can certainly question whether a sovereignty argument over some relatively isolated islands with a total population of only 1,800 people is worth such a cost, both in lives and money” (Coleman 2013: 84).

Other historians might add that a peaceful solution could have been reached had not the British sunk the Argentine warship ARA *General Belgrano* on 2 May 1982, at the very same time when a new peace deal was in process by the Peruvian government. Taking this into account, Paul Rogers explains that a number of Labour backbenchers complained that “Thatcher’s government had sought a military victory rather than a diplomatic settlement after Argentina had occupied the Falkland Islands” (Rogers 2007: 25). To make matters worse, the cruiser was attacked while outside the British-set Marine Exclusion Zone of 200 miles around the Islands, which gave rise to much controversy. Anthony Barnett, for instance, believes that the *Belgrano* was sunk “quite illegally” (1982: 24). The *Guardian*, a quality newspaper that has always expressed its disagreement with the war, reminded readers of this fact on the anniversary: “The *General Belgrano* [was] hit [...] while outside the UK-declared exclusion zone [...] with the loss of 323 Argentinean lives (Borger, *Guardian* 2 Apr. 2012: 7). With reference to war being the last resort and the failure of the peace plans, Kevin Foster believes that the whole diplomatic process was an elaborate charade: “far from offering a credible alternative to military confrontation, it was more a compulsory preface to the armed dispute” (1997: 239).

Although these philosophical and legal reflections of the justification of the Falklands War are not to be found in the British national dailies, the next section looks closely at the press discourse and the strategies that are used to justify and validate a war that took place 30 years ago. The information found has been classified and grouped into different categories for the sake of clarity.

### **3. Reasons for War**

In this first section I will illustrate the reasons given to engage in battle as they are exposed by the newspapers for the thirtieth anniversary of the war. Several examples can be found in the press discourse of 1982 outlining legitimate reasons for the fighting of war. As will be shown below, most of these arguments are still used 30 years later. The discussion in this section is connected with two of the rules from *jus ad bellum*,

those of “just cause” and “right intention”. For just cause, the main reasons are: the right to self-defence against aggression once the British territory had been seized and the right to self-determination of the inhabitants of the territory which had been usurped. Within right intention, it is implied that the Task Force was sent to rectify the effects of aggression and to restore justice.

### *3.1. Territorial Integrity*

The reasoning behind this argumentation lies in the assumption that the islands are undoubtedly British because they have formed part of the British overseas territory since 1833. In this scenario, war was necessary for the maintenance of the territorial integrity. This was a key point emphasised by the press in 1982 to convince the public opinion of the right to fight for the Islands. This idea can be summarised in the following quote: “We [the British] occupied the Falklands when they were completely empty in 1833 and 94 per cent of the population can trace their ancestors back to Britain, some of them through six generations” (Brown, *Daily Express* 3 Apr. 1982: 9). It is worth noting that ‘occupy’ is a verb that conveys a negative meaning: occupations are usually unlawful and done by force. This quotation coming from a British source is very contradictory and significant. The same line of thought concerning the defence of the territorial integrity still applies in the 2012 discourse of the press, as will now be demonstrated with examples from the corpus.

The first observation that can be made is that readers are still reminded of the strong territorial hold. In the editorial of 3 April, the *Sun* claims that “the Falklands belong to Britain and will do so as long as the islanders want it that way. We upheld that simple principle 3 decades ago at a cost of 255 of our soldiers’ lives. It holds good today, as it did then” (*Sun*, 3 Apr. 2012: 8). The tabloid titled another of its editorials “British Isles” (*Sun*, 15 Jun. 2012: 8), the use of the demonym reinforces the notion of national belonging. There is a play of words in the headline since ‘British Isles’ is commonly used to refer to the archipelago of islands in the north-west coast of Europe formed by Great Britain, Ireland, the Isle of Man and other smaller islands.

Max Hastings, a well-known journalist and historian who was a Falkland War correspondent, published an article in the *Daily Mail* on 3 April discussing the consequences of the war. He claims that the Argentine seized “Britain’s Falklands”

dependency 30 years ago (Hastings, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29). The use of the genitive is another mark of belonging.

The year 1833 is of key historical importance in the whole dispute because it is the year that the British first took possession of the islands: it marks the beginning of the British uninterrupted hold of the territory. 1833 is a year remembered for the anniversary and mentioned in some articles. For example, Ian Drury writes in the *Daily Mail* that the Falklands have belonged to Britain since 1833 (Drury, *Daily Mail* 15 June 2012: 26). Uki Goni in the *Guardian* adds that “The Falklands have been under continuous British rule since 1833, except for the invasion by the generals of Argentina’s 1976-83 dictatorship [...]” (Goni, *Guardian* 3 Apr. 2012: 4). Mark Hughes in the *Daily Telegraph* quotes David Cameron’s speech in which he remarks that the islands belong to their inhabitants because they have been living there for generations. Moreover, he asserts that the UK is prepared and willing to defend them once again, if deemed necessary:

It’s about the islanders determining their own future. This has been their home for almost 180 years. There are children whose ancestors have lived there for generations. The roots go deep, and they will not be ripped out. The UK has not aggressive intentions towards you [Argentina] but do not underestimate our resolve. Britain stands ready and willing to stand up for the Falkland islanders at any time. As long as they wish to remain a British territory that is the way it will stay (Hughes, *Daily Telegraph* 15 Jun. 2012: 19).

The declaration of the Prime Minister brings about the notion of possession of land by inheritance, family bonds, blood and nationality. Chris Hughes, in the *Daily Mirror* reminds readers that the “HMS *Invincible* left the [...] port on April 5 1982 to win back the islands” (Hughes, *Daily Mirror* 3 Apr. 2012: 6). The inclusion of the preposition ‘back’ discloses a previous assumption of the belonging of the islands. Making use of the same linguistic patten, Webber, Pickard and Stacey praise the troops that re-captured the islands in 1982, and mentions the tribute paid to the taskforce sent to take them [the islands] back (Webber et al, *Financial Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 2).

Nationality, possession of territory and inheritance by the right of birth is resumed by Patricia Grey, one of the islanders interviewed by the *Daily Telegraph*, who ironically states about the Argentine: “If they say the islands do not belong to us then Argentina does not belong to them. Aren’t they all immigrants? How many of them



were there in 1833?” (Tweedie, *Daily Telegraph* 3 Apr. 2012: 4). This makes reference to the huge waves of immigration Argentina received at the beginning of the twentieth century especially.

According to the statistics from the several population censuses carried out in Argentina between the years 1869 and 2010, the biggest increase in foreign population took place from 1869 to 1947<sup>7</sup>. The largest percentage of immigrants arrived in Argentina in the world war periods from Southern Europe. Regarding the nationalities of the immigrants, the majority were Italian and Spanish, followed by Polish, Russians, French and German. Although these were the biggest communities, the country received people from many other parts of the world; by the first half of the century Buenos Aires was considered as a new Babel (Romero 2001: 23; Rock 1987: 166).

All the examples above demonstrate a firm belief in the right to possess the islands. The war then becomes a necessary strategy to preserve the national territory. However, a contrasting example of the British point of view can be found in the statement produced by the Argentine president, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, in her communiqué published in the *Times* and the *Guardian* which makes reference to the British occupation of the islands in 1833. She sustains: “a British naval force expelled the Argentine legitimate authorities and population from the Malvinas Islands” (Fernández de Kirchner, *Times* 14 Jun. 2012: 39; *Guardian*, 14 Jun. 2012: 23). The publication of this communiqué by the newspapers is an attempt at neutrality and objectivity by accepting different arguments which offer valuable information, despite the fact that it is the voice of the “enemy” (see chapter “The Enemy” for a further analysis of the communiqué).

### 3.2. *Self-defence*

A second relevant argument for the British involvement in the Falkland War is that of self-defence. A first consideration for this group is based on the belief that the war was

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<sup>7</sup> Dirección Nacional de Migraciones Argentina [Immigration Department in Argentina: <http://www.migraciones.gov.ar/accesible/?estadisticas> (accessed January 2012); Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos [National Institute of Statistics and Census] [http://www.migraciones.gov.ar/pdf\\_varios/estadisticas/Censos.pdf](http://www.migraciones.gov.ar/pdf_varios/estadisticas/Censos.pdf) (accessed January 2012).

necessary to repel the enemy's invasion from the national territory. In other words, the war is put forth as a consequence of the invasion, a just response to the attack by a foreign nation. The very same arguments were repeatedly used in the 1982 press discourse. For instance, some of the most aggressive and provoking headlines and comments published in 1982 in this area are the following:

- Stick it up your Junta (*Sun*, 20 Apr. 1982: 1);
- GET OUT OR WE SHOOT! (*Daily Mail*, 8 Apr. 1982: 1);
- We have been attacked, invaded, occupied. There is a robber in one of our houses, who must be ejected (*Daily Express*, 3 Apr. 1982: 1);
- ARGENTINA NEEDS TO BE HUMILIATED (Wyatt: *Daily Mirror* 13 Jun. 1982);
- SHAMED! Under the flag of occupation (*Daily Mail*, 3 Apr. 1982: 1 );
- Under the thumb of the aliens (*Daily Express*, 5 Apr. 1982: 1).

Most of the examples found in the 2012 newspapers studied for this thesis make reference to the foreign aggressor, portraying the Argentine as invaders, as well as the need to liberate the territory from the attack. Ian Drury in the *Daily Mail* mentions that the 3,000 islanders commemorated their release from "tyranny" (a significant choice of word) when "the Argentine invaders surrendered thirty years ago yesterday after 74 days of martial rule" (Drury, *Daily Mail* 15 Jun. 2012: 26). The author also explains that Reverend Dr Richard Hines, rector of the Falklands spoke of liberation from foreign occupation. Dr Hines is also quoted by Caroline Davies in the *Guardian* when pronouncing his speech on Liberation Day: "This 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary is serving again to remind each one of you Falkland Islanders just how much you endured and how you found inner strength during 74 days of foreign occupation" (Davies, *Guardian* 15 Jun. 2012: 11). The same article adds it has been three decades after Margaret Thatcher sent 27,000 troops and more than 100 ships to "repel the invaders".

Captain Robert Lawrence, a Military Cross hero, makes emphasis on the invasion and dismantles the Argentine intentions: "The Falklands were invaded. The idea the Argentines came here to liberate these islands is a crass joke" (Willettts, *Sun* 2 Apr. 2012: 22-23). One editorial of the *Daily Telegraph* titled "A special anniversary" claims that the invasion of the Falkland Islands by Argentina was an act of unprovoked

aggression to which the country responded with its greatest feat of arms since the Second World War (*Daily Telegraph*, 2 Apr. 2012: 23).

Further references about the Argentine invasion and the need to expel the attackers are to be found in the following examples:

- “The British task force to drive out the Argentine invaders” (Schofield and Fletcher, *Sun* 14 Jun. 2012: 12);
- “The British Task Force liberated the islands from the Argentine invasion” (Wilkes, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 10-11);
- The *Daily Mail* sustains that the war was a clear-cut struggle between “right and wrong”, in which British interests could not have been more directly engaged. It is significant how they present the war in moral terms, as a struggle between right and wrong. The aim of the campaign was clearly defined: “to drive out the Argentine invaders” (3 Apr. 2012: 14);
- The *Daily Mirror* introduces a chauvinist tone when adding that British Armed Forces proved they were “the best in the world” by retaking the islands after the Argentine Junta’s invasion (3 Apr. 2012: 10).

All the examples provided above clearly show the treatment of the Argentine as the aggressors, thereby justifying the move to take action.

Some newspapers offer the perspective of artists who have made a pronouncement on the Falklands conflict. American actor Sean Penn visited Argentina in February 2012. He met the Argentine President and declared his support for the South-American claim on the archipelago: “the world today is not going to tolerate any kind of ludicrous and archaic commitment to colonialist ideology” (Walker, *Independent* 18 Feb. 2012). His statement infuriated many in Britain. In reference to this issue, the *Sun* used all its sarcasm when asserting that “left-wing American film stars [...] conveniently forget that Argentina invaded and seized those peaceful islands at the point of a gun” (*Sun*, 3 Apr. 2012: 8). Uki Goni (*Guardian*, 3 Apr. 2012: 4) mentions that Argentina has found unexpected allies in the show business world, such as Sean Penn and the British singer Morrissey. The latter, who was very critical with the policies of Margaret Thatcher, called for negotiations with Britain while on tour in Argentina in February 2012. Further information about Morrissey’s behaviour can be found in Goni’s online article “Falkland Islands belong to you, Morrissey tells Argentinian fans” (Goni,

*Guardian* 2 Mar. 2012). Goni explains that Morrissey made the following declarations from the stage in the Argentine city of Córdoba: "The Malvinas Islands, everybody knows they belong to Argentina [...] so please don't blame the British people, we know the islands belong to you". The statement illustrates a division between popular opinion in Britain and that of the establishment. This idea is in line with the results of a recent poll from January 2014 carried out by the *Daily Telegraph* in which 73.98% of the readers who participated voted that the Islands should be British. The nationality of the participants is not disclosed. It may be assumed that the majority of them were British citizens, however, there is an immediate translation of the question into Spanish, which suggests that Argentine readers could have also taken part in the poll. See full results in the following image:



**Image 2: *Daily Telegraph*, 7 Jan. 2014**

The declarations of the singer Roger Waters constitute a third reference of the implication of artists in the issue. In an interview broadcasted by Chilean television, the ex-Pink Floyd blames British politicians of the misuse of sovereignty: "My concern as an Englishman is that they've been used and the argument has been used for narrow political ends in England, first by Margaret Thatcher and now by David Cameron" (Goni, *Guardian* 2 Mar. 2012). All the articles published in the *Guardian* about this topic have been written by Uki Goñi (spelt "Goni" in the newspaper), an American-

Argentine journalist who writes for the newspaper from Buenos Aires offering a slightly different perspective.

### 3.3. *A Question of Principles*

This third argument within the reasons for war has to do with the principles alleged by the British to justify having fought the war. It is the most complex and developed reason for 2012. As has been mentioned above in the historical contextualization, the UK was undergoing a deep social and financial crisis by the time of the war and some would agree that the war was used by Margaret Thatcher to gain popular support. Nora Femenia, for instance, states that “Britain’s decision to recover the Falkland Islands was based partially on the need to recover a more positive identity in the face of domestic troubles that were threatening the public sense of Britishness” (1996: 36). In other words, the nation needed a common cause, such as an outside enemy, to unite society in the face of internal disagreements. What is more, resorting to Britain’s glorious past as a powerful warrior nation brought about the nostalgia of that mythologized great Empire that once ruled a major part of the world.

Paul Rogers (2007) points out that both Thatcher’s government and the British military forces needed to win the war. The Royal Navy could not allow itself to suffer another fiasco like the one in the Suez Conflict in 1956<sup>8</sup>, so the Falklands War was their chance to prove right, notwithstanding the severe cuts the military were facing at the time. Many senior members of the UK armed forces, who had been junior officers at Suez and who bore in mind the failure in Egypt, sought the chance to win back a respectable image for the Navy: “Another debacle like Suez was simply not to be contemplated” (Rogers 2007: 29). Professor Sir Lawrence Freedman, author of *The Official History of the Falklands Campaign* (2005), argues that the fast and aggressive reactions of the taskforce were understandable from a military point of view.

Besides, the nation’s honour was injured in the face of the attack of what can be termed as a ‘lower enemy’, as the fascist government in Argentina was considered to be

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<sup>8</sup> For a detailed analysis on the military faults together with the political blunders during the Suez campaign see Regan, Geoffrey. *Historia de la Incompetencia Militar*, trans. Rafael Grasa (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1987); 377-399.

(See Chapter 7 “The Enemy”). The UK, a great European nation, a modern and advanced first-world state could not have permitted itself to be humiliated or threatened by a lesser enemy such as a despotic military junta from a developing South-American country. The nation had not lost its power and determination by 1982 and it should demonstrate to the rest of the world that it was a key referent in international politics. When Margaret Thatcher took power in 1979, she was determined to counteract what she perceived as the national decline: social unrest, high inflation and unemployment. She believed that “the years of managed decline were the real testament to the ills of the British economy and the necessity to try a new approach” (Pearce and Stewart 1992: 522). Besides, she wanted the nation to recover leadership in international affairs.

Newspapers in 2012 recalled these issues. The *Sun*, for instance, in its editorial article on 15 June titled “British Isles” declares that “victory against Argentina came at a high price, but demonstrated Britain had not lost its prowess or determination to stand up to bullies” (*Sun*, 15 Jun. 2012: 8). This is a highly patriotic remark in which the great military skills and abilities of the country are emphasized as well as the determination of the country to restrain the attacks of foreigners when deemed necessary for the national interests.

Max Hastings reproduces the famous quotation from the triumphant speech given by Thatcher after the victory: “Britain is no longer a nation in retreat” (Hastings, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29). However, the journalist wonders if this has proved to be true or if that revival of pride for the warrior heritage was only a brief flash of glory to succumb later into national decline. The speech cited by Hastings is the major one delivered by Margaret Thatcher on 3 July 1982 in the aftermath of the Falklands battle at the Conservative Rally at Cheltenham, which is considered to be “one of the most remarkable speeches in recent British politics, in which Thatcher gives her interpretation of the True Meaning of the war” (Barnett 1982:63). She is convinced that the war fought in the South Atlantic is fair. She declares: “[...] we fought to show that aggression does not pay and that the robber cannot be allowed to get away with his swag [...] we fought for our own people and for our own sovereign territory” (Thatcher: 3 July 1982). She defines the Argentine invaders as robbers and assures the people that the Falklands are British sovereign territory.

Thatcher talks about the “spirit of the South Atlantic” or the “Falklands factor” to increase the confidence of the people and make them recover their faith in the nation. Britain, she claims, was still strong, courageous and resolute to be able to expel “the robbers” that dared to invade British territory. The spirit of the Falklands became the umbrella term that defined the resistance of a united and powerful nation against the usurping enemy: “The spirit has stirred and the nation has begun to assert itself [...]. We have stopped to be a nation in retreat”.

The expression “in retreat” can also make reference to the retrieval of the UK from former colonies during the decolonisation period of the 1960s and 1970s, when the UK left most of its colonies around the world and stopped being a global power. British military forces were also withdrawn from international positions, especially in Asia, due to money shortage and the concentration of troops in designated positions assigned by NATO to its members (Kitchen 1996: 123-142). As a primary mission, the Royal Navy was given the task to counter the Soviet submarine force in the North Atlantic, which left little time and resources to imperial missions.

In any case, Thatcher is telling the British to wake up from their years and years of apathy, to be the people that they used to be during the British Empire. Why – she asks – does it need a war to bring out those qualities that reflect Britishness and reassert their pride? The nation has found itself again in battle and its strength has been reborn: “We rejoice that Britain has re-kindled that spirit which has fired her for generations past and which today has begun to burn as brightly as before [...] Britain has found herself again in the South Atlantic [...]”. Thatcher announced that the “spirit” of the South Atlantic should be applied at home. The good example set by the task force and by all those who contributed in the battle should be followed – the “commanders in the field” should be imitated at home. According to Barnett, “the example of the task force was its professional leadership and its clear hierarchy of rank” (1982:63).

The Prime Minister adds: “This generation can match their fathers and grandfathers in ability, in courage, and in resolution. We have not changed”. Power is passed from father to son, it is distributed throughout history. This heritage of power, this genealogy of power is also acknowledged by Thatcher to make the people proud of their history as a nation. “[...] we British are as we have always been: competent,

courageous and resolute”. Thatcher’s speeches have many similarities with the speeches of former British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, and in fact she openly quotes him:

During the past week, I have read again a little known speech of Winston Churchill, made just after the last war. This is what he said: “We must find the means and the method of working together not only in the times of war, and mortal anguish, but in times of peace [...]” (Thatcher: 3 July 1982).

She constructs her whole speech based on this idea, on the notion of working together for the development of the nation, what she called the spirit of the Falklands.

30 years after the war, the British government again confirms they have the necessary means to protect the islands in case of a new attack, affirming that the nation is still powerful. Graeme Wilson, in the *Sun*, quotes the British Defence Secretary, Philip Hammond, dismissing claims that Britain could not defend the Falklands against another invasion. He insisted: “We will defend them robustly. We have the assets, the people, the equipment in place to do so” (Wilson, *Sun* 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13). This corresponds to the fact that the current British military deployment in the Falklands is much more powerful than in 1982 and an effective deterrent force. These ideas will be discussed further in Section 6 of this same chapter “2012: Pride and Commitment”.

The sense of moral duty draws partly on the fact that the islanders, being a small British colony which suddenly became outnumbered and vulnerable after the invasion, needed the help and protection of Great Britain because they had been invaded by a stronger foreign force. Following this line of thought, the declarations of Sara Jones, widow of Lieutenant Colonel “H” Jones, are representative of the purest patriotic mind. She claims that her husband always said: “we have to stand up for what we believed in [...] we didn’t like to see a small country overrun by someone who had very little claim to it”. She refers to the Falklands as a “small country” but technically it is not a country but a UK Dependency. She adds that “the islanders have always been fiercely British and wanted to stay that way. I would like to believe we would do it again. We should always support the vulnerable”. Furthermore, she agreed Margaret Thatcher had taken the right course of action. “Can you imagine what things would be said now if we hadn’t responded to the cry for help?”, she said. She is quoted in several articles, such as:

- Willetts, *Sun* 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13;



- Wilkes, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 10-11;
- Gardham, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 1; 2;
- Grice, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 25;
- Davies, *Guardian* 3 Apr. 2012: 4.

The following quote, from Captain David Pentreath, Captain of the HMS *Plymouth* who was awarded the DSO (Distinguished Service Order), also summarises some of the ideas behind the justification of war: the Argentine were the aggressors, the islanders want to stay British, and finally, the fact that the British (“we”) need to protect the Falklanders. He leaves no doubt about the justice of the cause: “The Argentines were the aggressors [...] they [the Islanders] want to stay. Our job was to protect them” (Haynes, *Times* 2 Apr. 2012: 14-15). In a sense, this is somewhat contradictory with the patriotic mood: if it is job, like any other job, it becomes more of a duty than a moral obligation to defend the values of the nation and its people.

There are also some references to the civilian islanders being attacked, which again brings up the issue of the moral responsibility of the British and the fact that it was necessary to protect them, especially when they wished so much to remain within British territory. Falklands veteran Captain Robert Lawrence is quoted by the *Sun*: “When the Argentines realised the islanders wanted to be British they stepped up their aggression and people were held in the streets here at gunpoint [...]. When you are here and see the islanders and see how British they are, they are more British than the British. How could you desert these people?” (Willets, *Sun* 2 Apr. 2012: 22-23). General Sir Michael Rose, interviewed by Harding and Tweedie in the *Daily Telegraph* declares: “The hostages were the 2,000 civilians living in Port Stanley, exposed and surrounded by the Argentine army” (14 Jun. 2012: 23). These declarations regarding the ill treatment or the poor conditions that the civilians suffered may have a certain degree of exaggeration since there is neither record nor formal accusations of abuse towards the civilian population by the Argentine troops during the occupation. There were, however, three female civilian Falkland Islanders accidentally killed during the war by British fire.

Another element to take into consideration is the fact that there is an established comparison between the Falklands War and World War II. In the latter, the nation fought against Nazism: going to war was an ethical decision, even a moral obligation

for the country. Fighting evil is a frequent resort in declaring war. In the Falklands, the UK was fighting against a third-world dictatorship. There are subtle suggestions linking the UK as fighters against evil. For that reason, the press in 2012 includes some reminders of the fact that Argentina was ruled by a military Junta in 1982: “Fascist junta”; “brutal military dictatorship” (both from Hastings, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29); “murderous military junta” (*Daily Telegraph*, 14 Jun. 2012: 25). Haynes and Coghlan in the *Times* (2 Apr. 2012: 1; 14) describe the job done by the task force as a display of international superiority, an astonishing feat of arms that set an example to follow in wars in future wars. Moreover, the article mentions that the task force made the nation proud, restoring the country’s self-belief and giving a special cause for celebrating and rejoicing over victory, adding that the success of the Falklands campaign brought a major boost to the patriotic self-esteem that the country had not experienced since the defeat of Hitler. The *Daily Telegraph* extends on the comparison by adding that the UK responded to the invasion with the greatest feat of arms since World War II (2 Apr. 2012: 23).

Another of the most relevant reasons to engage in warfare has been the possibility to determine issues of sovereignty. The fact that the British won the war has granted the islanders the power to determine their own political future, which in practice means that they can decide whether they wish to remain British or not. Self-determination is the main argument that the British government uses in 2012 to show its commitment. David Cameron is quoted by several newspapers when affirming that “Britain remains staunchly committed to upholding the right of the islanders to determine their own future”:

- *Sun*, 2 Apr. 2012: 2;
- Wilson, *Sun* 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13;
- Shipman, *Daily Mail* 2 Apr. 2012: 8;
- Shipman and Drury, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 14;
- Gardham, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 1; 2;
- Strange and Sanderson, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 8.

The same view is shared by the *Sun* in two editorial articles: “Isles will survive” (3 Apr. 2012: 8) and “British Isles” (15 Jun. 2012: 8). The red-top tabloid newspaper claims that the Falklands belong to Britain and they will stay British for as long as the

islanders want. It also informs about the possibility of holding a referendum for the local population to decide their own future, if they wish to stay British or not.

Will Pavia, *Times* correspondent to the United Nations, provides information about the eight islanders that travelled to New York to the UN premises to counter the Argentine diplomatic offensive. They met members of the UN decolonisation committee, and asked them “to speak in favour of their right to self-determination, an argument that the islanders sought to bolster this week by announcing a referendum on their future allegiance” (Pavia, *Times* 14 Jun. 2012: 39). This referendum was eventually celebrated in March 2013 and an overwhelmingly majority of Falkland residents voted to remain British (for more information, see Chapter 2, section 4 “Current state of the dispute”).

William Hague, the British Foreign Secretary, strongly insists on the right of the Islanders to determine their political status. Although he is very resolute on the subject, he leaves a door open for talks concerning business, as can be seen in the following quote from an article he published on the *Daily Telegraph*:

Britain will maintain an absolute commitment to preserve the right of the Falkland islanders [...] to determine their own political and economic destiny. And while the British government will not negotiate the sovereignty of the islands unless and until the people who live there wish it, there is much that all three of us – Falklands, UK and Argentina – can nevertheless discuss together (Hague, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 22).

To reinforce the argument, the *Daily Telegraph* shows how it is even agreed by some intellectuals in Argentina that the islanders should have the power to decide on their future: “A group of prominent Argentine intellectuals published an open letter denouncing Mrs Kirchner’s campaign as ‘absurd’ and arguing that the islanders’ right to self-determination be respected” (*Daily Telegraph*, 2 Apr. 2012: 23).

Uki Goni (*Guardian*, 3 Apr. 2012: 4) also points out the fact that not everyone in Argentina agrees with the commemoration. These references come from a letter titled “Malvinas, una visión alternativa” (Malvinas, an alternative vision) written by some Argentine academics and journalists to the government on 22 February 2012. The letter is very critical of the official claim to the islands and it asks for the government to take into account the islanders’ wishes (*La Nación*, 21 Feb. 2012). The writers of the letter received harsh criticism in the country and were considered by some as “traitors” to the

national cause. The Argentine historian Federico Lorenz is also critical of the government and its policy to recover the islands. He suggests that the epic story of the Malvinas together with all the symbolism associated with it should be replaced by a modern historical narration which would be more effective in order to demonstrate that Argentina does not suffer from a chronic “Malvinitis” (an obsession for the islands) but is the victim of late colonialism. Unlike Britain, which published the two-volume *The Official History of the Falklands Campaign* (Lawrence Freedman: 2005), Argentina lacks an official story of the war. Lorenz suggests that Argentina should start by working on the compilation of the official narration of the facts.

The only declaration against this line of thought is the one expressed by Miguel Savage, a former Argentine PoW (Prisoner of War) in an interview published in the *Daily Telegraph*. He says: “The islanders’ culture should be respected, but they replaced an Argentine *gaucho* population in 1833 and do not have the right to self-determination. There should be a civilized handover of the Falklands to Argentina” (Gilbert, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 17). Understandably, this opposition comes from an Argentine, whose standpoint is from the other side of the dispute.

The theme of self-determination seems to create a special interest in readers, too. Two letters to the editor were published in the *Daily Telegraph* under the sub-headline “Falklands referendum”. Ken Shuttleworth, for instance, recalls the sacrifices of the taskforce to grant freedom and self-determination to the Falklanders: “the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Argentina invading the Falkland Islands is a time to remember the sacrifices our servicemen made for freedom and the right of the Falkland islanders to choose who they want to rule them [...]. The correctness of the Falkland islanders’ right to self-determination” (Shuttleworth, *Daily Telegraph* 3 Apr. 2012: 21).

Another British reader named Neil Murphy, produces an original and ironical, but not less controversial suggestion about how to find an end to the dispute. In a letter to the editor published in the *Times* the author says that nobody really likes living on the islands. He hints at a solution being that Argentina pays them to go away which is what the islanders really want. He is deconstructing the whole myth of the islanders as a happy and proud colonial enclave (Murphy, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 23).

Some other readers took advantage of the issue of the Falklands referendum to introduce the argument about a referendum in the UK to ask if citizens want to leave the

European Union. On 14 June the *Daily Express* publishes three letters to the editor on the topic (see Image 3):

- (1) "Now PM dare not ignore clamour for a referendum" by Patricia Holden from Williton, Somerset;
- (2) "It must be our turn once Falklanders have had say" by Elissa McDonald from Whittlesey, Cambs;
- (3) "If islanders can have vital vote we should too" by John Allen sent by email and highlighted as the letter of the day.

The three of them urge the Prime Minister to allow a referendum to take place so the British can decide whether they want to remain part of the EU. John Allen justifies his arguments by establishing a direct comparison between Argentina and the European Union: "Argentina has ambitions to rule the Falklands and the European Union has ambitions to rule us. So, what's the difference?" (Allen, *Daily Express* 14 Jun. 2012: 31).

## Letters

The Daily Express, Number 10 Lower Thames Street, London EC3R 6EN. Fax: 0207 098 2704  
Email: [expressletters@express.co.uk](mailto:expressletters@express.co.uk) (include your address and telephone number)

### Now PM dare not ignore clamour for a referendum

THE Falkland Islands are to hold a referendum on their political status, hoping to bring an end to the dispute with Argentina over the islands' sovereignty. The islanders are expected to vote overwhelmingly to remain British. Prime Minister David Cameron said the world should listen to the views of the Falkland islanders and Britain would be 'resolute' in supporting their choice. We in this island realm also want a referendum on remaining British (in/out of Europe) and want Mr Cameron to be just as resolute in supporting our choice. He dare not now ignore our wishes.

Patricia Holden,  
Williton, Somerset

### It must be our turn once Falklanders have had say

AM I being the everlasting optimist if I feel that the decision to give the good folk of the Falkland Islands a referendum on whether to stay British is a sign of hope for the rest of us?

Islanders will vote early next year on the 'political status' of the South Atlantic territory.

So now, Mr Cameron and the rest of you, give us our referendum to let us tell you we want and choose to be British and not European, so get us out of the EU.

Oh but did I hear someone say, 'Pat chance?'  
Elissa McDonald,  
Whittlesey, Cambs

### Letter of the day

## If islanders can have vital vote we should too

I CAN'T understand the total reluctance by the Government to deny us a referendum on Europe yet allow a referendum for the Falkland islanders to decide their future when the issue is exactly the same ('Falklanders given choice to stay British', June 13). Argentina has ambitions to rule the Falklands and the European Union has ambitions to rule us. So what's the difference?

Why should we lose our right to decide our future as a result of backdoor stealth by an unelected bureaucracy that has no idea how to run a raffle, let alone a united states of Europe?

Good luck to the Falkland islanders, who without doubt will make the right decision for their future.

My warning to the political parties of this country is this. The people of this country will have their say at the ballot box. The first party to guarantee a referendum at the next election will get in by a landslide.

John Allen,  
By email



ARGENTINA FURY: But Falklands flies British flag

### Debate over gay marriage is simply a smokescreen

I AM amazed that the Prime Minister wishes to add to all his

your mind to the nation's cry for a referendum on the EU rather than trying to produce a smokescreen by way of gay marriage.

MPs are elected to meet the people's wishes. Our wish is for a

targeting hard-working drivers going a couple of miles an hour over the speed limit, mostly on roads where the limits are much too low, has nothing to do with safety and everything to do with

Image 3: *Daily Express*, 14 Jun. 2012: 31

#### 4. Margaret Thatcher's Response

Another aspect to consider relates to the decision taken by the Prime Minister to engage in the war. This section will explore the position adopted by journalists and newspapers regarding the British involvement in the war and whether Thatcher's decision to engage in battle is supported or not. Within this group there are arguments backing the British government and praising the decisions taken by the Prime Minister, but some criticism is also to be found.

The *Daily Mail* positions itself strongly in favour of the late Prime Minister. In its editorial of 3 April titled "Cameron must heed the Falklands lessons" the newspaper supports Thatcher's policies and intentions:

It was a triumph of will on the part of a Prime Minister who put principles before political expedience. Defying the fainthearts and naysayers all around her [...] Margaret Thatcher believed only one thing matters when Argentina invaded British territory: a monstrous wrong had to be put right [...] She was richly rewarded for staying true to her convictions. For victory brought her the 1983 Tory landslide, enabling her to oversee the Thatcher revolution that put the economy back on its feet (*Daily Mail*, 3 Apr. 2012: 14).

In this depiction of Thatcher it is interesting to point out how the following words 'stick' together with connotations of a female version of Nietzsche's superman or overman: triumph of will; fainthearts; naysayers; all around her; monstrous wrong; richly rewarded, true to her convictions; victory; Thatcher revolution; economy back on its feet. The story runs like a video-game in which she – alone of her kind – battles on to save the day. She is in the possession of truth and therefore strikes. A Boadicea who saves the Britons from the Romans who invaded the country in 60AD.

Nietzsche, however, did not conceive of an English Superwoman, let alone an English Superman. His quote, taken from *Twilight of the Idols* is lengthy and indeed, has been taken out of context, nevertheless, it is revealing when compared to the *Daily Mail* excerpt on Thatcher:

On closer inspection it is war that produces these effects, the war for liberal institutions, which, as a war, permits illiberal instincts to continue. And war educates for freedom. For what is freedom? That one has the will to assume responsibility for oneself. That one maintains the distance which separates us. That one becomes more indifferent to difficulties, hardships, privation, even to life itself. That one is prepared to sacrifice human beings for one's cause, not

excluding oneself. Freedom means that the manly instincts which delight in war and victory dominate over other instincts, for example, over those of 'pleasure'. The human being who has become free--and how much more the spirit who has become free--spits on the contemptible type of well-being dreamed of by shopkeepers, Christians, cows, females, Englishmen, and other democrats. The free man is a warrior (Nietzsche [1889] 1968: 92).

The BBC's news item on archives dating from 1981 reveals that the Conservative Party had almost split over the Iron Lady's policies. Thatcher had reshuffled her cabinet, getting rid of dissenting ministers, called the "Purge of the Wets" (Berg, *BBC News* 17 Mar. 2012). The Wets were not unlike the "naysayers" or "fainthearts"; they were possibly named so by Thatcher and the popular press and the binaries wets/dries caught on (*Independent*, 18 Oct. 1993).

Max Hastings, in his already mentioned article in the *Daily Mail* titled "Triumph that left Britain's leaders hooked on war", gives his opinion about this issue. Although he is very critical with the "pernicious legacy" that the war left especially in the incapacity of the two governments to end the conflict even when the war took place so many years ago; he approves Thatcher's decision of going to war with the following words: "No pundit or historian disputes that Margaret Thatcher was right to go to war after the Argentine seized Britain's Falklands". However, he questions the hidden intentions of the Conservative leader by admitting that she partly acted out of convenience to win popular support to counteract the crisis she was having in the country. He acknowledges that the war brought success to the leader and boosted the morale of the nation: "The war brought about Thatcher's later success. The nation's pride needed to be reassured after a long period of crisis in which self-respect was lost" (Hastings, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29). Even though Hastings shows approval in the Prime Minister's decision for war, he challenges the official discourse by sustaining that after these 30 years the war looks to him as a last imperial hurrah. He becomes very critical by denouncing that the country has spent £5 billion to defend the Islands and to justify having fought the war, adding that the triumph left British leaders hooked on war in the sense that no political solution has been found for the conflict in these 30 years.

For Kevin Foster, in "To serve and protect: Textualizing the Falklands conflict", this "pernicious legacy" has led to the monopolization of the Conservative Party to determine and define authentic national identity based on an ideal image of the past. Those who disagree are to be labelled as traitors or the enemy within (1997: 251). Philip

Schlesinger, in “Preparing for the Next Media War”, is even more critical by stating that the war left many legacies behind but none of them are positive, such as the waste of lives and money, an irrelevant and pricey commitment to the Islands, and worst of all the corrosive impact of the Falklands factor on British politics and its contribution to the authoritarianism of the Thatcher government (1984: 23).

The widows of war veterans took part in the memorial service; two of them being key protagonists of the event: Margaret Allen and Sara Jones. The *Daily Mail* appropriates the voice of the two widows to manifest its support for the course of action followed in 1982. When asked if Margaret Thatcher had done the right thing by leading Britain into war in 1982, both of them praised the former Prime Minister, agreeing that she took the appropriate decision in the given circumstances. According to Margaret Allen, the war was the only possibility left: “Once the Argentinians had invaded, it was the right thing to do, I don’t think we had any choice” (Wilkes, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 10-11). By the same token, Sara Jones agreed that Thatcher had taken the right course of action.

In an editorial titled “The Falklands message that still holds true”, the *Daily Telegraph* recognises that it was a political triumph for Margaret Thatcher, “whose leadership and determination to see the campaign through to victory owe much to her impeccable belief that the cause was just” (*Daily Telegraph*, 14 Jun. 2012: 25). For the *Times*, the fact of dispatching the task force at such a short notice 8,000 miles away from home to repel the invaders and retake the islands constitutes one of the defining acts of her premiership (Haynes and Coghlan, *Times* 2 Apr. 2012: 1; 14). For some, this courageous and somewhat reckless act marked her determination and strength as a political leader. There is also the acknowledgment that the war transformed the Prime Minister into a successful politician, though that recognition comes with a certain irony at times.

It is worth noticing that it is also possible to find some critical opinions against the Conservative leader, the involvement in war and the way she handled the conflict. The *Daily Mirror*’s political editor, Jason Beattie, publishes a short but highly critical article in his section “Analysis” named “Big gamble as Thatcher rode wave of fortune”. The headline introduces the element of luck and fortune, implying that the ex-Prime Minister’s decision was not the consequence of serious and analytical thought but of



risk and dangerous gamble. She was fortunate enough to have luck on her side, as Beattie argues:

For fans of Margaret Thatcher, the anniversary of the Falklands conflict will always be a moment to rejoice. The war did more than anything to forge the legend of the Iron Lady. What is less well-remembered is how close the ex-Prime Minister sailed to disaster [...]; the reconquest transformed her fortunes. Thatcherism was born. She [...] became famous for her uncompromising leadership (*Daily Mirror*, 3 Apr. 2012: 6).

The article also raises another issue: according to the Just War tradition, war must be the last resort. Beattie accuses Thatcher of neglecting the USA President Ronald Reagan's advice by shunning diplomacy in favour of military action.

An article published in the *Guardian* by Simon Jenkins, co-author with Max Hastings of the classic book about the war *The Battle for the Falklands* (1983), reflects on the effects of the war as regards the formation of 'Thatcherism'. The author's criticism can be perceived from the headline and subheadline, which read: "30 years on, we still feel the effects of Thatcher's lucky war [...]. How an eccentric war turned around Thatcher's fortunes [...]. The impact on Thatcher was stunning: it changed her as a leader". Jenkins makes an open and direct criticism to the social policies in her government when arguing that in her first period as Prime Minister, Thatcher had achieved little beyond tax cuts for the rich and spending cuts for the poor. The author would agree with those who argue that the war was a political excuse as he explains that some Argentines claimed that Thatcher "had drawn Galtieri on to the punch" to save her own political skin. He adds that the Falklands War is hard to exaggerate, but the impact on the female leader was stunning (Jenkins, *Guardian* 2 Apr. 2012: 1; 6-7).

Similarly, Julian Borges, in the same newspaper, believes that the leadership of the Prime Minister was damaged before the war. Consequently, if she has failed to redeem her own reputation and that of the nation, her political career together with her leadership as a Tory would have crumbled. (Borger, *Guardian* 2 Apr. 2012: 7). The quality paper the *Guardian* is considered to be sympathetic with left-wing ideologies and with the Labour Party, which would explain their opposition to the war and to the Prime Minister (see Chapter 4: 4.1). Besides, the *Guardian* and the tabloid *Daily Mirror* were overtly against the war (Harris: 1983).

Some others are critical with both the Argentine and the British governments when implying that both losing popular support, seized upon the incident as a ‘pretext’ for war (Strange, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 9). It is worth mentioning that this last argument is introduced by an Argentine citizen who is interviewed by Hannah Strange for the *Times*. Hastings adds that “Both countries [...] have become prisoners of the islands. Before 1982, no British government recognized a significant strategic commitment in the South Atlantic.” (Hastings, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29).

## 5. The Falkland Islanders

The following section will analyse how the Islanders are portrayed in the 2012 press and it will try to show, to what extent, these descriptions match the ones in 1982 since it is clear that another of the strong claims connected with the justification of war has to do with the nature of the inhabitants of the archipelago. During the conflict, the idealisation of the Islanders and their way of life was used as another powerful tool to create a favourable public opinion for the retaking of the Falklands. According to Thomas Melchionne (1989: 70), the social construction of the images of the Islanders reveals deep fantasies about the British and their national self-image. Moreover, the author argues that “the British press has popularized the notion that the Kelpers<sup>9</sup> are “more British than the British”, which has led to certain misconceptions. Often, British people from the UK who visit the Falklands expect that Kelper life will mirror contemporary rural English society, and this is not always the case” (Melchionne 1986: 33).

Nora Femenia identifies the following two complementary categories for the manner in which the residents of the Islands were viewed by the British media and politicians during the first days of the Argentine invasion and later throughout the war:

- (1) Being tremendously loyal and trusting, British in stock and tradition, remarkably independent, brave people, also quiet and suffering people who have lost their freedom.
- (2) Victims of naked aggression, carried out in shameful and disreputable way, incarcerated in an Argentine jail [...] (1996: 140).

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<sup>9</sup> Name given to the inhabitants of the Falkland Islands that were born there (See Chapter 2).

A very similar portrayal is maintained in 2012. To start with, the islanders are considered to be fiercely British, British in stock and tradition, as Margaret Thatcher expressed them to be on 3 April 1982 after the Argentine invasion. Captain Robert Lawrence, Military Cross hero, says: “When you are here and see the islanders and see how British they are, they are more British than the British. How could you desert these people?” (Willetts, *Sun* 2 Apr. 2012: 22-23).

As they are very loyal British citizens, their deepest will is to remain British. Widow Sara Jones reinforces this stereotypical image of the Falklanders when arguing that the Islanders have always been fiercely British, adding that their decision is to stay this way. Her point of view is reflected in the following articles:

- Willetts, *Sun* 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13;
- Wilkes, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 10-11;
- Hughes, *Daily Mirror* 3 Apr. 2012: 6;
- Gardham, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 1; 2;
- Davies, *Guardian* 3 Apr. 2012: 4.

British Foreign Secretary William Hague says:

As we look back on those events, we should remind the world that in the years since their liberation the Falkland islanders have repeated – without qualification or equivocation – their wish to keep their constitutional status, their national identity and to live peacefully with their neighbours in Latin America. As long as the people of the Falklands continue to express their view, the UK will defend and support their right to do so” (Gardham, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 1; 2; Hague, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 22).

The *Daily Telegraph* reproduces the words of Major General Jeremy Moore when the war is over: “The Falkland Islands are once more under the government desired by their inhabitants. God save the Queen” (*Daily Telegraph*, 14 Jun. 2012: 25). Pavia, in the *Times* quotes the Prime Minister and the project of the referendum: “Endorsing the referendum, David Cameron yesterday urged the Falkland islanders to show Buenos Aires where their loyalties lay. The referendum [...] would send a firm message to Argentina that the islanders wanted to remain British (Pavia, *Times* 14 Jun. 2012: 39).

The *Kelpers* are very proud of their identity as Falkland Islanders. Reporting on the celebration for Liberation Day in Port Stanley, and of how Alun Palmer from the *Daily Mirror* describes how the islanders showed their pride and loyalties:

As an affirmation of their sovereignty the message could not have been louder – Union and Falklands flags adorned every lamppost, every window, every car. It may be a rock in the middle of the South Atlantic, just off the Antarctic Circle, yet it is a place that screams its Britishness at every opportunity [...] Governor Nigel Haywood proudly celebrated in his colonial outfit, complete with a plume of red and white ostrich feathers on his hat (Palmer, *Daily Mirror* 15 Jun. 2012: 18-19).

Tweedie adds that “the outbreak of union flags and Falklands ensigns in the last few weeks had already done the talking” (Tweedie, *Daily Telegraph* 3 Apr. 2012: 4). Leona Roberts, Falkland resident, who was interviewed by Haynes for the *Times*, acknowledges that she considers herself British but first and foremost a Falkland islander (Haynes, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 8-9). Because, among other reasons, they have lived on the islands for generations, they have no doubt that the islands belong to them. William Hague mentions that since they have lived there for nine generations they consequently have the right “to determine their own political and economic destiny” (Hague, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 22). David Cameron adds that “this has been their home for almost 180 years. There are children whose ancestors have lived there for generations. The roots go deep, and they will not be ripped out” (Hughes, *Daily Telegraph* 15 Jun. 2012: 19; Davies, *Guardian* 15 Jun. 2012: 11).

Heather Harris, another inhabitant of the islands, draws on notions of nationality acquired by birth: “We are lucky that we are all here, and it’s ours. I don’t need to fly my flag. This is where I was born and that’s it” (Tweedie, *Daily Telegraph* 3 Apr. 2012: 4). Major Peter Biggs, head of the Falkland Islands Defence Force, justifies the armed conflict on the basis of having had the national territory invaded: “You must do what you can to defend your land. Having your country invaded is a very good cure for pacifism” (Haynes, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 8-9). This statement yields a negative connotation to pacifism.

Another way of characterising the islanders is as ‘victims’ of the Argentine aggression. The islanders had suffered a lot during the occupation and they still suffer pressure and bullying from Argentina, as David Cameron puts it, when he pledged to

continue defending the islanders from Argentina's "aggressive threats" (Davies, *Guardian* 15 Jun. 2012: 11). This presentation of the islanders as victims of the situation seeks to arouse a feeling of sympathy with the readers.

Patricia Grey, another islander interviewed by the *Daily Telegraph*, explains part of the "grim ordeal" she suffered during the invasion: "I was at Goose Green, and on May 1 the Argies told us we had to attend a meeting in the hall, and when we were all inside, they locked us in. A month we were there, 2 toilets for 114 people. Until the British soldiers arrived, thank God" (Tweedie, *Daily Telegraph* 3 Apr. 2012: 4). This last sentence reaffirms and justifies, once more, the role of the Task Force. In his celebration speech for Liberation Day, Reverend Richard Hines addresses the islanders and recalls the painful moments of the war: "This 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary is serving again to remind each one of you Falkland islanders just how much you endured and how ... you found inner strength during 74 days of foreign occupation" (Davies, *Guardian* 15 Jun. 2012: 11).

Roger Edwards, a representative of the Falkland Islands legislative assembly, denounces the Argentine government of being "colonialist" in the United Nations: "This Argentine government claims to fight against colonialism yet wishes to take away our people's right, annex our islands, and subject our people to alien subjugation and domination – the very definition of colonialism" (Strange, *Times* 15 Jun. 2012: 15). Understandably, sympathisers of the Argentine position could just as well argue the opposite.

Nelson Castro is an Argentine journalist, who is said to be the country's equivalent to the well-known and prestigious British journalist John Humphrys, acknowledges the suffering of the residents: "We consider the Malvinas part of our territory but coming here I do understand the feelings of people. They had a very bad time and the presence of Argentine troops was a dramatic turn in their way of life" (Tweedie, *Daily Telegraph* 3 Apr. 2012: 4). The quote has an added value since it comes from an Argentine.

Another characteristic associated with the islanders and repeatedly emphasized in the newspapers is that they are extremely grateful to the British for the help provided during the war. Liberation Day is considered the most important holiday which they enthusiastically celebrate every year, a national holiday every 14 June, which marks the

end of the war and the liberation from the foreign troops. As Wilkes puts it, “Liberation day is considered by many to be the most important of the year, when the islanders give thanks for being freed from the invaders [...]” (Wilkes, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 10-11). As regards the 2012 celebration, newspaper readers are told that “3,000 islanders commemorated their release from tyranny” (Drury, *Daily Mail* 15 Jun. 2012: 26) and that the islanders “celebrated liberation day with a ceremony and ‘freedom march’ in Port Stanley” (Strange, *Times* 15 Jun. 2012: 15). Captain Robert Lawrence, mentioned above, talks about his popularity among the islanders: “people make a fuss of you and buy you a round and pat you on the back and give you a hug” (Willetts, *Sun* 2 Apr. 2012: 22-23).

In an article by Alun Palmer published in the *Daily Mirror* on 15 June, there is a semantic chain of ideas about the Islanders expressing their gratitude for the freedom given. Some key expressions are:

- we’ll always be grateful;
- remember those who gave their lives to give us freedom;
- liberation monument;
- who gave their lives to give us freedom;
- freed us;
- Liberation day;
- celebration of the islands’ freedom;
- Liberation day is the biggest event in the social calendar (Palmer, *Daily Mirror* 15 Jun. 2012: 18-19).

In the same article, the captions next to the pictures read:

- TRIBUTE girl in snow with wreath;
- RESPECT Falklands flag flies at No 10 yesterday;
- WAVE Youngster holds flag;
- 1982 Troops raising flag at Stanley;
- BRAVEST veterans return [not the cowardly ones];
- GRATEFUL crowds gather at monument;
- CEREMONY governor in official regalia.

All these emphatic and loaded lexical choices in capital letters connote nationalist pride which stresses the war as being a just war and worth fighting for.



Image 4: *Daily Mirror*, 15 Jun. 2012: 18-19

Another argument in favour of the justification of the war is that of the prosperity to the territory. In other words, the war provided the islanders freedom from the enemy, which, in turn, brought peace and prosperity. This is a cause of pride not only for the islanders but also for the British people in general. It acts as a further reinforcement of the idea of the war being just.

In his anniversary speech David Cameron states that Britain would not waver in its support for the Islands and their people, who, according to him, should be proud for the prosperous and secure future they have been able to build since the end of the armed conflict (Strange, *Times* 15 Jun. 2012: 15; *Sun*, 2 Apr. 2012: 2).

The official line is enlarged in William Hague's article in the *Daily Telegraph* on 2 April titled "Why we still want to work with Argentina". Hague enumerates the different ways in which the archipelago has prospered:

Over the past 30 years, much has changed. Despite the challenges of relative geographic isolation, the Falklands have grown and prospered. The population has grown and doubled to about 3,000. GDP rose from £5 million in 1980 to more than £100 million in recent years. And in the face of a sustained Argentine effort to prevent them from doing so, the Falkland islanders have developed a thriving local economy, with a responsibly managed fishery, growing tourism based on their unique natural environment, and the beginnings of a commercial hydrocarbons industry (Hague, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 22).

Deborah Haynes, defence editor of the *Times*, is the author of “The memories of war are vivid, but islanders know it led to greater prosperity”. The article is mainly based on the narration of the life-experiences of some residents interviewed by the author, who proudly noted how their remote territory has prospered in the last thirty years: the population has doubled, the fishing industry has grown and oil was discovered offshore. Haynes concludes that the whole transformation has not only expanded the Islands’ economy but it has also boosted the native people’s confidence (Haynes, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 8-9).

## **6. 2012: Pride and Commitment**

The overall message expressed in the 2012 discourse is that the British should look back at what happened with pride. Moreover, there is still the commitment to protect and defend the islands from any possible aggression and to respect, as well as guarantee, the right of self-determination. The Prime Minister advocates this pride and commitment, and he is repeatedly quoted in the newspapers. The following are some examples:

- David Cameron vows to defend the Falklanders’ right to remain British (*Sun*, 2 Apr. 2012: 2);
- Prime Minister insisted Britain was not less committed now than in 1982 to protecting the islanders’ right to self-determination (Shipman and Drury, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 11);
- David Cameron said that he was not prepared to play a ‘game of global Monopoly’ with the islands and that they would remain a British territory. He said there would be ‘no negotiation’ over the islands (Hughes, *Daily Telegraph* 15 Jun. 2012: 19);



- PM reaffirms pledge to uphold islanders' right; David Cameron reaffirmed Britain determination to uphold the islanders' rights to determine their own future (Davies, *Guardian* 3 Apr. 2012: 4).

Even further references can be found where the Prime Minister is directly cited emphasising the pride of the past actions as well as the present and future commitment:

- We are rightly proud of the role Britain played in righting a profound wrong (*Sun*, 2 Apr. 2012: 2; Wilson, *Sun*, 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13; Gardham, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 1; 2; Strange and Sanderson, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 8);
- Britain remains staunchly committed to upholding the right of the islanders to determine their own future (*Sun*, 2 Apr. 2012: 2; Wilson, *Sun*, 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13);
- [Self-determination] was the fundamental principle that was at stake 30 years ago, and that is the principle which we solemnly reaffirm today (Wilson, *Sun*, 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13; Shipman, *Daily Mail* 2 Apr. 2012: 8; Shipman and Drury, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 14; Gardham, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 1; 2; Strange and Sanderson, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 8).

Davies explains that “Cameron stressed Britain’s resolve to support this remote British Overseas Territory has not wavered in the last 30 years and it will not in the years ahead” (Davies, *Guardian* 15 Jun. 2012: 11). The word ‘remote’ can lead to a double interpretation. It can have a positive sense if we think that, no matter how far away the islands are, the government is still willing to protect them; or, it can have a negative implication if it is considered that the islands are too far away from the UK to be an essential part of the interest of the nation.

The British Foreign Secretary, shares the views of the Prime Minister when declaring: “the islanders have repeated – without qualification or equivocation – their wish to keep their constitutional status, their national identity and to live peacefully with their neighbours in Latin America. As long as the people of the Falklands continue to express their view, the UK will defend and support their right to do so” (Hague, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 22; Gardham, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 1; 2). Furthermore, he adds that “Britain will maintain an absolute commitment to preserve the right of the Falkland islanders” and that the British government “will not negotiate the sovereignty

of the islands unless and until the people who live there wish it” (Hague, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 22). There is not even the slightest reference to the fact that the British Nationality Act had been reformed in 1981, reducing considerably British citizenship rights to the inhabitants of the Falklands. After the war, the Falklanders were granted full citizenship rights in 1983.

As previously mentioned, Just War scholars would argue that the British resort to war fails to satisfy the principle of proportionality according to Just War standards. This is exactly the point made by Hastings when denouncing the £5 billion that the war cost (Hastings, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29). With the cuts in the military force during the Conservative government of David Cameron, there are some voices that argue that Britain would not be able to defend the islands against another invasion. However, Defence Secretary Philip Hammond dismissed those claims insisting that Britain has all what it takes to defend sovereign territory (Wilson, *Sun*, 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13). The *Financial Times* challenges this view. James Blitz, in his article “Economic reality hits home over Falklands” assures readers that Britain could not today carry out a mission to defend the UK territory due to the severe cuts in defence spending, decreasing from 6 per cent of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) in 1982 to 2.7 in 2011. He adds that the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary comes at an uncomfortable moment for UK military chiefs. The author ends the article with a very thought-provoking and defiant remark: “The question that may well be asked a decade from now is whether Britain can afford to spend £200m a year protecting 3,000 people on a group of windswept islands 8,000 miles away” (Blitz, *Financial Times*, 2 Apr. 2012: 3). The article includes a chart which adds information about the reduction in the armed forces for personnel and equipment, which is reproduced below:

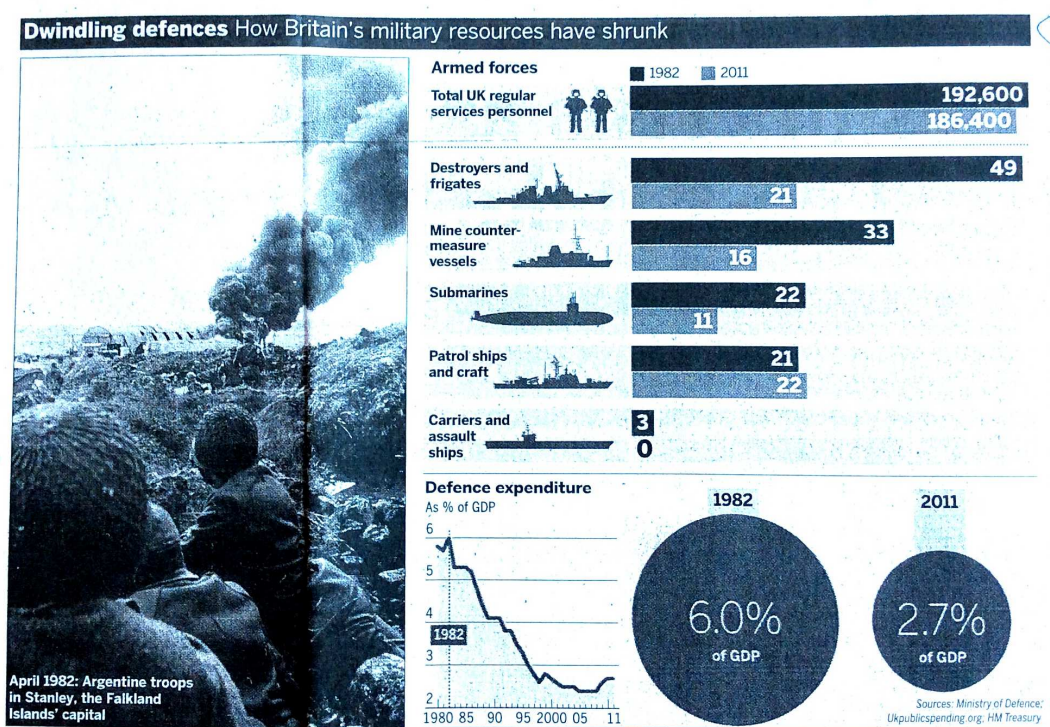


Image 5: *Financial Times*, 2 Apr. 2012: 3

The debate on the UK armed forces in relation to the reduced budget still continues. In January 2014, the former American defence secretary Robert Gates was interviewed by BBC Radio 4's *Today* programme (*Today*, BBC Radio 4, 16 Jan. 2014). In the programme, Gates warns against the limited military capacities of the UK due to the major cuts introduced by the Prime Minister, David Cameron. Gates claims that the substantial reductions in defence expenditure would affect the full partnership that has existed in the past between the USA and the UK regarding military operations.

A further reinforcement of the war can be found in some comments made in 2012 which consider the war worth fighting for. In other words, all the suffering, the sacrifices, the deaths were worth it for the greater national cause. War hero Captain Robert Lawrence was wounded in battle; as a result his left arm is useless and his leg so weak he walks with a limp. Notwithstanding his present condition he states: "I'd do it again tomorrow, even if I knew the injury was going to happen again: It was worth it" (Willetts, *Sun* 2 Apr. 2012: 22-23). He acknowledges that it is easier to say this while on the Islands, where people show full support and respect to the heroes who liberated them from the oppressors. Lawrence describes this appraisal with the following words:

“here people make a fuss of you and buy you a round and pat you on the back and give you a hug” (Ibid.).

Schofield and Fletcher published an article in the *Sun* titled “IT WAS WORTH IT”. The headline, which is written in bold capital letters, is an affirmative statement. The article explains how British veteran Rick Cross first returned to the islands for the anniversary. The first sentence in bold reads: “A HERO returned to the Falklands to mark today’s 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the war – and insisted that the islands were worth fighting for”. This absolute certainty, however, is somewhat weakened a few paragraphs below by the declaration of the veteran: “People always ask, ‘Was it worth it?’ and over the last few days I can *finally* [my italics] say, ‘Yes, it was worth it.’” So, implicit is the idea that it took him 30 years to realize that the war was worth fighting for. Why did it take him so long? Perhaps, the mere fact of going to the Islands on the anniversary of its end made him comprehend that the war was worth fighting for. The headline in capital letters is absolute, while the “finally” in the words of the veteran soften the certitude of the claim. Moreover, if people always ask him if the war was worth fighting for, this suggests that some others also have doubts about the validity of the war. If it had been so obvious that the war was worth fighting for, “people” would not doubt it. The same article also narrates the story of another veteran, Martin Margerison, a corporal in 2 Para, shot in the face at the decisive battle of Goose Green, who was returning for his third time to the battlefield. Margerison “admitted his experiences in the war left him struggling to adapt to civvy street”. Contrary to his colleague Rick Cross, Margerison’s declaration of the traumatic events, “it has taken 30 years to get stability in my life”, suggests that he might not have been so convinced the war was worth fighting for. Perhaps for this reason Rick Cross is the main figure in the article (all the quotes in this paragraph are from Schofield and Fletcher, *Sun* 14 Jun. 2012: 12).

There is also the admission that the price paid for the war was high. The *Sun* remarks that “Victory against Argentina came at a high price, but demonstrated Britain had not lost its prowess or determination to stand up to the bullies” (*Sun*, 15 Jun. 2012: 8). This is a highly patriotic remark in which the great military skills of the country are emphasized as well as the determination of the country to fight back when necessary.

Wilkes adds that “sending the Task Force had been right despite the sacrifices” (Wilkes, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 10-11).

Widow Sara Jones, quoted above, hesitates: “I would like to believe we would do it again” (Willetts, *Sun* 2 Apr. 2012: 22-23). However, widow Margaret Allen does not seem to be so convinced. She declares: “I lost everything in that moment when Ian died. How could it not be worth it?” (Wilkes, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 10-11) and she adds that she hopes those experiences would not have to be revisited and that a peaceful solution could be found for the conflict. She is speaking from the position of a widow’s pains, not from the political perspective. Her story and her ‘plea’ are effective as they appeal to the emotions, together with the large coloured picture of her ‘wiping away a tear’ in the memorial service. In the same article the reader learns that she “suffered post-traumatic stress disorder from her loss” (Ibid.). Britten and Alleyne, from the *Daily Telegraph*, add: “as she struggled to cope with her husband’s death, Mrs Allen was diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder, which has left her struggling for 30 years to come to terms with what happened” (Britten and Alleyne, *Daily Telegraph* 3 Apr. 2012: 4). PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) will be developed in the chapter on Heroism.

There are various articles published in the *Daily Mirror* that challenge the claim that the war was worth fighting for. It may be useful to highlight at this point that the tabloid was against the war in 1982 (Harris 1983). Melissa Thompson’s article “The Hidden Toll of War, Battle Stress, Vets’ Warnings” (*Daily Mirror* 3 Apr. 2012: 18-19) is about the tragic story of 2 war veterans, one from the Falklands and the other from Afghanistan (the latter committed suicide). Both of them suffered PTSD and were considered ‘victims’ of the war. One may wonder after reading the article, was the war really worth fighting for? A farther article is the one by Alun Palmer published on 14 June (Palmer, *Daily Mirror* 14 Jun. 2012: 30-31). The text includes a description of the experiences of some war veterans with post-traumatic stress disorder. Both articles will be further analysed in the chapter of Heroism.

The war brought liberation to the islands, but also the end of the military dictatorship in Argentina. This consideration tends to suggest that the war also brought advantages to the “enemy”, by making the Junta resign after the end of the war. Max Hastings, for instance, suggests that the war was eventually positive for Argentina: “The

Argentines lost the 1982 war, and their brutal military dictatorship collapsed as a result, to be replaced by the democracy that persists in Buenos Aires up to this day (Hastings, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29). The *Daily Telegraph* believes that

June, 14, 1982, was not only a day of liberation for the Falkland Islanders but also for the Argentines. It brought about the end of the murderous military junta that had ruled for many years, thereby enabling Argentina to become the democracy it remains to this day (*Daily Telegraph*, 14 Jun. 2012: 25).

Simon Jenkins adds that “post-war, Argentina was blessed with the advent of democracy, to which it has adhered ever since” (Jenkins, *Guardian* 2 Apr. 2012: 1; 6-7). A last point to remark is that 2012 was another year of crises in the country due to the international recession. The boosting of national pride by the self-reassurance of having complied with the moral duty brings about a good dose of patriotism, which is always welcome to raise the spirits.

## **7. Chapter Summary**

The aim of this chapter is an attempt to analyse the justification of the Falklands War by the British newspaper discourse of the year 2012. A brief theoretical introduction on Just War Theory is followed by an analysis of the corpus selected for this dissertation. The main aspects discussed in this chapter are: the reasons for war, the response of Margaret Thatcher and the role of the Falkland Islanders in the process. Finally, there is an outline of the strategies based on pride and commitment and which are manifested by the British authorities to the inhabitants of the Islands and their determination to protect their self-determination.

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TRACKING THE DISCOURSE OF NATIONALISM: THE FALKLANDS WAR ANNIVERSARY IN THE BRITISH PRESS

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Dipòsit Legal: T 826-2015

## **Chapter 6: Heroes and Heroism**

### **1. Introduction**

A war hero is someone who puts his life at risk for the sake of the nation. The traditional prototype of the hero is the brave man who is willing to face the enemy and give up his life for the cause: his country, his freedom, his ideas. This man is a citizen with high moral standards. Most often he is the head of a family. His sexual identity is not questioned or challenged. His body language is expressed through self-control, self-awareness and ready to obey orders or take the initiative as the situation demands. The aim of this chapter is to analyse how the Falklands War hero is portrayed in the press discourse of the 30th anniversary of the war (2012). The chapter will explore whether the press discourse challenges or deconstructs the figure of the classical hero or if it simply conforms to the traditional patterns of heroism above mentioned.

### **2. The National Hero**

According to the Macmillan Online Dictionary, a hero is “someone who has done something brave, for example saving a person’s life, or risking their own life”. The dictionary offers “war hero” as a first example, immediately connecting hero with war. Within this initial entry, there is a sub-definition of hero: “someone who you admire for their intelligence, ability or personal qualities”. The fact of admiring, praising or worshipping constitutes one of the main features of the figure of the hero, together with the fact of the hero possessing admirable qualities, such as intelligence, ability, courage. The Oxford English Online Dictionary offers a complementary definition pointing to gender factors: “a person, typically a man, who is admired for their courage, outstanding achievements or noble qualities”. It is true that hero is the masculine form while heroine the female counterpart. In general terms, a war hero is someone who fights with courage, skill and conviction to defend national values.

Heroism and hero-worshipping was an essential characteristic of Victorian times in Britain and it is intrinsically connected with the years of the formation and expansion of the Empire. As Cristina Pividori argues, “one of the most symbolic icons of



masculine heroism was the institution of the Victoria Cross in 1856” (2012: 21-22). Pividori adds that war heroes in Victorian times were not only superior human beings physically, mentally and morally, but they were also the result of social needs as their roles and actions became reinforced and legitimized by British imperialism (19). Masculinity was an added dimension since the soldier who sacrificed his life for the nation was an epitome of the masculine man.

In 1840 Thomas Carlyle delivered 6 public lectures on heroism which were later compiled in the book *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*. His work became very influential in the formation of the discourse of heroism in the late nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth. As Michael Goldberg states, the heroic was a central element in Carlyle’s thinking which matched the mainstream of Victorian thought (1993: xxxiii-xxxiv). Carlyle (1897) provides the following definition of heroes: “the leaders of men, the modellers, patterns, creators of whatever the great mass of men contrive to do or attain, the soul of the whole world’s history [...] The living light-fountain which is good and pleasant to be near [...] the light which enlightens” (5). The definition illustrates the supreme role assigned to heroes. So much for war heroes; Carlyle proceeds to describe different kinds of heroism throughout history: the hero as divinity (Odin from Scandinavian Mythology); the hero as prophet (Mohammed); the hero as poet (Dante, Shakespeare); the hero as priest (Luther); the hero as man of letters (Johnson, Rousseau); the hero as king (Cromwell, Napoleon).

Although there are different types of heroism and different people performing heroic acts in society on a daily basis, such as police officers or fire-fighters; we will focus our attention on war heroes. Nationalism and war heroism are closely connected. War may stand as a representation of nationalism, and, according to Ulf Hedetoft (1995: 44) war is the ultimate signifier of the nation. Being a war hero is the maximum expression of honour for the country. Individuals, whether soldiers or civilians, who fight for the national cause and/or die while in battle, become the most honourable kinds of citizens. Hedetoft puts it into the following words: “the most valued form of nationalism is that which is based on the courageous acceptance of sacrifice, death being its highest form, war its most fitting context, and heroism its official designation. The ultimate litmus test of national identity resides in one’s readiness for sacrifice” (1995: 25).

War anniversaries help to construct the myth of the hero. The discourse of heroism can be highly patriotic if it aims at promoting nationalist identities. The heroes need to be remembered and honoured for the sacrifices they have made for the nation. The construction of a certain type of heroic figure (brave, willing to give up their lives for the cause, with high moral standards) would benefit the self-esteem of the nation as a whole, since it may be inferred that most of the collective characteristics of a society apply to the personality of the individual, that is to say, both society and its people have similar features since society frames the subjects according to its own particular needs. Otherwise, there would be no explanation for the fact that heroic acts of particular subjects make the whole nation proud. The war heroes are symbols of national pride and unity. Every nation needs its own heroes since they are symbols of love for the homeland. As Hedetoft argues, “a hero is a socio-cultural construct, an allegorical figure in the narrative and discourse of nationalism [...] paradoxically more useful to the cult of nationalism dead than alive” (1995: 197; 201).

The national heroes usually come from mythological warrior figures from the far past, to the more realistic military heroes of modern times. Sometimes, it is also possible to find collective heroism, such as the role of the Task Force in the Falklands War or Great Britain as a whole for having embarked in a war that liberated a faithful colony from the invaders. This will be developed below, in this same chapter. Hedetoft affirms that during and after the Falklands War Britain cultivated historical moments of glory, of self-esteem and self-glory (1995: 349). Most of the classical characteristics associated with the myth of the war hero, either in the Falklands or in any other war, also apply to the discourse of heroism in war commemoration. These trends have been classified into different categories and they are shown below. The first group corresponds to the representation of individual heroism, the second group is about collective heroism while the third category will illustrate in what ways the heroes have been honoured and remembered for the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the war.

### 3. Individual Heroism

#### 3.1. *Survivors*

Several accounts of heroes and heroic deeds can be found in the corpus. On Monday 2 April the *Sun* published an article titled: “We ran up that mountain with no body armour, no helmet no compensation if we got hurt ... but I’d do it again tomorrow – Says Capt ROBERT LAWRENCE Military Cross hero” (Willets, *Sun* 2 Apr. 2012: 22-23). From the highly subjective title citing the words of the war veteran, together with the picture of himself standing on top a mountain next to some crosses, readers can clearly anticipate the kind of text they are about to read. The article, about “war legend” Captain Robert Lawrence, is based on an interview with the veteran by David Willets at Mount Tumbledown (Falkland Islands) where Captain Lawrence was at the moment of the war anniversary. The interview takes place in a symbolic spot, since in Mount Tumbledown the veteran fought his final battle and got injured: “he has returned to the spot where his life changed forever”. The opening sentence of the article reflects this symbolism: “WAR legend Robert Lawrence stands on top of Mount Tumbledown three decades after he conquered it with cast-iron courage and a fixed bayonet”. The way in which the sentence is phrased reveals that he won the battle all on his own.

The tabloid also emphasizes, in its particular colloquial style, that “the bloody skirmish for this craggy outcrop of rock overlooking Port Stanley was vital on the recapture of the Falklands from Argentina in 1982”. The 1988 TV movie “Tumbledown”, named after the mountain, “immortalised” the story of Robert Lawrence. Many British people may be familiar with the captain’s war ordeal and war heroism since the film was seen by more than 10 million viewers, as the *Sun* reminds us. Besides, the leading role of Captain Lawrence was played by the well-known actor Colin Firth. Capt. Lawrence was a member of the Scots Guards and “was just 21 when he led his daring platoon on the final assault, earning a Military Cross for valour in the ferocious battle”. The article emphasizes his heroic instances, highlighting the captain’s heroic deeds in battle, all of this reinforced by his conviction in the war and his pride in having won, for instance, when he affirms: “I’d do it again tomorrow, even if I knew the injury was going to happen again. My men were so brave on that night. They are the bravest I have ever known”. The article is full of the clichés associated with the

representation of the hero, such as Lawrence being physically and mentally strong, outstandingly brave and courageous, skilled in battle, committed to the national cause and convinced about the objective and the legitimacy of war, helpful to his comrades, enduring difficulties. The following quotes serve as further examples:

In freezing conditions and in a biting wind that sent the temperature plummeting to a bone chilling -22°F, he successfully stormed the Argentine machine gun nest [...] It [the bullet] blew away 42 per cent of his brain and left him permanently lame down his left side [...] He spent EIGHT HOURS waiting without painkillers to be treated [...] (Willetts, *Sun* 2 Apr. 2012: 22-23).

Some images are offered, the main one being of the hero standing on top of the rocky Mount Tumbledown next to some crosses marking the place where several soldiers died in battle (Image 6). He is wearing civilian clothes and his face has a serious expression while he looks out at the horizon. There are also two smaller pictures: one of young Robert with an elegant ceremony uniform, and the other is of a group of soldiers from the Scots Guards, marching into battle with bayonets on their hands.

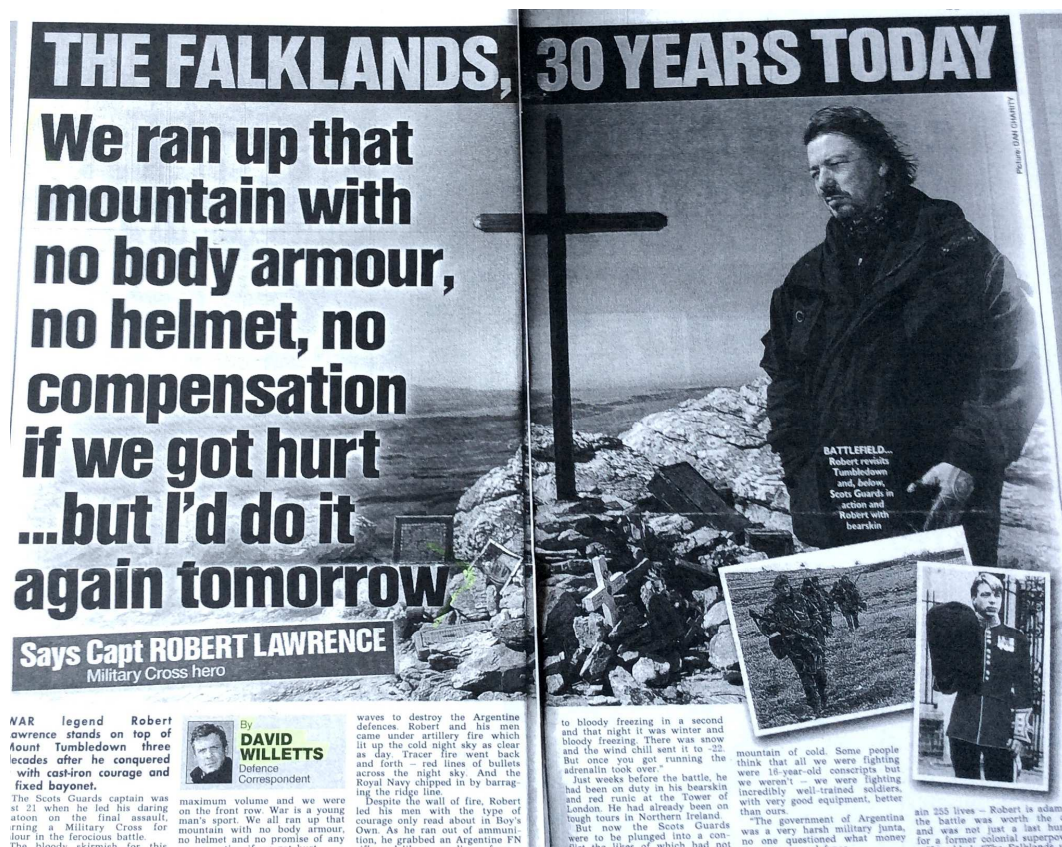


Image 6: *Sun*, 2 Apr. 2012: 22-23

On Thursday 14 June, both tabloid newspapers the *Sun* and the *Daily Mirror* published a very similar account on the story of two other war veterans, Rick Cross and Martin Margerison, who returned to the Falkland Islands to celebrate Liberation Day. The articles are titled: "After the battle it seemed like all my friends were dead... I came back to lay a few ghosts to rest" (Palmer, *Daily Mirror* 14 Jun. 2012: 30-31); and "IT WAS WORTH IT, Falklands vets on 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of liberation" (Schofield and Fletcher, *Sun* 14 Jun. 2012: 12). They inform that war veterans will march in Stanley during that day to mark 30 years since Liberation day. They had been in the islands for a few days, and, during the previous days, they had recalled the decisive battle of Goose Green at the exact place where it was fought, a battle that lasted a day and a night and swung the conflict in Britain's favour. Veteran Rick Cross is the main protagonist in both articles, in the sense that he appears in the larger photos and he is quoted more often than Margerison.



Image 7: *Sun*, 14 Jun. 2012: 12

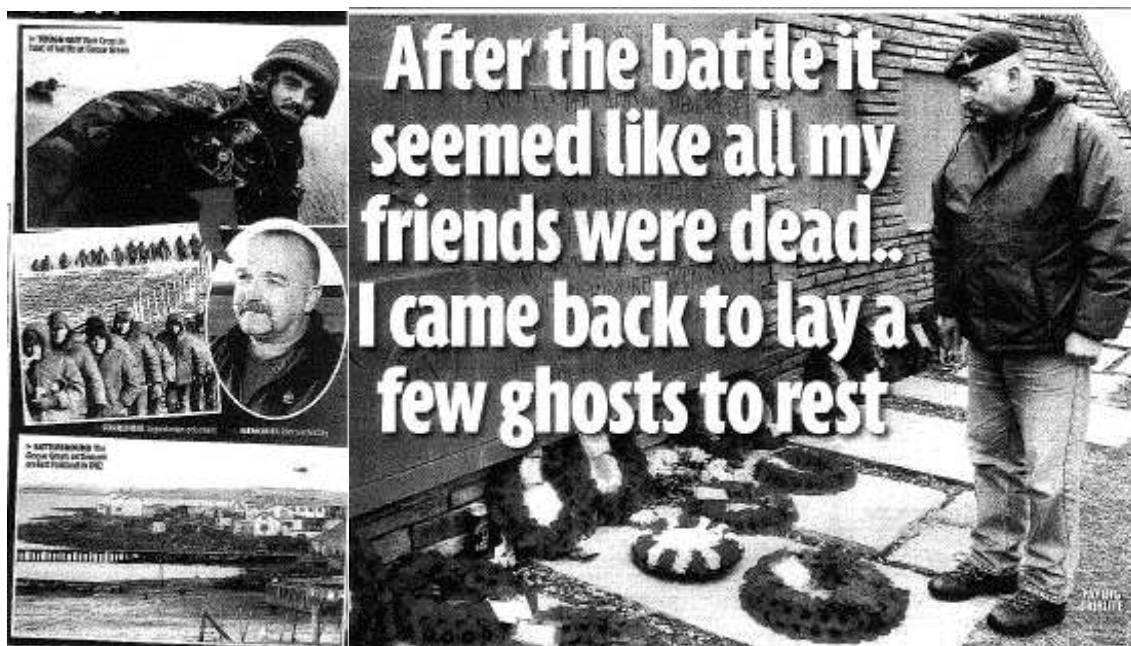


Image 8: *Daily Mirror*, 14 Jun. 2012: 30-31

One is a large image of veteran Rick Cross at the cemetery on the islands (San Carlos). Although he is wearing plain clothes, he puts on a military beret that distinguishes him from civilians. The British Army beret, also called the maroon or red beret, is typically worn by the Air Force special operation teams during non-combat situations. This beret is linked to the sense of superiority of the airborne soldiers. British paratroopers informally define other soldiers as ‘crap-hats’. Corporal John Geddes, who was member of the 2 PARA during the Falklands War, describes the moment he got the red beret with pride and emotion: “[...] that is a moment I’ll savour for the rest of my life. I held it in my hands as though it were made of gold and encrusted with diamonds. To me it was the dog’s bollocks and I couldn’t wait to put it on” (quoted in Kershaw 2010: 343). According to the Urban Dictionary (online edition) ‘dog’s bollocks’ is a UK slang term that means ‘the best’.

The caption of the *Sun* reads: “2012 ... Rick at San Carlos cemetery on emotional return to Falklands”. Then there are two smaller pictures of Cross during the war: in one he is alone wearing a soldier’s uniform and in the other one he photographed with a group of soldiers. The caption reads: “1982 ... young Rick in the Battle of Goose Green and with comrades in 2 Para”. The same pattern is repeated at the beginning of both captions: they start with the year followed by suspense dots emphasising the 30 years that have passed. Nowadays, and as we see in the pictures, war hero Rick Cross is a rather plump middle-aged man, a “normal” person, quite humble in appearance, and not the stereotype of a superhero. In fact, it is quite hard to imagine him as such.

Both tabloids also include a small inset picture of the face of Martin Margerison. The caption in the *Sun* says: “Return visit ... Martin”, and it shows Margerison wearing the red beret. The *Mirror* includes a speech bubble which says: “We cleared the trenches with grenades but we quickly had none left”. In both images Magerison looks serious and maybe tired, but it is hard to tell by the small insets.



**Image 9: Pictures of Martin Margerison. *Sun*, 14 Jun. 2012: 12 (left); *Daily Mirror*, 14 Jun. 2012: 31 (right)**

A third war veteran named Matt Baker is also mentioned in the *Daily Mirror*, though the main protagonist is Rick Cross in first place and Martin Margerison second. The reason why Rick Cross is given higher coverage in both papers may respond to a number of reasons, such as accessibility for the interview and the photographs, predisposition, potential effect of his story on the readership, among others; but it may also be due to the fact that both Margerison and Baker had suffered from PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) and they explain how traumatized the war left them. So, in a way, this makes them “less” of a hero in traditional terms. Veterans are referred to by their first names (Rick, Martin and Matt), which is a common technique used in tabloid papers to bring the characters closer to the readership by providing a feeling of camaraderie and familiarity.

I will now offer a compilation of the information given about the three heroes and the way they are portrayed by the tabloid press. Rick Cross is now a 51-year-old teacher from Lincoln in his first visit to the islands after the war. He went to the war zone as a 20-year-old Para corporal with the British task force to drive out the Argentine invaders. He took part in the “fierce” battle of Goose Green, in which “450 men of the Parachute Regiment killed 47 Argentineans and took 960 prisoners, while 17 British soldiers died in battle” (*Sun*). The main issue in the articles revolves around the fact that, in these 30 years, this is the first time he has set foot on the war site since the end of the battle, which becomes a highly emotional event resulting in a catching and appealing news item. The opening sentence of the *Sun* reads “A HERO returned to the Falklands”.



Cross himself acknowledges he was not an emotional person, but he was deeply touched when he first returned to the islands. He says: “I’m not an emotional person, but as soon as I got off the plane it just set me off” (*Sun*); “I honestly thought I could come down here, lay a few ghosts to rest. I don’t consider myself to be an emotional person but what shocked me was that the second I stood off the plane I was emotional” (*Mirror*). The hero breaks down and cries, becoming humane and emotional. Consequently, the reader feels empathy towards him and sympathizes with his experience.

Some of the declarations made by Rick Cross fall into the pattern of the hero as a skilled soldier, who is able to win in battle notwithstanding the difficulties (the enemy troops were bigger in size and/or better prepared; there was a lack of arms and/or strategy; they were caught by surprise not ready for battle; etc.). Some examples are:

Rick still can’t believe the Paras emerged victorious. He said: ‘It seemed like all my friends were dead. I remember thinking, *We’re being slaughtered* [Sic!]; We should not have been able to capture Goose Green. We had very little ammunition – it just came down to bayonets and bullets, I don’t know how we did it (Schofield and Fletcher, *Sun* 14 Jun. 2012: 12).

The battle came down to bayonets and bullets, he said, struggling to describe the day which saw outnumbered, outpositioned and outgunned British forces overwhelm the Argentinean troops. We should not have been able to capture it. We had very little ammunition. Looking at it now I don’t know how we did it; I remember thinking we were being slaughtered (Palmer, *Daily Mirror* 14 Jun. 2012: 30-31).

The heroic prototype should also comply with another of the requirements of heroism, that being the one connected with the belief in the cause and the willingness to repeat the odyssey if necessary. The title of the article in the *Sun* starts with the following four words in large capital letters: IT WAS WORTH IT. The opening sentence of the article reads in bold: “A HERO returned to the Falklands to mark today’s 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the war – and insisted the islands were worth fighting for”. However, this strong conviction on the part of the veteran seems to have come right at the moment he went to the islands for the celebrations, as we learn by the following quote coming from Cross himself: “People always ask me, ‘Was it worth it?’ and over the last few days I can *finally* (my italics) say, ‘Yes, it was worth it’”. All in all, the second important information about Rick Cross (the first being his visiting the

islands for the first time) is his realization, after 30 years, that the war was worth fighting for. No explanation is provided, however, of the reasons for this statement.

Martin Margerison is originally from Liverpool. He was also a corporal in 2 Para, shot in the face at Goose Green battle, on his third return to the battle scene. He is 55 now and works with young offenders. We are told that “his task in the war was to take out a Browning machine gun position on the hill at the start of the attack” (*Mirror*). He found himself face to face with an enemy soldier and he was told by his superior to kill him, and so he did. He was later shot in the face and in the arm. Margerison claims to have no regrets about his actions in battle. However, as we learn later on,

[...] for Martin, the physical scars have healed but the mental ones remain. Married twice and estranged from his three daughters [...] he’s had problems with his temper [...] the anger was always simmering under the surface. Counselling has helped him deal with his demons” (*Mirror*).

He reflects on his trauma and acknowledges that it has taken him 30 years to get some stability into his life. The *Sun* adds that he admits his experiences in the war left him struggling to adapt to ‘civvy’ street. Contrary to his colleague Rick Cross, Margerison’s declarations suggests that he might not have been so convinced the war was worth fighting for. So, some readers may consider him weak or even less heroic, while some others may see him as a victim of the war valuing the ordeal he went through and his survival skills.

52-year-old Matt Baker comes from Bishop’s Stortford, Herts. He is on the islands for the first time, like Rick Cross. His confession falls into the pattern of the heroic soldier especially due to the praise of his skilful performance in battle. He admits to being astonished at having won the war without vital supplies. He declares: “to get up with no ammunition, no support, nothing more than half a canteen of water [...] we should have died that morning. We had nothing to fight with but we did it anyway and that is insane” (*Mirror*). Although these declarations are intended to be yet another praise of the bravery and resourcefulness of the men in battle, by reading between the lines, a certain degree of criticism is to be found towards the campaign and the government for having engaged personnel in battles in such poor conditions.

The *Daily Mirror* adds that the Parachute Regiment (formed by 450 men) killed 47 Argentine and took 960 prisoners, whereas 17 British paratroopers passed away in

battle. As previously mentioned, the Paras (parachute soldiers) are considered to be amongst the elite in the Army, as they are said to be the ones who face the biggest risks. Paratrooper Robert Kershaw, in his 2010 book titled *Sky Men: The Real Story of the Paras*, sustains: “there is a general acceptance that airborne soldiers are indeed special. A number of characteristics, tangible and intangible, set Sky Men apart from other soldiers” (2010: 343). This idea of parachutists regarding themselves as superior is extended to other nationalities, too. As Kershaw explains, American paratroopers regard land soldiers as “legs”; the Russian paratroopers considered themselves to be “more equal than others”, parting from the rules of social equality and in allusion to *Animal Farm* when Orwell ironically states that “some animals are more equal than others” (Orwell 1945: 52). Likewise, German paratroopers are believed to be “the chosen fighting men of the Wehrmacht” and the French ones have always worn different uniforms (Kershaw 2010: 343). The physical and mental resolve that involves jumping from a plane and fighting alone in difficult situations is what makes the air force soldiers superior. Many air troops draw on the most heroic deeds and battles to raise their spirits; for the British, the battle of Arnhem (Holland, WW II) stands as an iconic battle for the paratroopers: “officers were killed during the Falklands battles of 1982 exhorting their troops to attack and ‘remember Arnhem’” (Ibid.: 344).

Hastings and Jenkins (1983) argue that paratroopers have remained privileged formations even though the concept of massed paratroopers dropping from the skies into action soon became obsolete after its conception in WW II. According to their description, paratroopers “possess a glamour, an aggressive self-confidence and toughness that earn some suspicion and jealousy from other units” (1983: 233). However, the authors acknowledge that the “maroon machine” of the British Army, as the paras are defined due to their berets, receive some criticism from those who argue that their maintenance is uneconomic, especially when they are unlikely to jump into battle at present conflicts. Despite a certain degree of disapproval, Hastings and Jenkins still believe that “the public and political power of the image of the red beret is enormous” (Ibid.).

Kershaw comments on the hard training necessary to become a parachutist and on the difference it signified in the Falklands War:

Volunteering for a tough selection process and the act of parachuting, a tangible display of courage and daring, produce a range of rigorous physical and psychological demands as near to actual combat as can be devised by any military training. It was this immediate physical and psychological readiness that differentiated parachute and commando soldiers from the other infantry during the Falklands War of 1982 (2010: 344).

Hastings and Jenkins confirm that men who first began to prepare for the war were indeed the most dedicated fighting soldiers of the British army (1983: 235). Group bonding is an essential part of being a parachutist. British paratrooper Corporal John Geddes sustained that it was clear that his unit in the Falklands was a brotherhood and that the initiation into the regiment made this solid fraternity possible (quoted in Kershaw 2010: 345-6).

Other war veterans are briefly referred to. Major John Phillips was a bomb disposal expert who received the DSC (Distinguished Service Cross) for “courage of the highest order” (Wilkes, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 10-11). Major Phillips is a former Royal Engineer from Coventry. He lost his left arm in an unsuccessful attempt to defuse a bomb on HMS *Antelope* in which his colleague James Prescott died. As the British Army reveals on its website, the DSC is awarded in “recognition of exemplary gallantry during active operations against the enemy at sea”.

The *Daily Mirror*, in a short article by David Collins, severely criticises Comedian Frankie Boyle for mocking Falkland’s veteran Simon Weston’s scarred face (Collins, *Daily Mirror* 3 Apr. 2012: 3). The article explains how Boyle published on his twitter account: “30 years since the Falklands War and Simon Weston doesn’t seem to have aged a day”. The paper accuses the comedian for producing such an unfortunate jibe, emphasizing on the fact that war veteran Simon Weston had to endure more than 70 major operations for the injuries caused when his troop ship, *Sir Galahad*, was bombed by an Argentine warplane at Bluff Cove. The column also adds that Weston credits his family in helping him to recover from the trauma. In his article “Touched with Glory: Heroes and the Human Interest in the News”, John Taylor (1992) describes the process by which the media transformed the Falklands soldiers into heroes. He argues that Simon Weston is the most famous British wounded soldier of the Falkland campaign thanks, in part, to the fact that the BBC followed his healing progress and rehabilitation. Weston appeared in films, radio and television frequently and he is also well-known for his charity work in connection with the wounded war veterans. Near

the anniversary dates, Weston was the protagonist of a row with actor Sean Penn. Weston called Penn “idiot and fool” for Penn’s criticism to the UK for its involvement on the islands.

In the article “Falklands: Make Friends not War! Hero Vets Gets Kids Talking” (Riley, 2 Apr. 2012: 20) the *Daily Star* highlights the reconciliatory aspects of former paratrooper Tony Banks, who has recently initiated a project called “Previously Unheard/Hasta Ahora Desconocido”. The aim of the project is that British and Argentine war veterans and their children get to know one another by video chat. The article includes two pictures: in one, former Para Tony Banks is shown in his army days and in the other he is he hugging his “pal”, former foe Omar René Tabarez.



Image 10: *Daily Star*, 2 Apr. 2012: 20

On the following day, 3 April, the same *Daily Star* reports on the memorials that took place on the islands to remember the “brave” troops that fought in the war (Robins, 3 Apr. 2012: 9). The article is titled “We’d Fight Argies All Over Again”, which reflects the pledge of the veterans, according to the newspaper. It includes a picture of Para veteran Mark Sleaf at Goose Green.

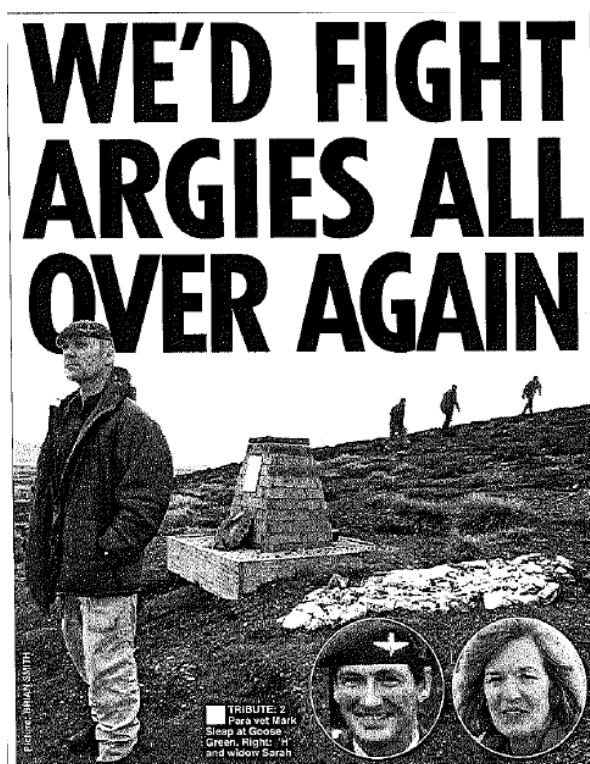


Image 11: *Daily Star*, 3 Apr. 2012: 9

As for the representation of the figure of the hero in quality newspapers, I will first focus on an article written by journalists Thomas Harding and Neil Tweedie titled “I said to them, ‘No funny business’” published in the *Daily Telegraph* on 14 June. The article narrates the final negotiations in the war, picturing war hero General Sir Michael Rose and his key role in bringing the battle to an end. The title of the article itself, quoting general Rose uttering “No funny business” leads us to think that the main hero is a strict and highly professional man. There is a large colour picture of Argentine war prisoners on the day of the surrender in the centre of the full-page article (see picture in Chapter 7). The caption reads: “War weary: Argentine prisoners massed in Port Stanley after their surrender to the British task force in June 1982. ‘You are going to leave this country with your heads held high’, Rose promised them”. Readers might conclude that General Rose treats the prisoners with respect, which gives a good impression of his professionalism. There is a small contemporary photograph of General Sir Michael Rose with an accompanying quote: “I opened the broom cupboard and, to my delight, there was an unbroken picture of the Queen. So, I hung it up”.



**Image 12: Daily Telegraph, 14 Jun. 2012: 23**

Consequently, on a first impression of title, pictures and captions, General Rose is not only respectful of the enemy, but, most importantly, he is extremely loyal to crown and country, a role model to follow. These hints pointing at his personality are confirmed and emphasised in the article. General “Sir” Michael Rose was commanding officer of 22 Special Air Service (SAS) Regiment, responsible for engaging in negotiations with the Argentine navy about how to bring an end to the war. In order to quickly succeed in this mission, Rose used negotiation tactics which were developed during the siege of the Iranian embassy in London in 1980 to persuade the commander of the 11,000 garrisons to surrender. General Rose is presented as a highly experienced and professional military, who, as the article mentions, had previously commanded the UN force in Bosnia during its civil war. Jon Lewis, editor of the book *SAS The Autobiography*, narrates the moment of the surrender with a somewhat epic tone: “The next morning, 14 June, it was all over. Mike Rose received a signal from the headquarters of the Argentine commander, General Menendez, asking to discuss surrender terms. By evening, the instrument of surrender had been signed” (Lewis 2011: 281). Lewis explains that on the Argentine invasion of the islands, the Director of the SAS group Brigadier Peter de la Billière and the commander of the 22 SAS, the then Lieutenant Colonel Michael Rose, placed the regiment on standby while lobbying hard for a role in the military campaign for the recovery of the islands: “The Special Air Service should share the burden of war and the limelight in what might be Britain’s last colonial war” (Ibid.: 261).

Another three instances of individual heroism can be found in the article “Capturing the jagged peak of rocks came at a terrible price” written by Deborah Haynes and published in the *Times* on 2 April (Haynes, *Times* 2 Apr. 2012: 14-15). The article explains with details some key war battles where these three heroes intervened. Major General Hew Pike, an officer at the time of the war, is now a Major-General. He took part in the battle of Mount Longdon, fought between 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion, the Parachute Regiment and a dug-in unit of Argentine troops on the night of June, 11, 1982, “the bloodiest of the Falklands conflict, leaving 23 British dead and 31 Argentinians”. Captain David Pentreath was the Captain of the HMS *Plymouth*, which was hit by bombs on 8 June 1982. No one was killed in the attack. HMS *Plymouth* and HMS *Antrim* retook South Georgia, capturing the Argentine submarine *Santa Fe* in the process. Captain David Pentreath was awarded the DSO (Distinguished Service Order), a medal given by the British Army for “highly successful command and leadership during active operations” (British Army Website). Commodore Neill Thomas is a member of the Navy’s Fleet Air Arm and he was a lieutenant-commander and commanding officer of the training unit 899 Squadron. On 1 May 1982 he took part in the first British air raid against Stanley airfield, which Argentina had taken over.

### 3.2. *Traumatized War Veterans*

In the year 2000, the American Psychiatric Association defined Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as the traumatic memories of war. Clinically speaking, it is an anxiety disorder characterized by symptoms of re-experiencing, avoidance, and increased arousal. Some common manifestations of the disease are flashbacks concerning the traumatic events, hyper-vigilance to trauma-related cues and avoidance to talk about traumatic memories (Burnell 2006: 282-289). Other reported features of PTSD are nightmares, addiction to alcohol and drugs, and a growing predisposition to crime. 255 British soldiers were killed in the Falklands War, 777 soldiers were wounded and of those 446 required significant treatment for sustained injuries (Ørner 1993: 457-459). The Falklands is regarded as an especially traumatic war due to the fact that more veterans committed suicide than those who died in the war (Freedman 2005: 731-732). The South Atlantic Medal Association (SAMA 82), a Falklands veteran association, confirms these estimations, adding that the number rises to about 300 hundred victims



(Thompson, *Daily Mirror* 3 Apr. 2012: 18-19). Unfortunately, this tragic fact is matched by the high number of suicides among Argentine veterans (Galak, *La Nación* 28 Feb. 2006). More recently, a study carried out by the MoD (Ministry of Defence) sustains that the total number of suicides among Falklands veterans is ninety-five (Drury, *Daily Mail* 14 May 2013). Though the figure is still high, the results revealed in May 2013 lowered the previous estimation from the SAMA. The real truth is uncertain, which proves the difficulty in gathering accurate figures.

There have been some case studies (O'Brien et al 1991; Ørner et al 1993; Ørner et al 1997; Burnell et al 2006) and campaigns for the diagnosis, the treatment and the recognition of the disorder in Falklands veterans. Lucy Robinson (2011; 2012) points out that because the diagnostic model for PTSD was published in 1980, Falklands veterans were the first in Britain to fit into the model and thus they were given special attention. There is little mention of soldiers with PTSD in the corpus of articles analysed for this thesis, which raises the following questions: are traumatised soldiers considered less heroic according to the media conception and representations of what a war hero is? Do traumatised soldiers fit into the parameters of heroism? Difficult as it may be to give a straight answer to these question, it is a fact that traumatised soldiers are given scarce media coverage.

The only article in the corpus that overtly deals with this issue is the one by Melissa Thompson, "THE HIDDEN TOLL OF WAR" published in the *Daily Mirror* on 3 April (Thompson, *Daily Mirror* 3 Apr. 2012: 18-19). The article explains the sad story of two veterans, one from the Falklands, Les Standish, and the other from the war in Afghanistan, Dan Collins. Paratrooper Les Standish is characterised as a victim of PTSD, an illness that was diagnosed 10 years after the end of the conflict. Post battle stress manifested in the form of imagining horrible scenes of him shooting the enemy as well as "nightmares, flashbacks and never-ending turmoil [which] sent him spiralling into a deep depression". The veteran is very critical with the authorities, as he acknowledges that he has only received help for his treatment from charity, and that "the Government has done nothing" to help him. He talks about PTSD existing since WWI but, as the government still fails to recognise it, veterans do not get the necessary aid. Standish makes a direct complaint about the role of the government, but he does not mention the position the Army has taken on the victims of long-term traumatic stress.

The article also tells the tragic story of Afghan veteran, Dan Collins, who committed suicide at 29. All in all, the article expresses its criticism of the government for having done nothing to help the veterans to finance appropriate treatment for the syndrome. There are some pictures showing Les Standish (a middle-aged, serious-looking man next to an inset of a young and smiling version of himself), Dan Collins (in his uniform posing self-confidently for the camera) and Collins' widow, (an attractive young woman looking sadly at the camera). The word 'VICTIM' in big capital letters is printed next to the two soldiers.



Image 13: *Daily Mirror*, 3 Apr. 2012: 18

As previously mentioned, veteran Martin Margerison has had many difficulties in coping with a normal life after the war. Although PTSD is not mentioned in association with his case, Margerison is a clear victim of this disorder.

### 3.3. *Dead Heroes*

As formerly stated at the beginning of the chapter, dying for the nation is the ultimate sacrifice a person can do. Consequently, it is understandable that dead soldiers who lost their lives in the war become food for thought for the nation regarding them as heroes by honouring them for generations. As John Taylor explains, paradoxically as it may seem, dead heroes are never allowed to rest; they constantly need to be revived for the construction of national memory (1992: 24). The annual revival of the dead heroes is sustained in the national rhetoric of remembrance through war anniversaries, national

holidays, parades, wreath laying at monuments, and other symbolic ceremonies. In section 5 of this same chapter I will explore the press coverage of the different ceremonies that took place to remember and honour the ones who fell in battle. In the meantime, this section aims at identifying the dead heroes and the way they are depicted by the newspaper discourse.

Lieutenant Colonel Herbert Jones, mostly known as ‘H’, is probably the most renowned dead hero of the Falklands War. A series of features have made of Colonel Jones the prototypical national hero, such as his tragic death due to his heroic courage in battle, his solidarity and sacrifice for the group, his high military rank that matched his upper social class, a family man with a devoted wife. All these are some of the characteristics that have helped into transforming ‘H’ into a myth, a role model to follow and an outstanding national hero. John Taylor’s 1992 article “Touched with Glory: Heroes and Human Interest in the News” describes the extensive press coverage Colonel Jones received when he died in the war, observing that he was the most famous of the 255 British soldiers killed. Taylor argues that Colonel Jones’s story constituted rich and relevant news material for a number of reasons. For a start, he was the highest ranking officer to be killed on land. Another aspect that contributed was his high military rank, together with his class (he was the son of a prosperous West Country landowning family) and elitist education: he had attended the prestigious Eton College and the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst.

A last point highlighted by Taylor is the Colonel’s bravery and his heroic death in battle on 28 May: “leading his men in an attack at Goose Green, he was in advance of an enemy position and was shot down from behind [...]” (Ibid.: 24). Furthermore, Taylor explains that the tabloid *Daily Star* on 31 May 1982 published the headline “H is for Hero” a pun on words playing with the initial of the Colonel’s name, Herbert. From then onwards, most newspapers, even up to date, have called him ‘H’, a catchy, simple and easy to memorise nickname that has also transformed the deceased Colonel into a celebrity.

Hastings and Jenkins give a detailed account of the circumstances that led to H’s death at the battle of Goose Green. They explain how the colonel was shocked as well as enraged to hear the BBC’s World Service news bulletin disclosing the position of the battalion. This break in confidential and strategic military tactics led to the Argentine

ambush, which was fully prepared. They awaited the battalion and intercepted them on their advance on Darwin. On learning that his position had been publicly disclosed, Colonel Jones “made his later famous threat to sue the Secretary of State for Defence if any of his men dies in the forthcoming battle” (Hasting and Jenkins 1983: 239). It is somewhat ironic that it was Jones himself, who died, a soldier whose last statement was his intention to sue the government. He has become the epitome of the Falklands hero. According to Geoffrey Regan (in his previously mentioned book about military faults and political blunders), the flaws of Goose Green were due to a military impatience provoked by the political pressure to finally get encouraging news after the heavy losses that represented the sinking of the *Coventry* and the *Atlantic Conveyor* on 25 May (Regan 1987: 189). As regards Jones and the manner in which he died, Hastings and Jenkins agree that

His action was a classically romantic, heroic gesture, the deed of a man to whom Goose Green represented the climax of a lifetime as a soldier, and who could not watch his men do that which he would not do himself. His lonely charge was an act in the British Army’s great tradition of battalion leadership on the battlefield. This warm, impulsive, utterly dedicated soldier became a national hero with his death and the award of the posthumous Victoria Cross (1983: 251).

In the 2012 press discourse, Colonel H is also given a notorious position, together with his widow Sara Jones, as my analysis will illustrate. From the start, some newspapers remind their readers of the fact that Colonel Jones was awarded the Victoria Cross, which is “Britain’s highest military medal for valour in the face of the enemy” (Willetts, *Sun* 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13). The *Daily Mail* gives further details by saying that he “was awarded the Victory Cross for charging Argentine positions defending the settlement of Goose Green during the first land battle of the conflict” (Wilkes, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 10-11). Jones is believed to have been a man with strong principles, as his widow Sara proudly affirms: “he always said we have to stand up for what we believed in” (Willetts, *Sun* 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13).

Only two posthumous Victoria Crosses were awarded for the Falklands War: one to Colonel Jones and the other to Sergeant Ian McKay. There are many similarities between these two: both of them were from the Parachute regiment, both of them died in heroic circumstances displaying courage and leadership and both are buried in the islands. However, Colonel Jones has always had more repercussion in the media for a

series of reasons I will try to analyse below. The *Daily Mirror* mentions that the body of Colonel Jones lies in the cemetery of San Carlos in the Falklands Islands, emphasising his age and heroic act: “he was killed at 42 leading a charge towards enemy lines” (Palmer, *Daily Mirror* 14 June 2012: 30-31).

Elizabeth Grice published an interview with Sara Jones, Colonel H’s widow, titled “I didn’t need therapy – I had a close family” in the *Daily Telegraph* on 2 April 2012, page 25, in the *Features* section occupying half a page. Sara Jones understandably highlights positive trends of her late husband, praising his role as a soldier, his high moral values and his devotion to family and nation. The captions to the two pictures, one for Sara Jones with her two dogs and the other one for Colonel H at the battlefield, set a first example (see images in Chapter 8). They read: “my better attributes are his [...] I believe in what H did [...] what he achieved set the seal on the rest of the campaign” (Grice, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 25). The article starts by explaining that Colonel H was shot dead leading a desperate charge, praising his bravery, adding that H’s storming of the enemy’s trench changed the course of the conflict. However, the author seemingly challenges this official and mediated heroic version of the story by posing provocative questions such as: Did he act “too impetuously?” or “Was it a commanding officer’s place to be at the front? Was this a brand of heroism bordering on recklessness?” Grice also quotes the declarations of a programme on Channel 4 which suggested that what H did was virtually an act of suicide. After this short diversion and hint of criticism towards H’s acts, the article continues with the widow’s narrative, pointing out her disappointment regarding the dissident opinions. Sara Jones denounces the declarations of the TV programme as outrageous, and proceeds with following reflection and supportive words for her husband:

You will always get detractors [...] It’s sad that when we have something good, we look for a reason to undermine it. It’s rather a British trait. We nibble away at the positive. I believe in what H did, and I think he was very brave [...] what he achieved set the seal on the rest of the campaign. The Argentines appreciated that they were up against a much better enemy [...] (Ibid.).

What is more, Sara Jones is able to justify her husband being at the front by saying that if one is a leader of men, one should be at the front and set an example for the rest of the battalion. The widow recalls that an officer friend from the 2 Para told her

not to worry when her husband left for war since “old colonels rarely go the fight in the firing line”.

Colonel Jones is presented as humble when his wife said that he would not consider himself heroic, but he would rather regard the other privates in his regiment, “the chaps”, as the real heroes. Her tone becomes less critical and more conciliatory when affirming that “He might be my hero, but I don’t expect him to be everybody’s hero”, adding that her children and grandchildren are beginning to understand the significance of what he did. In 2002, General John Wilsey, a colleague and close friend of the late colonel, wrote a book praising H’s heroism and examining the circumstances of his death. This fact of writing a book about a dear friend is a way of honouring the late person, all in all contributing to intensify the sense of respectability for the dead hero.

‘H’ is also portrayed as a family man and a beloved husband. Sara Jones affirms that the family’s pride in him helped to soften the blow of his passing away. She adds that they had met when they were very young and that she was moulded by him, thus her better attributes are actually his. This statement reflects the patriarchal tradition of the man ‘owning and shaping’ the woman. The Colonel was romantic and faithful to his wife: the week before dying he wrote a letter to his wife telling her how much he loved her and thanking her for being such a wonderful wife.

Below, I will comment on the images offered by the newspapers of Colonel H. Because several newspapers offer very similar inset images of the hero, I have decided to show the one from the *Daily Mail* for possessing a better quality:



**Image 14: Portrait of Colonel Jones. *Daily Mail*, 3 Apr. 2012: 11**

The picture shows the face of a young and good-looking man, offering a friendly smile for the camera, wearing the uniform and the parachutist's beret with the shiny eagle badge. The other newspapers to include this very similar picture are: the *Sun* (3 Apr.: 13); the *Daily Mirror* (14 Jun.: 31); the *Daily Star* (3 Apr.: 9) and the *Daily Telegraph* (2 Apr.:1). Apart from the front page inset, the *Daily Telegraph* publishes another small picture on page 25. Although the picture is blurred, the hero can be seen in hunting equipment with his dogs. Hunting is frequently associated with rural masculinity, Britishness and class.



**Image 15: Picture of Colonel 'H'. *Daily Telegraph*, 2 Apr. 2012: 25**

A second protagonist in the media is the young Able Seaman Iain Boldy, who died at 20 struck on-board the HMS *Argonaut* on 21 May 1982. The ship was bombarded by Argentine aircraft and although 2 bombs did not explode, they tragically struck and killed two sailors: Iain M. Boldy and Matthew J. Stuart. On the webpage of the South Atlantic Medal Association 1982 (SAMA 82), there is a section called “Garden of Remembrance” that provides information about the ones who died in the battle offering a short biography of some of them, such as Boldy. Although the section is still under construction, it offers the name of all the deceased: “this site exists as a memorial to those who gallantly gave their lives to restore freedom and liberty to the Falkland Islands. There is not a day goes by when that supreme sacrifice is not remembered”. The verb *give* in “gave their lives” is an interesting choice, since one most frequently would use *lose* as they lost their lives in battle. Margaret Allen is Boldy’s widow. She had a leading role in the ceremonies of remembrance and it is thanks to her that the dead hero came into the foreground. Several papers resort to the same picture of the hero portrayed as a smiling young sailor:



**Image 16: Portrait of Able Seaman Iain Boldy. *Daily Mail*, 3 Apr. 2012: 10**



## 4. Collective Heroism

### 4.1. *The British Task Force*

Robert Hamilton (1992) analyses the representation and symbolic roles of the Task Force in the Falklands War. He argues that in British popular memory the story of the Task Force in the Falklands War is associated with a simple narrative: “Argentina invades Falkland Islands; British Government dispatches Task Force; Task Force defeats Argentinians; Task Force sails home victorious and Britain is once again ‘great’” (129). As Hamilton suggests, this simplification of the story is useful for official propaganda purposes. The criticism and doubt about the dispatch of the Task Force and its role during the war should be dispelled in order to sustain the myth of a “rediscovered” British identity that would situate the Conservative Party as the facilitator and guardian of this revival of the nation’s pride. Moreover, the media was provided with post cold-war language thanks to the departure of the Task Force to fight the enemy in the Falklands.

Hamilton exposes two points of uncertainty related to the Task Force. The first one involves the harm that the dispatch of the Task Force would mean for the diplomatic solutions that were in progress when the ships left British ports, and how this would influence the international support for the British cause. The second has to do with the capacity of the Royal Navy to do a satisfactory job and win the islands back. It was Admiral Sir Henry Leach (First Lord of the Admiralty) who saw the war as an opportunity to restate the potentiality and credibility of the Royal Navy. Leach, who was very critical to the naval cuts implemented by the Defence Secretary John Nott in previous years, convinced the Prime Minister and the War Cabinet of his capability of launching a successful counter-attack (Hastings and Jenkins 1983: 11; 106).

The shadow of the Suez Crisis of 1956 had a paramount effect on the Falklands’ Task Force and, as Hamilton states, Suez operated on three levels:

First, cast in his role as the Nasser of South America, President Galtieri had already humiliated Britain on the international stage; secondly, if the Task Force failed to retake the Falklands, Britain would no longer be a ‘player’ on that stage [...]; thirdly, and perhaps the greatest fear, was the position the USA would adopt. Britain’s failure to resolve the Suez crisis was in part due to the withdrawal of US support (132).

Hamilton also refers to masculinity and the sexual connotations linked to the Task Force. This issue will be dealt with in Chapter 8. All in all, Hamilton believes that the meanings of the Task Force were complex and multiple since it worked on political, diplomatic, military and symbolic levels. This complexity could not match a simple straight forward narrative.

Several highly commended remarks about the servicemen and the role of the Task Force in the war, which is presented as extraordinarily heroic, are to be found in the corpus. To start with, some tabloids quote David Cameron officially congratulating the Force in exalted language:

- “We salute the heroism of the Task Force which set sail to free the islands” (*Sun*, 2 Apr. 2012: 2; *Daily Star* 2 Apr. 2012: 2).
- “It’s a time to express our huge debt of gratitude to all those servicemen who showed astonishing courage” (Schofield and Fletcher, *Sun* 14 Jun. 2012: 12).
- “Their bravery reminds us that freedom is only won because there are exceptionally brave people willing to journey to the other side of the world to lay their lives on the line” (Palmer, *Daily Mirror* 15 Jun. 2012: 18-19).
- David Cameron vows to defend the Falklanders’ right to remain British in a tribute to the “extraordinary heroism” of troops who liberated the islands (*Sun*, 2 Apr. 2012: 2).
- Mr Cameron issued a statement honouring the war dead on both sides – while praising the heroism of British forces who recaptured the Falklands at a cost of 255 lives (Wilson, *Sun* 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13).

On 3 April the *Daily Mail* published an editorial article urging Cameron to learn the lessons of the war (“Cameron must heed the Falklands lessons”, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 14). The article begins by acknowledging that the war was “a Herculean test of the courage and professionalism of the British liberation force”. ‘Herculean’ is an interesting choice of adjective since it does not only comprise the meaning of strength and determination, essential characteristics to win a war, but it also alludes to Hercules, the greatest war hero in Roman mythology and a paragon of masculinity. The tabloid also emphasizes the fact that the task force faced extraordinary odds, though there is no specification of the nature of these difficulties. The three services were able to

overcome these impediments “with a heroism that struck the world with awe”. The *Daily Mirror* reinforces this superiority of the British Task Force at international levels when adding, in a quite colloquial and somewhat childish way, that the British Armed Forces proved “they were the best in the world by retaking the islands [...]” (*Daily Mirror*, 3 Apr. 2012: 10).

Haynes and Coghlan, in the *Times*, continued the superlative description: “the very best of the royal navy: think fast, do fast, act fast” (*Times* 2 Apr. 2012: 1; 14-15). This display of international superiority described as “an astonishing feat of arms” set “an example followed by our bravest and best in wars ever since, from Sierra Leone to Iraq and Afghanistan”. Moreover, the authors refer to the task force by saying that it made the nation proud, restoring the country’s self-belief and giving a special cause for celebrating and rejoicing over victory, adding that the success of the Falklands campaign brought a major boost to the patriotic self-esteem that the country had not experienced since the defeat of Hitler. As we have seen in other cases, the reference to the wars fought after the Falklands by the British army is also extrapolated to previous successful wars for the British, especially World War II.

Extending on the WWII analogy, the *Daily Telegraph* sums up this patriotism when stating that the “country responded with the greatest feat of arms since WW2” (*Daily Telegraph*, 2 Apr. 2012: 23). Some of the ideas expressed in the editorial of the *Daily Mail* are likewise reinforced and summarised by the voice of the *Daily Telegraph*: “[...] one of the great military feats of modern times [...] within days of the invasion [...] a formidable force was mustered and dispatched to defeat a well-armed enemy 8,000 miles away (*Daily Telegraph*, 14 Jun. 2012: 25). Defeating the heavily armed enemy while being deposed so far away the national territory accounts for some of the odds the Army encountered.

The image shown below, included in the article by Max Hastings, is worth commenting on. It is a coloured picture from 1982 of the HMS *Invincible* arriving at Portsmouth from the war. The huge, overpowering warship sails into the port and is welcomed by enthusiastic crowds of people saluting the heroes while waving the Union Jacks and banners. The camera shoots from behind the crowd, resulting in a panoramic view. The caption reads: “Heroes return: HMS *Invincible* sails back into Portsmouth” (Hastings, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29). The purpose of including this picture may be

to remind readers of the excitement of the day when the victorious Task Force returned home. The welcoming of the heroes was indeed a much celebrated event when the war finished. As Hastings and Jenkins note, this meant a continuous celebration of the welcoming of ships returning the new heroes home, with vast and enthusiastic crowds flocking to Portsmouth and other naval bases such as Southampton and Plymouth (1983: 315).



**Image 17: *Daily Mail*, 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29<sup>10</sup>**

The *Daily Mirror* (15 Jun. 2012: 18) provides a picture from 1982 of the British troops raising the Union Jack in Stanley which symbolizes the triumph of the Task Force and the restitution of order by putting the flag back in the community.

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<sup>10</sup> Picture taken from the online edition in order to obtain a better quality. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2124203/Falklands-30th-anniversary-A-triumph-left-Britains-leaders-hooked-war.html> (accessed September 2013). The same picture was published on the paper edition.



**Image 18: *Daily Mirror*, 15 Jun. 2012: 18**

The *Times* includes pictures of the task force from its war album showing scenes from the Parachute Regiment Camp, the Royal Marines march into Port Stanley, war ships and a soldier reuniting with his mother.



Image 19: “Images from the War Album”. *Times*, 2 Apr. 2012: 15

#### 4.2. *The Islanders*

The inhabitants of the Falkland Islands are also regarded as heroes, mainly for the following three reasons: resisting the occupation during the war; putting up with the constant threats coming from Argentina in the years after the war; increasing the well-being of the Islands.

On the issue of the islanders heroically resisting the constant attacks of Argentina, the editorial of the *Daily Mirror* on 3 April makes a strong point about Argentina bullying the inhabitants of the islanders and their bravery in resisting: “The government of Buenos Aires is now hectoring and imposing sanctions. *The Falklanders are a hardy lot and will not be intimidated by its big neighbour* (*Daily Mirror*, 3 Apr. 2012: 10) [in italics and underlined in the original].

The *Times* published an article by Deborah Haynes titled “The memories of war are vivid, but islanders knew it led to greater prosperity” (3 Apr. 2012: 8-9). The article is constructed through the account of three residents of the Islands: Leona Roberts, Major Peter Biggs and Gerald Cheek. There are many details about the lives and experiences of the three Falklanders that made it of human interest and would certainly

provoke some sort of emotional reactions in the readers. The inclusion of three voices from real citizens of the islands brings credibility and makes the whole piece newsworthy. The text opens with a description of the different aspects in which the Islands have prospered and how they have daringly resisted pressure from Buenos Aires.

Leona Roberts, resident of Stanley, was ten years of age when the war broke out. She spent the night of the invasion hiding under a table from where she could hear the soldiers running in the backyard: “I was convinced we were all going to die”, she admits. Due to her traumatic experience at a young age, the writer believes that “Mrs. Roberts understands more than most the terror of occupation”. Leona Roberts is in her forties now and runs the Falkland Islands Museum. She believes the local people are much more optimistic nowadays than in the past and that the community prospered thanks to the wide range of opportunities that were provided after the war. She expresses her irritation for the on-going claims of sovereignty of the Argentine government in the following manner: “It drives me nuts. I just wish they would grow up and leave us alone”.

Major Peter Biggs is the head of the Defence Force on the islands. He claims to have changed his pacifist ideology after the Argentina invasion: nowadays he believes that “you must do what you can to defend your land”. When the Argentine military took over, his wife was five months pregnant. This last piece of information seeks an emotional response of sympathy on the readership. Major Biggs is of the idea that the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary, together with the tensions for the oil exploration, made it essential for his troops to be prepared to attack if deemed necessary. He backs his views with the following words: “My personal belief is that it is not worth having a defence force unless it is prepared to move quickly, so I would say we are always on the heightened state of alert”. The validity of his previous claims of having been a pacifist could be arguable and questioned, not only for his present declarations but also because he is a member of the armed forces.

Last but not least there is the account of a third resident named Gerard Cheek. Mr Cheek was a member of the defence force when the territory was invaded. He could not resist the attack since he and the other reservists were outnumbered by the foreign troops. Instead, he spent most of the war under house arrest. He describes the messages

coming from Argentina as “a pain” though he underestimates them by not regarding them as a real threat: “Argentina will always be grumbling in the background but I don’t think for a second that they will try to invade again”.

## **5. Honouring the Heroes, Remembering the War**

The aim of this section is to explore the different acts of social remembering that took place for the anniversary of the war and the way the papers report on these events. Although it is beyond the purpose of this chapter, it is relevant to note here that Sigmund Freud refers to mourning as the regular reaction to the loss of a loved person (1917: 243). Mourning is a personal time-limited process, usually done in silence. Psychologist María Lucila Pelento explains that “after the death of the loved ones, forgetting requires a certain process to take place, which is part of the work of the psyche that Freud termed *mourning work*” (2007: 56). Those subjects who become stuck for years unable to cope with their losses and bring the mourning process to an end are termed perennial mourners. In opposition to the individual mourning, there is the societal mourning or large-group mourning. Vamik Volkan (2007) explains that this phenomenon occurs to people living in the same society who suffered a similar experience in the manner they have lost their loved ones, so they share the mourning process which becomes collective. Volkan reflects on the role memorials, monuments or any other type of memory site (such as ceremonies, conferences, speeches, and national days) play in the societal mourning. He writes:

By building a monument societies create an externalized location that becomes involved in the shared mourning process [...] Sometimes a monument as a shared linking object externally absorbed unfinished elements of incomplete mourning and helps the group to adjust to its current situation without re-experiencing the impact of the past trauma and its disturbing emotions. The marble or the metal structure suggests a sense of indestructibility. This makes the monument a psychological container in which the remaining unpleasant feelings of a society’s shared mourning can be sealed [...] As decades and centuries pass, a society performs certain rituals around a monument, which becomes a shared linking object (2007: 105).

For the analysis of this fifth section, I will divide the information into two categories based on dates: April (commemorative activities in the UK) and June (commemorative activities on the Islands). The 2 of April 2012 marked three decades



from the beginning of the war with the invasion of Port Stanley, the capital of the Falkland Islands, by the Argentine troops in 1982. The official memorial service in the UK took place at the National Memorial Arboretum in Alrewas, Staffordshire. Falklands veterans and widows, around 100 people in total, gathered at a service of remembrance to pay tribute to those who had died in battle. This memorial service was reported in the press on the following day, 3 April. The headlines of the articles in all the newspapers included in this thesis read:

- Willetts, David. "255 FALLEN HONOURED BY HEROES-FALKLANDS CONFLICT 30<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY". *Sun*, 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13.
- Wilkes, David. "Pray for peace between our nations". *Daily Mail*, 3 Apr. 2012: 10-11.
- Hughes, Chris. "30 years on ... and we set sail again". *Daily Mirror*, 3 Apr. 2012: 6
- Robins, Paul. "WE'D FIGHT ARGIES ALL OVER AGAIN". *Daily Star*, 3 Apr. 2012: 9.
- Britten, Nick and Alleyne, Richard. "Widow lights a candle to the fallen, and remembers the pain that never leaves". *Daily Telegraph*, 3 Apr. 2012: 4
- Strange, Hannah and Sanderson, David. "Argentina fans the flames with attack on 'absurd' Britain". *Times*, 3 Apr. 2012: 8. The pictures of the article are titled: "Services to mark 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary".
- Jude Webber et al. "Fernández attacks Falklands 'injustice'". *Financial Times*, 3 Apr. 2012: 2.
- Davies, Caroline. "Oceans apart, Britain and Argentina remember". *Guardian*, 3 Apr. 2012: 4.

The *Daily Mail* publishes David Wilkes' article titled "Pray for peace between our nations" (10-11) which offers an account of the "simple but deeply moving service of remembrance" that had taken place the day before in the Millennium Chapel at the National Memorial. The article shows how two widows, Margaret Allen and Sara Jones, took part in the ceremony. The sad and melancholic tone in the text seeks to appeal to an emotional response in the readers. This moving tone can be observed by the opening sentence: "They had been married for only two weeks when an Argentine attack cruelly

robbed Margaret Allen of her husband in the Falklands War”. The other widow is Sara Jones, whose late husband’s act is portrayed as truly heroic, for although he died in the act that permitted his men, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Parachute Regiment, to go “on to take all of their objectives against heavy odds”. The pictures included in the article add to the touching tone. There are two large central images in colour spreading over two pages. One shows Margaret Allen wiping away a tear, while the other is of Sara Jones placing her hand on the memorial plaque that bears the name of her husband. Both of them are emotive images of women crying for their lost husbands who have died in the war as heroes. The design is the same in both pictures: below the photos of the widows, there are two small insets of their husbands wearing their military uniforms (Please see images in Chapter 8). Apart from the two female protagonists mourning their husbands, the article mentions some other soldiers: Mr Boldy’s comrade, Able Seaman Matthew Stuart, who also died in the attack and James Prescott who lost his life in HMS *Antelope* trying to defuse a bomb. Major Phillips, a former Royal Engineer who had lost his arm in the war, attended the ceremony to pay tribute to his colleagues who did not survive the war. He received the DSC (Distinguished Service Cross) for “courage of the highest order”.

The article in the *Sun* includes the same pictures of the two widows in the memorial service. In the middle of these two pictures there is one showing Argentine veterans paying tribute to their fallen. Moreover, there is a large central image on page 13 of the Falkland Islands Defence Force veterans marching in Port Stanley as part of the events to mark the anniversary. The captions read: “In honour ... Falkland Islands Defence Force veterans march to remember start of conflict that left 255 Brit heroes dead”.



**Image 20: Events marking the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of war. *Sun*, 3 Apr. 2012: 13**

The *Guardian* makes use of the very same picture to illustrate its article published on the same day (3 April).

With the occasion of the anniversary, the British Prime Minister issued a statement in which he “reaffirmed Britain’s determination to uphold the islanders’ rights to determine their own future” (Davies, *Guardian* 3 Apr. 2012: 4). The *Sun* adds that “David Cameron vows to defend the Falklanders’ right to remain British in a tribute to the ‘extraordinary heroism’ of troops who liberated the islands” (*Sun*, 2 Apr. 2012: 2). In a similar line and as expressed in the *Daily Telegraph*, “the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary [...] is a time to remember the sacrifices our servicemen made for freedom and the right of the Falkland islanders” [...] (Shuttleworth, *Daily Telegraph* 3 Apr. 2012: 21). The Foreign Secretary, William Hague, assured that “we will remember those 255 service personnel who made their ultimate sacrifice for an inviolable principle: to restore the Falkland islanders’ right to determine by whom they wished to be governed” (Hague, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 22).

14 June is Liberation Day, the most important holiday for the Falkland Islanders, which is the remembrance of the end of the battle and the celebration of the British victory. Most of the newspaper articles on 14 and 15 June covered the celebrations that took place on the islands:

- Schofield, Kevin and Fletcher, Darren. "IT WAS WORTH IT. Falklands vets on 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of liberation". *Sun*, 14 Jun. 2012: 12.
- "British Isles". *Sun*, 15 Jun. 2012: 8.
- Drury, Ian. "Argentina's tirade taints Falklands Liberation Day". *Daily Mail*, 15 Jun. 2012: 26.
- Palmer, Alun. "After the battle it seemed like all my friends were dead...I came back to lay a few ghosts to rest". *Daily Mirror*, 14 Jun. 2012: 30-31.
- Palmer, Alun. "We'll always be grateful to heroes who freed us". *Daily Mirror*, 15 Jun. 2012: 18-19.
- Chapman, John. "30 years on...veterans of the Falklands pay their tributes". *Daily Express*, 15 Jun. 2012: 22.
- Hughes, Mark. "You should feel shame for flying Falklands flag, says Kirchner". *Daily Telegraph*, 15 Jun. 2012: 19.
- Strange, Hannah. "Kirchner's new Falklands claim". *Times*, 15 Jun. 2012: 15.
- Davies, Caroline. "At No 10 and in Stanley, Falklands flag flies on". *Guardian*, 15 Jun. 2012: 11.

A thanksgiving ceremony was held at Christ Church Cathedral in Port Stanley attended by veterans, authorities and local residents. This was followed by a military parade in the streets of the capital towards Liberation Monument, where wreaths were laid in memory of the dead heroes, whose 255 names were read out, together with the three Falkland civilians who lost their lives during the occupation. Dr Andrea Clausen, resident of the Islands, typifies what the celebrations mean for the Falkland society: "We are here to remember those who gave their lives to give us freedom" (quoted in Palmer, *Daily Mirror* 15 Jun. 2012: 18). The article in the *Daily Mirror* looks closely at the celebrations that took place at Port Stanley with a two-fold aim: celebrating the recovery of freedom and honouring the heroes who granted that freedom from the Argentine troops. It includes several pictures of the events that took place on the islands the day before. The large central picture on page 18 shows the military act that took place at Liberation Day, Port Stanley. Besides the military, there are civilians all around the monument in the snow (June is winter in the South hemisphere). There are also

small close-up pictures showing children holding wreaths and flags, as well as authorities in official regalia.



Image 21: Daily Mirror, 15 Jun. 2012: 19

The *Daily Express* mentions the tribute paid to the heroes in the UK, Colchester, Essex, where Corporal Andrew Wilshire declares that “the sacrifices of the paratroopers in the Falklands still inspire troops” (Chapman, *Daily Express* 15 Jun. 2012: 22). The articles include a small picture of the ceremony, showing veterans and paratroopers in uniform. A series of three small advertisements related to the Falklands War anniversary were published on page 32 “Court & Social and Announcements” of the *Daily Telegraph* on 14 June. One is a service dinner at HMS *Drake* in Plymouth, Major General Tim Chicken being the guest of honour. The dinner took place the previous night, “on the eve of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Argentine surrender”. The second announcement is under the headline “TODAY’S BIRTHDAYS” and it says: “Today is the anniversary of the surrender of all the Argentine Armed Forces in East and West Falkland in 1982”. The third one is titled “IN MEMORIAM THEIR NAME LIVETH

FOR EVERMORE”. The ad is signed by the Falkland Families Association and pays homage to the members of the British Task Force who died liberating the national territory.

The second part of this section will analyse the way in which the war is remembered and narrated. Some papers remind the edition they published for the war which is a form of addressing their participation in the period of war; some others use pictures of the war, timelines or short texts explaining specific battles or incidents. For example:

- The *Sun* (2 Apr.) publishes an inset copy of its front page 30 years before. “IT’S WAR” was written in the large letters on the front page;
- Hastings includes in his article a picture of himself as war correspondent (*Daily Mail*, 3 Apr.);
- The *Daily Mirror* (14 Jun.) describes the battle of Goose Green: “64 killed in fierce fight”;
- The *Daily Telegraph* (3 Apr.) includes a timeline on top of the page 4 and a story connected with the sinking of the *Belgrano* on the same page;
- The *Times* (2 Apr.) publishes some pictures from “the war album” and a suggestion for a webpage “A guide to the Falklands conflict”;
- The *Financial Times* (2 Apr.) resorts to its archive and publishes a column on the way the paper reported the invasion.

## 6. Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored the British press discourse of the war anniversary as regards the portrayal of the war hero together with the social construction of the concept of heroism. It has focussed on individual and collective heroism. For the former, three groups have been identified: the survivors, traumatised veterans and posthumous heroes. The British Task Force and the Islanders are the two main areas of focus for the discussion. The chapter ends by lists the different manners in which the heroes were honoured and the war remembered.

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TRACKING THE DISCOURSE OF NATIONALISM: THE FALKLANDS WAR ANNIVERSARY IN THE BRITISH PRESS

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Dipòsit Legal: T 826-2015

## Chapter 7: The Enemy

### 1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyse how the figure of the enemy is constructed in the discourse of the British press for the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Falklands War. The chapter will begin with some theoretical considerations on the figure and the role of the enemy in society, followed by a detailed analysis of the manner in which the enemy is portrayed in the corpus under study. Four categories were identified in the corpus under analysis: the war enemy (the dictatorship that invaded the islands in 1982); the political enemy at the time of the anniversary (2012); the Argentine Armed Forces and, finally, the people from Argentina. These categories give information about the manner in which the war enemy is perceived and recalled and they show how a new enemy is created for the anniversary. Moreover, this chapter will attempt to assess the role of this Enemy/Other in the construction of national identities when it needs to be used as another argument in favour of the national cause: the defence of the Falkland Islands as part of the British overseas territory. The initial hypothesis is that the classical representation of the ‘us/them’ war dichotomy usually found in the media during war times, still applies for war anniversaries. This means that along with the hero being glorified, the enemy is loaded with negative characteristics. Moreover, in this particular case, as the conflict is not over, there is a need (or an excuse) to find an enemy figure to provide the readership with further arguments for the validation of the war, promoting and strengthening, in turn, national identities.

### 2. On the Figure of the Enemy

In his 1967 book *Enemies in Politics*, David Finlay identifies three types of enemies: the military, the political and the social enemy. The military enemy is easily recognized since it refers to “the armed forces of a nation with which there is overt or latent hostility which might lead to war” (1967: 1). The political enemy refers to those who are in the opposition or the ones who hold different views or ideologies. The social enemies are foes, for whom there are ill-feelings or hatred, both at an individual and/or



at a collective level. Finlay adds that, in general, the enemy is seeped in negative connotations, since they are perceived as threatening, harmful or injurious to people's welfare and wishes.

To perceive an individual or a group of people as an enemy is highly subjective, because each person (or group) applies his or her own views and projects them onto the Other. The 'enemy' and the 'self' mirror each other, since, and as Finlay argues, the image of the self often shapes the image of the Other. Perceptions of enemies often admit gradations: some enemies are considered to be more dangerous than others for a variety of reasons.

Moreover, Finlay believes that the enemy performs psychological, sociological and political functions in a society. From a psychological point of view, "the enemy symbolizes the antithesis of core values and beliefs regarding human needs, such as belonging and security as well as attitudes towards authority. He is part of the polarized world which all men create" (Ibid.: 7). Enemies are useful scapegoats that help to reduce stress or to spot sources of frustration, serving to justify actions that otherwise would be considered as improper or illegal. Egon Bittner suggests that politically, "images of 'we' and 'they' are significant in establishing one's own identity, in legitimizing actions and programs, and in providing rationales and models for attaining goals [...] Invoking the enemy makes it possible to moralize by counter-example" (1963: 938). Sociologically speaking, enemies play a key role in maintaining group solidarity and social coherence and unity. This last point is highly relevant for this research given the fact that the war enemy, together with the enemy at the time of the thirtieth anniversary, plays a key role in the construction of group bonding within national parameters. This is the reason why the newspapers have produced a discourse loaded with negative characteristics for the figure of those others who are (and were) against the national cause.

Arthur Gladstone, in his 1959 paper titled "The Conception of the Enemy", analyses how the enemy is conceived in times of war and/or conflict. He argues that it becomes a moral duty of every citizen to hold a conception of the enemy as "capable of great brutality and evil doing, to be something less than human and therefore hardly deserving respect or consideration, to be insincere and untrustworthy" (1959: 132). Therefore, and as previously mentioned, many actions which would normally be

considered as immoral become highly moral if they are carried out against the enemy. The enemy can also be a justification for engaging in war, since each side in a conflict may believe that the other part initiated the provocation. Gladstone thinks that there are advantages in having enemies in similarity to Finlay's conception of the functionality of the enemy. For Gladstone, the enemy contributes psychologically and socially to a given group, providing a sense of moral superiority to a society when compared to the flaws of the foe.

Sam Keen in his 1986 book *Faces of the Enemy* analyses images of the enemy and the influence of war propaganda in society. He argues that dehumanizing images of the enemy, sometimes portrayed as a beast or as an animal, or as crude, cruel and uncivilized, permit soldiers to kill without feeling guilt (1986: 17). This is the process by which military psychology converts the act of murdering into patriotism. To cite a well-known historical example we could refer to Hitler and the fact that he considered Russians as sub-human war enemies. Keen adds that "the majority of tribes and nations create a sense of social solidarity and membership in part by systematically creating enemies. The corporate identity of most people depends on dividing the world into basic antagonism: us/them; insiders/outsideers; the tribe/the enemy" (Keen 1986: 17) In other words, having enemies— or creating them — is closely connected to the idea of nationalism, since these 'others' provide group cohesion and a sense of shared values.

In war times, powerful discourses construct a negative image of the other nation involved in the conflict as 'enemy'. In *National Identity in Times of Crisis: The Scripts of the Falklands-Malvinas War* (1996), Nora Femenia analyses texts produced by powerful institutions during the Falklands War. She argues that "elites do promote discursively the attribution of positive qualities to their own nation/allies, and build up the image of the other nation as an enemy" (1996: 12). According to Femenia, enemy images are important for the process of national identity construction. As I intend to demonstrate in this chapter, in the press discourse of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary we find a very similar pattern that conforms to the traditional model of the construction of Self/Other in times of conflict: the British veterans are portrayed as heroes of the nation; while the Argentine keeps bullying the Islanders and behaving in an uncivilized manner. This last point suggests that the Argentine have not changed; they continued being as irrational as when they invaded the islands.

Dominant discourses create the Enemy by attaching certain negative characteristics that simultaneously work in favour of the construction of self-identity, or to be more specific in this case, national identity. In other words, the Other is created, shaped and transformed in and by discursive practices. One of the ways of doing so is by silencing the Other and denying them the word. Huspek and Radford (1997: 2) claim that the voice of the Other has not been sufficiently heard since the dominant discourses in society structure our interaction with this Other. Consequently, that actually heard from the Others directly is very little and usually known through the narrative of certain powerful voices. In this case, the voice of the Enemy is mediated by the newspapers. There are only a few exceptions where the Other is given voice, which will be analysed below.

In “Can the Subaltern Speak?” Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988) reveals the limited possibilities that the Other has to speak and be listened to, that Other being the subaltern woman. She questions the fact that most of what is known about colonized subjects is through the imposition of voices of Western intellectuals. The desires of the oppressed may not be the same as the interests of the radical left wing intellectuals from the Western world. When the rival nation is defined in very negative terms by politicians and is projected as a threat to the home nation, the deliberate polarization of “us” versus “them” becomes a very effective mechanism to influence people’s ideology and behaviour.

From a socio-psychological point of view, many researchers argue that social categorization implies in-group/out-group (we/they, us/them) distinctions and that positive attributes are connected with the ‘self’ (self-group or nation) while negative ones with the ‘other’ (group or nation). Henri Tajfel conducted several studies on the social psychology of intergroup relations (1970.2; 1971; 1978; 1981; 1982). Tajfel claims that “the most important principle of the subjective social order we construct for ourselves is the classification of groups as ‘we’ and ‘they’ – as ingroups and outgroups” (1970.2: 98), and that “subjects favoured the members of their group as against the members of the outgroup” (1971: 172).

As Tajfel acknowledges, his concept of group is identical to the definition of nation provided by Rupert Emerson: “the simplest statement that can be made about a nation is that it is a body of people who feel that they are a nation” (1960: 102). Reicher

and Hopkins believe that it is not only nationalism and national identity that invoke psychological constructs; the concept of nation also incorporates a psychological dimension (2001: 3). Benedict Anderson defines a nation as “an imagined political community” (1983: 15), thus constituting another example of the incorporation of the psychological dimension of the concept of the nation. Tajfel defines a group as a composite having three distinctive features: a cognitive component (the knowledge that one belongs to a group, membership); an evaluative component (belonging to a group can have a positive or a negative value connotation); an emotional component (towards one’s own group and others) (1978: 28).

Stephen Harold Higgins argues that ‘self’ and ‘other’ may be understood as unique individuals (I and You) or as collectives that are believed to share similar characteristics (we and they, the British and the Argentine). For a person to develop self-identity, they must generate discourses of both difference and similarity and must reject and embrace specific identities. Higgins adds that outsiders do tend to perceive Others as a homogeneous category, except for those individuals who are known personally (1997: 4-5). What follows is an analysis of the construction and representation of the Enemy in the 2012 press discourse.

### **3. The War Enemy: the Dictatorship (1982)**

Several references to the military Junta that was in power in Argentina in 1982 and that invaded the Falklands are to be found in the corpus under analysis. The enemy at the time of war is described by Max Hastings as a “Fascist junta” or a “brutal military dictatorship” (*Daily Mail*, 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29); and a “murderous military junta” according to the *Daily Telegraph* (14 Jun. 2012: 25). Although these are the negative attributes of the war enemy produced by the British, the majority of the public opinion in Argentina would agree with this depiction of the Junta. The purpose of including these attributes to the 1982 enemy in the discourse of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary is to remind and convince the readers, once more, that the enemies, the invaders of the islands, were a brutal dictatorship. This would contribute into making the war more justifiable given the fact that many people would argue that it is not the same thing engaging in war with a respectable democratic government than doing so against a fascist one. There is once

again the implicit analogy to the Second War World, when Great Britain fought against Nazism for a greater good as has been already mentioned in previous chapters.

As shown above in Chapter 5, the Argentines are presented as the invaders. The *Daily Mail* makes reference to “Argentina’s invasion” and “the Argentine invaders” (*Daily Mail*, 3 Apr. 2012: 14). Although expressions like these use the collective, they might be a metonymy for the Argentine government at the time. Some articles make this explicit, in examples such as: “Argentine’s junta invasion” (*Daily Mirror*, 3 Apr. 2012: 10); or “the Argentine military took over” (Haynes, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 8-9). The *Sun* quotes the Argentine president at the time of the anniversary, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (hereafter, CFK), clarifying this distinction between the military Junta and the Argentine people. She says: “It was a war pushed by a military coup, it is not the Argentine people who decided to go to war” (Wilson, *Sun* 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13). However, as a result of the “ongoing sovereignty claims” (Haynes, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 8-9) carried out by the government in 2012, the *Daily Telegraph* accused the democratically elected president of behaving like the dictatorship with the following controversial statement: “The government of Buenos Aires behaved like the military dictatorship” (14 Jun. 2012: 25), adding that “Argentina cannot continue to bully and hector the islanders, a ‘free people’” (Ibid.).

As has already been mentioned in the historical contextualisation (Chapter 2), many believe that both Argentina and the UK made use of the war to mask internal troubles. So, in a way, the war was used to raise nationalist feelings and thus unite public opinion against a common outside enemy by creating an “us/them” dichotomy; the governments made use of this dichotomy to divert the attention of those who were discontented, unemployed, discriminated against or repressed. Hannah Strange, in the *Times*, by quoting the words of Constantino Davidoff (an Argentine businessman who is accused of having started the war) reminds the readers of this strategy used by the two governments: “The Argentine and the British governments, both losing popular support, seized upon the incident as a ‘pretext’ for war” (Strange, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 9).

Simon Jenkins, in the *Guardian*, makes further negative comments about the two leaders that led the countries into war. About the Argentine leader, Jenkins affirms that “Galtieri rescued himself from opposition riots in Buenos Aires when invading the islands” (Jenkins, *Guardian* 2 Apr. 2012: 1; 6-7). But the writer is even more critical

with the British Prime Minister, as the very title of his article indicates: “30 years on, we still feel the effects of Thatcher’s lucky war”. Jenkins argues that the Junta felt entitled to the Islands and thought the rest of the world would be on its side, especially the United States. He explains that Thatcher, with the same purpose, immediately telephoned her ‘friend’, the USA president Ronald Reagan, to intercede; “but Reagan found Galtieri drunk and intransigent”. There was a widespread rumour that the Argentine General had some problems with alcohol, which could explain his dark and unclear diction, his slurring of words when talking; as well as his irrational behaviour. When the war had just finished, some people gathered in *Plaza de Mayo* (symbolic heart of Argentina) in order to express their indignation and to blame the government for the lost war and the victims. They shouted in anger: “Galtieri, borracho, mataste a los muchachos” [Galtieri, drunkard, you’ve killed our boys!] (Videla 1998). Moreover, members of the American Embassy were awed and alarmed by the de-facto President’s whisky consumption after one of the diplomatic meetings held in order to negotiate a peaceful solution for the armed conflict (Hastings and Jenkins 1983: 108).

The press did not publish any pictures of General Galtieri in 2012. Comments and images of the dictator were, for obvious reasons, highly frequent in the 1982 press, and they were especially popular among tabloid newspapers. Nora Femenia observes that the 1982 invader was characterized in the following three ways: as a fascist dictatorship; as a regime that defies the international community and the rule of law; as dictators that spread unprovoked aggression elsewhere, offering a bad example to other would-be invaders (1996: 142). Back in 1982, the *Daily Express* offered some examples of the negative manner in which the Dictator was described: “a vainglorious incompetent man” (*Daily Express*, 4 May 1982: 7); a “bully boy” (McMillan, *Daily Express* 3 Apr.1982: 6) and many other references were made alluding to the fact that Argentina was ruled by a dictator, such as “Britain does not appease dictators” (*Daily Express*, 5 Apr. 1982: 6).

#### **4. The Political Enemy Today (2012)**

There are numerous negative references to CFK, the Argentina democratic president at the time of the war anniversary, the enemy who, in this case, is a woman, which is interesting from a gender perspective. Since the Self is constructed by the Other, and the

Self and the Other mirror each other, as previously mentioned in the theoretical framework, I propose to establish a comparison between CFK and another female politician that played a key role in the war: Margaret Thatcher. I argue that there are many similarities between the two leaders. I will enlist some of these differences in this chapter and in the next one.

To start with, there are many references to CFK's rhetoric and the tone and manner of her declarations. For instance, she is described as "strident" and "sometimes hysterical" (Hastings, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29). She is accused of "fuel[ing] the war of words" (Hughes, *Daily Telegraph* 15 Jun. 2012: 19) with her "hyped up rhetoric" (Drury, *Daily Mail* 15 Jun. 2012: 26) and of "sully[ing] a day of remembrance" by a "fireband speech" (Wilson, *Sun*, 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13). Moreover, she is blamed for "dishonouring the dead" (Drury, *Daily Mail* 15 Jun. 2012: 26) with her "flurry of aggressive statements" (Milmo, *Guardian* 3 Apr. 2012: 23) and her "sabre-rattling rhetoric" (*Sun*, 3 Apr. 2012: 8); "lambast[ing] Britain" for refusing to discuss her country's long-standing claim to the Falkland Islands, calling British control of the territory "a leftover story from the 19<sup>th</sup> century" (Goni, *Guardian* 3 Apr. 2012: 4). The *Daily Mail* adds that "President Kirchner provoked outrage with a fresh rant over UK territory" (Drury, 15 Jun. 2012: 26); "CFK has launched a loud and vociferous campaign to claim the Malvinas [...] with aggressive threats" (Palmer, *Daily Mirror* 15 Jun. 2012: 18-19). CFK is acknowledged as a skilful speaker thanks to her high eloquence and oratory powers, all of it combined with an aggressive style that sometimes gives the impression of arrogance. Her manners, together with her words, do not pass unnoticed, and they have become strategic tools used by both allies and rivals in order to praise or attack her. Moreover, her political discourse, always under scrutiny, has become useful material for academic analysis. Research has shown that CFK builds a composite ethos in her speeches, succeeding to articulate efficacy, empathy, experience and commitment (Pedrazzini et al. 2012; Bitonte 2011).

Likewise, Margaret Thatcher is largely remembered for her rhetorical abilities. There are, in fact, some other resemblances between the former Prime Minister and the Argentine president. This power of oratory, for instance, shows the aggressive and masculine style that both leaders are attributed to possess. As regards the tone of voice, Thatcher, for instance, had a low pitched and rather masculine voice. However, it had

not always been like that. It is known that she took special training in order to lower the pitch of her voice (Atkinson 2009). A high pitched voice, such as the one of CFK, which is a common feature among women, is sometimes popularly associated with hysteria. A hysterical voice would have given Margaret Thatcher a negative image for the debates and the ‘shouting sessions’ which are sometimes common in the British Parliament. Besides, hysteria has always been associated with insane women in patriarchal discourse.

Elaine Showalter (1993) studies the history and the gender implications of hysteria. She points out that hysteria has been constructed as a woman’s disease, a feminine disorder, or a disturbance of femininity. Physicians used to believe that women were prone to hysteria for biological reasons, which implied that all women were potential hysterics. But, as Showalter argues, “in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, these views about an essential and organic female biology that produces hysteria have mutated into more psychological portraits that link hysteria with femininity and with a range of feminine personality traits” (286). However, the significant change to the understanding of the disorder has come in the past decades when women historians have proposed that hysteria is caused by women’s social roles and male domination rather than by their bodies and/or psyches. Moreover, language has played a major role in the history of hysteria both for its diagnosis and its treatment, Showalter claims (290). Michel Foucault has also contributed to the development of the present understanding of the illness. In *The History of Sexuality* (1979) he suggests that hysteria was a label imposed on female sexuality by male doctors.

2 April is a national holiday in Argentina for the commemoration of the war; the holiday is termed as the day of the ‘Islas Malvinas’ (Falkland Islands). In 2012, the commemorative activities were more pompous than usual, not only because it was the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary but also for the heated atmosphere between the two nations due to the, by then, recent events, such as the conflicts for oil exploration, the visit of Prince William to the Islands and the insistence of the Argentine government in its claims for sovereignty. All the newspapers analysed for this thesis reported the events on 3 April, the day after they took place in Argentina. For instance, the *Times* published an article on page 8 (announced on the front page) titled “Argentina fans the flames with attack on ‘absurd’ Britain”. The text begins with the following explanatory sentence: “President



Fernández de Kirchner of Argentina marked the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Falklands invasion yesterday with a speech renewing her country's claim to the islands and ridiculing Britain's refusal to hand over its 'colonial enclave'" (Strange and Sanderson, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 8). The article also includes a small picture of the President holding up a poster with the map of the Islands.

In a different article within the same paper, the *Times*, it is explained that the "aggressive messages still coming from Argentina were a pain" and that pressure from Buenos Aires has encouraged other South American countries to be against the UK (Haynes, 3 Apr. 2012: 8-9). The *Sun* mentions the "Argentine's desire to ramp up the tension" (3 Apr. 2012: 8) and that the president attacked David Cameron by declaring that it was "ridiculous and absurd" to have the intention of dominating a territory placed more than 14,000 km away (Wilson, 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13). The *Daily Mail* states that CFK accused Britain of being "colonialist" and of violating human rights (Shipman and Drury, 3 Apr. 2012: 14). The same argument is used to counterattack Argentina by Roger Edwards, a representative of the Falkland Islands legislative assembly, who denounced the Argentine government as colonialist in the United Nations: "This Argentine government claims to fight against colonialism yet wishes to take away our people's right, annex our islands, and subject our people to alien subjugation and domination – the very definition of colonialism" (Strange, *Times* 15 Jun. 2012: 15). More accusations are made from the British side: "Argentina is bullying the islanders, their human rights are ignored by the President" (Hughes, *Daily Telegraph* 15 Jun. 2012: 19). In an article written by William Hague, British Foreign Secretary, and published in the *Daily Telegraph*, the author sustains that the "Argentine policy had been deeply regrettable". Hague accuses Argentina of intimidating Falkland Islanders by its "combative policies" and "recent aggressive actions". He concludes that "such efforts" would only "intensify a disagreement" (2 Apr. 2012: 22).

For Liberation Day, the day the Islanders celebrated the end of the war thanks to the British victory, the Falklands flag flew both at 10 Downing Street and in Stanley. Mark Hughes, in his article titled "You should feel shame for flying Falklands flag, says Kirchner" explains that the Argentine president attacked Britain when "accus[ing] Downing Street of celebrating the war" (*Daily Telegraph*, 15 Jun. 2012: 19). Caroline Davies, in the *Guardian*, makes reference to the Prime Minister: "David Cameron

pledged to continue defending islanders from Argentina's 'aggressive threats'" (15 Jun. 2012: 11). Ian Drury in the *Daily Mail* also blames the president for "stepping up the pressure to take control of the Falklands" and that "she begged the UN to end the anachronistic colonialism" (15 Jun. 2012: 26). It is worth noting the number of times the adjective 'aggressive' and the noun 'aggression' are used in the examples cited in this section.

CFK, her government and her policies are also directly attacked and criticised by many journalists. Goni writes that the claim for the Falklands has become the central theme of her self-termed national and populist government (*Guardian*, 3 Apr. 2012: 4). Davies quotes Britain's UN ambassador, Mark Lyall Grant, saying that Argentina is making a song and dance at the UN for "obviously purely domestic political reasons" (*Guardian*, 15 Jun. 2012: 11), and Drury suggests that Kirchner should address her own country's problems (*Daily Mail*, 15 Jun. 2012: 26). Haynes is even more aggressive when writing that Argentina should grow up and stop having this attitude towards the Falklands issue (*Times*, 3 Apr. 2012: 8-9).

According to Milmo (*Guardian*, 3 Apr. 2012: 23), one of the incidents that heightened the anger of the government in Buenos Aires was the oil exploration activities in the offshore waters of the Islands. The journalist talks about the sabre rattling coming from Buenos Aires despite the British oil explorers' lack of success. The article explains that CFK sent a threatening letter to the British and American banks and companies involved in the explorations, telling them they should "bear in mind [...] the sovereignty dispute and [...] the consequences of any unlawful hydrocarbon exploration activities in the Argentine continental shelf in proximity to the Malvinas [Falkland] Islands". On the same topic, the *Sun* quotes the President who declares that the exploration by British companies constituted a threat to Argentine oil and fish (3 Apr. 2012: 8). The *Daily Mirror* accuses the government of Buenos Aires of hectoring and of imposing sanctions (3 Apr. 2012: 10). William Hague also mentions the troubles around the "attempts to intimidate businesses involved in the oil industry" as well as the harassment of Falkland fishing vessels (*Daily Telegraph*, 2 Apr. 2012: 22). Tim Shipman, on the other hand, refers to the Argentine reactions in a positive way: "Argentina has threatened to launch lawsuits against British banks [...] in an audacious move" (*Daily Mail*, 2 Apr. 2012: 8). The *Daily Telegraph* shares the belief that the

potential of hydrocarbon wealth has prompted Argentine reaction, adding that this could have unfavourable consequences for the islanders: “regrettably, we can expect the Argentine president to use the occasion to step up her already strident campaign of intimidation and bluster against the islanders” (2 Apr. 2012: 23).

The other major event connected with the anniversary revolves around the fact that the Argentine government presented its claim to the South Atlantic archipelago in the United Nations Decolonisation Committee in New York in June 2012. Strange puts it this way: “she demanded that Britain open sovereignty negotiations, declaring that the existence of a colonial outpost 14,000km from Britain was a relic of an outdated history” (*Times*, 15 Jun. 2012: 15). Pavia talks about a “diplomatic offensive” and classifies her visit as a “stunt”, adding that “Argentina rejects the possibility of self determination” and has done nothing else but “ramping up the pressure” by accusing Britain of militarising the South Atlantic (*Times*, 14 Jun. 2012: 39). On the following day, the same newspaper, in an attempt to show a certain sense of impartiality, published a communiqué titled “Let us bring colonialism to an end by complying with United Nations resolutions” signed by the Argentine President.

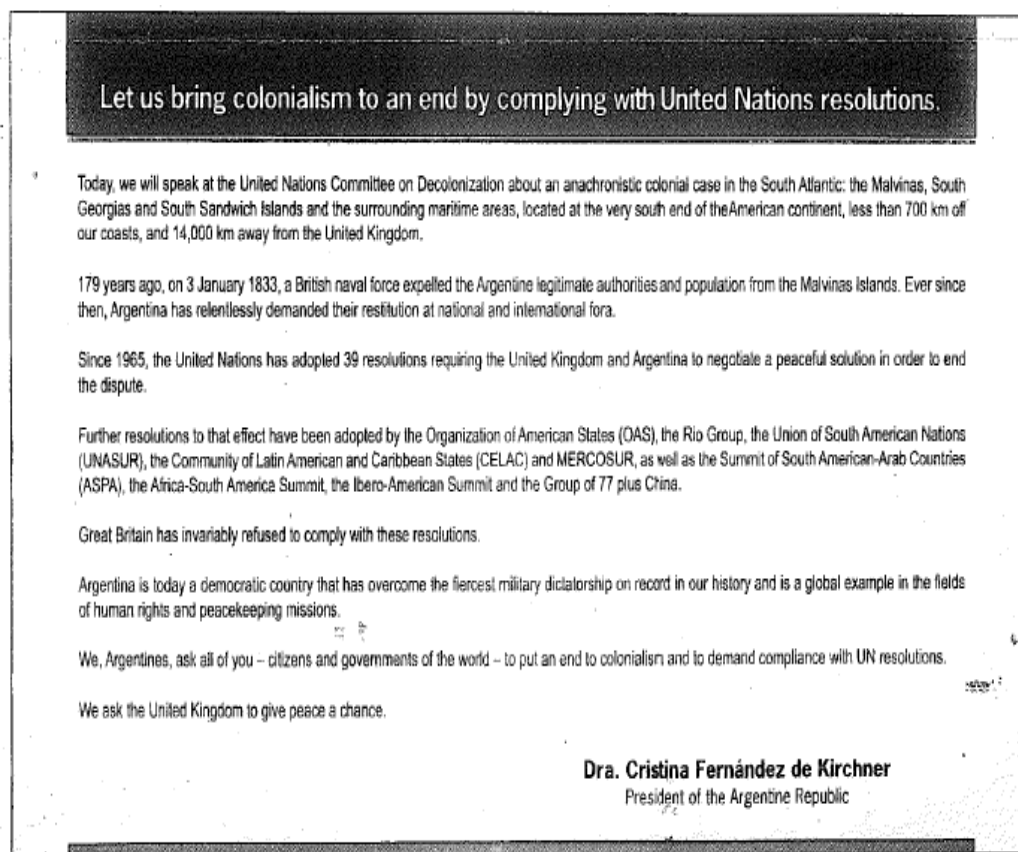


Image 22: *Times*, 14 Jun. 2012: 39

It is worth noticing that exactly the same communiqué is published by the *Guardian* on the same day (on page 23). However, there is a minor difference in the format since the *Guardian* classifies the text-type by introducing the reference “advertisement” above. In this way, the newspaper distances itself from the authorship of the message. In the text, the Argentine president tries to reinforce the self-image of the country by distancing herself from the fascist government. She declares: “Argentina is today a democratic country that has overcome the fiercest military dictatorship on record in our history and is a global example in the fields of human rights” (Fernández de Kirchner, *Times* 14 Jun. 2012: 39). She begs the citizens and governments of the world to put an end to what she considers an instance of colonialism and to respect the resolutions of the UN. Publishing a communiqué with this message could be interpreted as an act of provocation on her part.

There are several inset pictures of the Argentine president in the corpus. The *Daily Telegraph* (15 Jun. 2012: 19) publishes a medium size picture placed centre page.

CFK is shaking hands with the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon as she presents the claims for sovereignty of the islands. She is dressed completely in black to show she is still mourning her husband's death (former President Néstor Kirchner), with her long wavy hair caught by a breeze, which becomes her individual stamp of femininity.



**Image 23: *Daily Telegraph*, 15 Jun. 2012: 19**

The *Sun* (3 Apr. 2012: 19) includes a medium-sized image of the President at the bottom right of the page as part of the article “WAR OF WORDS: ‘Absurd Britain’ blast from Argentine Press” by Graeme Wilson (Deputy Political Editor). The silhouetted picture shows a smiling CFK holding up a plaque with the inscription ‘ISLAS MALVINAS’ and the map of the Islands. Above the image, at the level of the President’s body, there is an inset of the riots in Buenos Aires. The caption reads: “Flare-up...effigy of William torched after Mrs Kerchner spoke” [Sic!]. Kirchner is wrongly spelled; the correct ‘i’ is replaced by an ‘e’.



Image 24: *Sun*, 3 Apr. 2012: 19

The same picture of CFK holding up the plaque is published in the *Times* (3 Apr. 2012: 8). The *Daily Star* (3 Apr. 2012: 9) includes a rather small vertical rectangular photo of CFK with the fist of her right hand up, as if she were demanding something. Her face is serious and she does not look precisely nice.



**DEMAND: President Fernandez**

**Image 25: *Daily Star*, 3 Apr. 2012: 9**

All in all, the inclusion of the several pictures of CFK leaves little doubt in the readers of the press as to who the present-day political enemy is. It is also worth noting that her name and her face are repeatedly shown in the media according to her different moods and emotional gestures.

## **5. The Argentine Armed Forces**

The common assumption that the Argentine Task Force was mainly formed by inexperienced conscripts (Regan 1987: 172-173; Guber 2001: 112) is denied by war hero Robert Lawrence:

History paints a picture of an easy victory [...] against teenage conscripts forced into battle [...] but Robert reveals a different story [...] history makes out that this was an easy war, but in reality, on paper, it was impossible. Some people think that all we were fighting were 15-year-old conscripts but we weren't – we were fighting incredibly well-trained soldiers, with very good equipment, better than ours. The government of Argentina was a very harsh military junta; no one questioned what money they spent on defence. We found tough men from their 5<sup>th</sup> marines – they weren't conscripts. They had the best night vision equipment

money could buy while we were aiming at muzzle flashes (Willetts, *Sun* 2 Apr. 2012: 22-23).

Rick Cross, another British war hero who fought in the battle of Goose Green, remembers that the Argentine troops outnumbered, outpositioned and outgunned the overwhelmed British forces (Palmer, *Daily Mirror* 14 Jun. 2012: 30-31). This last example may indirectly question the efficiency of the Argentine task forces taking into account that the British soldiers were able to win the battle even when they were in worse conditions. At the same time, and together with the first example, it is in praise of the British soldiers, since it implied how skilful and brave they were by being able to win the battle in those unfavourable conditions. The article in the *Daily Mirror* shows a small picture of a group of Argentine soldiers made prisoners, walking in a line one after the other in a field. The caption reads: “SURRENDER: Argentinian prisoners”. The image reveals a beaten enemy at the disposal of the British troops.



**Image 26: *Daily Mirror*, 14 Jun. 2012: 30**

Journalists Harding and Tweedie wrote: “I said to them, ‘No funny business’” in the *Daily Telegraph* on 14 June, an article narrating the last days of battle and the negotiations that led to the Argentine surrender. There is a description of Captain Barry Melbourne Hussey of the Argentine Navy who was a member of the military administration. The enemy in this article is given a name and a full identity, a specific person who is described positively. This could be due to the fact that the Argentine



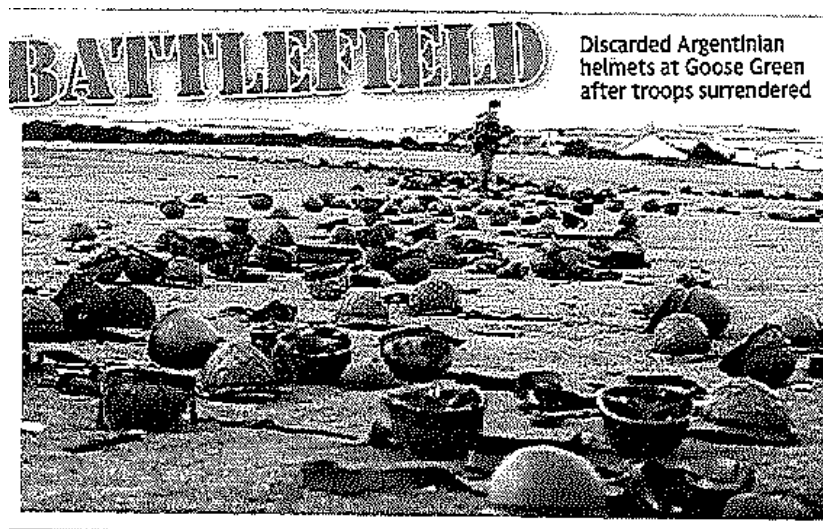
captain is partly of British ancestry, as his name indicates. His English is said to be impeccable, as if from Eton or Harrow, and he is regarded by the islanders as a benevolent person. A second officer is mentioned, Brigadier Mario Menéndez, the Argentine military governor of the islands, who was also responsible for bringing the war to an end. As regards the Argentine soldiers in general, the article mentions that many of them “had suffered the brutality of their superior during the occupation” (Harding and Tweedie, *Daily Telegraph* 14 Jun 2012: 23), which indicates a certain empathy for their situation. It is a widespread belief that many Argentine soldiers were ill-treated in the war. Official evidence can be found in the recently declassified Rattenbach Report, which analyses the Argentine defeat. The report concludes that the Junta sent its troops to the islands “without adequate preparation” and that many conscripts faced “serious malnutrition” (Gilbert, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 17).

In the article by Harding and Tweedie (*Daily Telegraph*, 14 Jun. 2012: 23) there is a colour picture of a large number of Argentine war prisoners. The caption reads: “War weary: Argentine prisoners massed in Port Stanley after their surrender to the British task force in June 1982. ‘You are going to leave this country with your heads held high’, Rose promised them [the Argentine prisoners]”. This large group, this mass with no individual quality, stands as a whole in the sense that all the soldiers are there as a collective, performing the same function (hobbling on their way as prisoners), wearing the same clothes (combat uniforms, dark green jackets and hats), suffering the cold and the deception of having lost the war.



**Image 27: *Daily Telegraph*, 14 Jun. 2012: 23**

The *Daily Mirror* (3 Apr. 2012: 19) shows a small picture at the bottom centre part of the text of an empty field with helmets belonging to the Argentine soldiers, there is a British soldier at the back of the picture and some houses can be seen at a distance. The caption says: "BATTLEFIELD: Discarded Argentinian helmets at Goose Green after troops surrender". The image transmits a feeling of desolation and dejection.



**Image 28: *Daily Mirror*, 3 Apr. 2012: 1**

The article by Jenkins in the *Guardian* (2 Apr. 2012: 1; 6-7) includes a very interesting picture showing Argentine soldiers marching into Stanley when they invaded the islands. Though the quality of the image is not very good, a flag from Argentina is recognisable in the group. While most of the other newspapers show the British soldiers, or the defeated Argentine soldiers, the *Guardian* publishes a picture of the Argentine soldiers in a successful move. The caption reads: “Victory march: Argentinian soldiers – after the successful invasion of the Falklands and expulsion of 68 British marines – carry their kitbags to occupy the marines’ base in Port Stanley”. The photograph was taken by the Argentine photographer Daniel Garcia.



**Image 29: *Guardian*, 2 Apr. 2012: 1; 6-7**

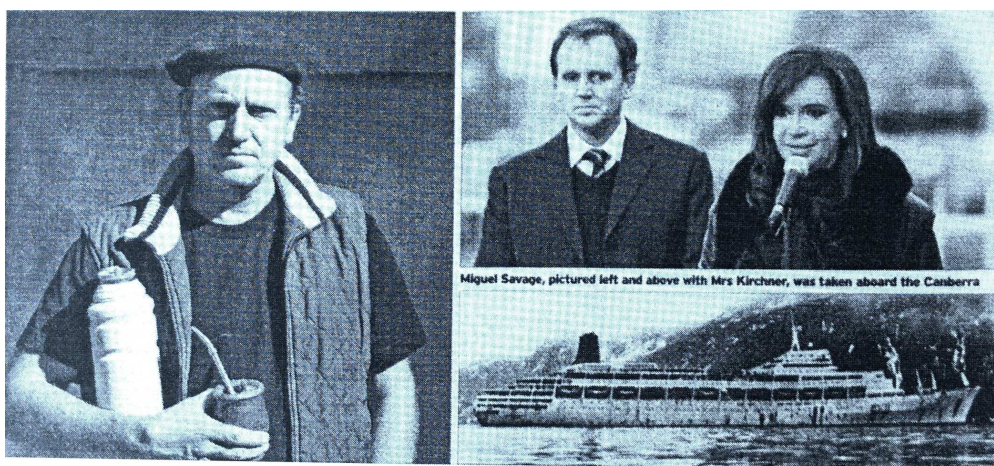
Palmer, in the *Daily Mirror* (15 Jun. 2012: 18-19), refers to Argentina's air force as being out-of-date nowadays. The Argentine Armed Forces have suffered a reduction in means and personnel during the last governments by CFK and her late husband, former President of Argentina. Critical voices in Argentina talk about the destruction of the Armed Forces, accusing the government of a systematic plan to dismantle the military forces (*La Nación*, 7 Nov. 2007; Brieba, *BWN Patagonia* 15 May 2009).

The article titled "I told them I was British to get food, so they made me their translator" was written by Jonathan Gilbert (in Venado Tuerto, Argentina) and published in the *Daily Telegraph* on 2 April (page 17). The article narrates the story of a former Argentine POW (Prisoner of War) who describes his role in the war: "Miguel Savage, then a 19-year-old conscript from Buenos Aires, fought for the 7<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment at the Battle of Mount Longdon, was taken aboard the Canberra, a British cruise liner that transferred 4,000 Argentines to Puerto Madryn, in Patagonia, after the military Junta surrendered in Port Stanley on June 14, 1982". The article describes the poor conditions of the conscripts at war and the ill-treatment they received by their superiors. We learnt that Mr Savage, who lives in Venado Tuerto now, described as a dusty town in Santa Fe province, "lost 3 stones during the conflict, as the unprepared Argentine troops survived on soup and mate, a tea-like herbal drink". The former conscript adds: "We were starving in the trenches [...] we used to escape when the officers were asleep and got to Stanley to root through the bins". He tells another anecdote about the lack of food and the cruelty of his superiors: "Once, after I stole a tin of meat, a sergeant placed his rifle against my head. I knelt down and, crying, pleaded for him not to kill me. He pulled the trigger, but the cartridge was empty". Moreover, Savage explains that he pretended to be from Tottenham to get extra food. As the article narrates, the Geneva Convention of 1949 established that the information relating to the prisoners of war should be translated, and translating was the task assigned to Mr Savage as he is "bilingual because his mother, the daughter of immigrants from Durham, spoke to him in English as a child". Mr Savage praises the treatment of the Argentine prisoners by the British troops. He says:

The Canberra was like a sociological experiment [...] soldiers who had been shooting at each other were telling stories and exchanging addresses. The British gave us hot showers and took us for walks on the upper deck. They treated us

better than our own officers, who humiliated us and destroyed our morale (Savage quoted in Gilbert, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 17).

Mr Savage is very critical of the military Junta, when he says: “We went to the islands with the same people that were torturing civilians in the 1970s”. But he also criticises the British militarisation of the islands and he questions sovereignty issues by declaring: “The islanders’ culture should be respected but they replaced an Argentine *guacho* population in 1833 and do not have the right to self-determination. There should be a civilised handover of the Falklands to Argentina”. The article includes 3 pictures. The largest one is a recent picture of Miguel Savage with the *mate* (a popular Argentine beverage) and the thermos flask in his hands, dressed as a civilian in informal clothes, giving the impression that Savage is a humble person. A second picture shows the Argentine president giving the war anniversary speech, Savage is behind her on her right, wearing a suit, and a third smaller picture shows the *HMS Canberra*.



**Image 30: *Daily Telegraph*, 2 Apr. 2012: 17**

Caroline Davies, in the *Guardian*, explains that a reduced group of Argentine war veterans held a quiet ceremony at the cemetery of the Falkland islands, where most of the British and Argentine soldiers who died in battle are buried. The article includes the declaration of one of the veterans who took part in the ceremony, Juan Carlos Luján: “To return to this little piece of land, which for me is a little bit of my country is so pleasing. To be among the people that were once our enemies, that which we can now live together with, it’s just really proof that we human beings are not like animals”

(Davies, *Guardian* 3 Apr. 2012: 4). Although the article also mentions the tension between London and Buenos Aires, it makes room for the voice of the Other.

## 6. The People from Argentina

In the press discourses of 1982, the *Argies* were usually caricatured wearing Mexican hats. Not knowing anything about the rivals' culture is a way of denigrating them, making them more the abject Other. This is a very common technique, one which makes heroes of national soldiers, and *otherizes* the enemy as being evil, cruel and inferior. Some other examples of this strategy are to be found in newspapers of the war time, such as:

- The British flag in the Falklands was “hauled down by an inferior power”; “there is a robber in one of our houses who must be ejected” (*Daily Express*, 3 April 1982);
- “Argentina has stolen our territory” (*Sun*, 26 April 1982);
- “those people patriotically will themselves to accept the propaganda they’re fed” (*Daily Mail*, 4 May 1982);
- “the military dictatorship backed by a passionately patriotic Argentine people” (*Daily Mail*, 5 May 1982).

2 April 2012 was a busy day in Argentina. Apart from the official acts with the angry speech of the President (as mentioned above), there were several riots in the capital city of Buenos Aires against the British presence on the islands; “protesters clashed with riot police” when they were “storm[ing] the British embassy” as a symbol of protest (Wilson, *Sun* 3 Apr. 2012: 12-13).

“But in Argentina, mob targets our embassy” is the headline of an article by Shipman and Drury (*Daily Mail*, 3 Apr. 2012: 11). ‘But’ marks a contrast from the peaceful and respectful celebrations that took place in the UK and which are described on the page opposite, versus the problematic ones in Argentina. If this contrast needs to be made, it is implicitly passing judgment over the Argentine. ‘Mob’ is a negatively connoted collective noun used to refer to a crowd which is difficult to control. Other words could have been used, such as protesters and demonstrators. The use of the third person pronoun ‘our’ indicates inclusion and closeness from the part of the authors.

There is a small picture in one corner of a protester setting an effigy of Prince Williams on fire, who was on the Islands in February 2012. Foreign Secretary William Hague declared that the deployment of Prince Williams and the warship HMS *Dauntless* were routine military movements and denied any provocation to Buenos Aires (*BBC News*, 5 Feb. 2012). The British people would undoubtedly dislike the idea of the burning effigy and the fact that the embassy was attacked. This would produce a negative effect on how the contemporary Argentines are viewed or perceived by the British readers.

The same riots are reported in other newspapers. The *Daily Mirror* (3 Apr. 2012: 6) publishes similar articles and pictures to the *Daily Mail*. There are two contrasting pictures right at the centre of the page. The one on top shows ‘thugs’ burning the Union Flag, and the image at the bottom shows the widow, Mrs Allen, wiping a tear at the memorial service. The *Times* (Strange and Sanderson, 3 Apr. 2012: 8) also talks about the violent scenes that took place in Buenos Aires when members of the “violent and nationalist” group *Quebracho* clashed with riot police. It also includes a picture of protesters setting the Union Jack on fire. In several pictures, the person holding the British flag is wearing a T-shirt with the official logo of the group, whose full name is *Quebracho: Movimiento Patriótico Revolucionario* [Quebracho: Revolutionary Patriotic Movement]. The left wing group has its origin in 1996 and is named after a tree, native to Argentina, which possesses very hard wood. A crowd chanted: “Homeland yes, colony no!” There is a second image at the bottom of the page of the president holding a map of the islands. Caption: “Mrs Kirchner in Ushuaia yesterday”.

These are a few other photographs showing the riots that took place in Buenos Aires. The *Daily Mail* (3 Apr. 2012: 11) includes a small picture on the left hand side showing a man setting fire to an effigy of Prince William due to his then recent visit to the islands. The captions read: “Flames: Effigy of Prince Williams”.



*Flames: Effigy of Prince William*

**Image 31: *Daily Mail*, 3 Apr. 2012: 11**

The *Daily Mirror* (3 Apr. 2012: 6) places a medium sized picture of the riots in Buenos Aires placed at the centre of the page. The image shows several people in the demonstrations and at the front a masked person setting a British flag on fire. Captions: “RIOT: Thugs burn Union Flag yesterday”. The enemy is pictured as violent and troublesome.



**Image 32: *Daily Mirror*, 3 Apr. 2012: 6**



At this point, I would like to introduce the question of the threshold of legality following Stuart Hall's ideas. In his 1978 book, *Policing the Crisis*, Hall discusses the public signification of problematic events and the thresholds that symbolically delimit tolerance in a given society. Hall argues that "events which break this threshold contravene traditional moral norms [...] they therefore mobilise moral sanctions and social disapproval – but not necessarily legal control" (1978: 225). Acts which challenge the fundamental order of society pose a risk of the potential for social violence, as Hall explains. In many cases, establishing the threshold between violent and non-violent acts can be problematic. As Hall exemplifies, "peaceful demonstrations become more threatening if always described as potential scenarios for violent confrontations" (1978: 226). In the case of the mob attacking the British Embassy in Buenos Aires (reminiscent of the mob attacking the American Embassy in Iran in 1979), the burning of the effigy of Prince William and the Union Flags (reminiscent of the burning of the effigy of George Bush/American flag in the Arab countries), they are outside the legal threshold of civilised society and therefore to be condemned. They are attacks on symbols of national identity and therefore indirectly on the nation itself (and its peoples), following Hall's thoughts.

Max Hastings describes the Argentine as not being smart enough, because, if they were,

[t]hey would have been wooing the islanders, killing them with kindness, seeking to persuade them that they have a brighter future with a big neighbour than with a weary, remote imperial power. Instead, of course, they relentlessly threaten and bully them, so that unsurprisingly the *kelpers* want nothing to do with Buenos Aires (Hastings, *Daily Mail* 3 Apr. 2012: 28-29).

He also acknowledges that "Argentina's passion for those benighted islands is crazy" (Ibid.). 'Crazy' is a very meaningful term which is also used in the *Daily Telegraph* in an article by Jonathan Gilbert titled "Protesters march on British embassy" (3 Apr. 2012: 4). The article mentions the incidents in Buenos Aires and that the "Argentine passion for the islands is crazy". The Argentine anthropologist Rosana Guber (2011) argues that the Malvinas Islands functions as the strongest collective myth for the Argentine nation, which defines itself as an incomplete nation without the possession of the Islands.



a deserted whaling station on South Georgia, an island 600 miles East of the Falklands. The merchant claims to have had all the legal permissions required for the job and he gives his version of the chain of events that led to the provocation of the war. Rex Hunt, the British governor of the islands at the time, reported to London that fires were shot and that the Argentine flag was planted. Davidoff's side of the story is that a shot was indeed fired but for hunting a deer, and that the Argentine flag "was briefly waved by workers in jest". However, back in 1982, the British interpreted that it was part of an Argentine invasion and detained the workers. In response, the Argentine dispatched troops to rescue the men and "seized the opportunity to invade". According to Davidoff, "Mr Hunt was responsible for falsehoods that sparked the conflict". Much as he claimed to be innocent, he is also portrayed as a "pawn by a plot by the Argentine top brass", which he denies. He blames both Thatcher and Galtieri for using the war as a political excuse: "The Argentine and British governments, both losing popular support, seized upon the incident as a pretext for war". Davidoff is portrayed as a victim, suffering from injustice:

Now 69 and living in a tiny apartment in Buenos Aires, Mr Davidoff's life has been consumed by what he perceives as a grave injustice. The whaling station was seized from him by the British. His house and other properties were auctioned off. The trauma, he believes, led to the death of his mother and cost him his marriage (Strange, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 9).

In order to be believed and liked, Davidoff tries to appeal to the emotional side of the readers and the victims' families when declaring: a "conflict which stained households both of Argentina and of the poor British mothers who lost their sons thinking that they were defending lands they believe theirs". He adds: "It pains me greatly the deaths of those British boys [...] I don't want anybody to die, not just Argentines. In Argentina and Britain mothers laugh and cry in the same language". The article includes a small picture of the actual face of Davidoff saying: "I want people to know what really happened, so that it never happens again".

## **7. Chapter Summary**

This chapter sets out to discuss the way the figure of the Enemy has been constructed in the British press discourse of the year 2012. Four types of enemies have been found: the

war enemy, the political enemy, the armed forces as well as the people from the foreign country. The chapter also contains a brief theoretical approach on the psychological and sociological parameters in which the figure of the 'Other' is framed.

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

TRACKING THE DISCOURSE OF NATIONALISM: THE FALKLANDS WAR ANNIVERSARY IN THE BRITISH PRESS

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Dipòsit Legal: T 826-2015

## **Chapter 8: Gendering the Nation and the Politics of Emotion**

### **1. Introduction**

War has traditionally been constructed as a masculine domain, promoting references to masculinity with a glorification of violence in the name and honour of one's country. The discourse of war is gendered, marking a sharp division in the different roles sexes play: men go to battle while women stay at home caring for the home and the family. There are, however, notable exceptions to this patriarchal nationalist discourse, such as World Wars I and II when women took over men's jobs in the factories, agriculture and running the industries. The Falklands War and its media representation have been studied as an example of the maintenance of gendered categories. The aim of this chapter is to explore the representation of gender in the discourse of the press for the Falklands War thirtieth anniversary by discussing issues of masculinity and femininity as regards the concept of nation-building.

### **2. Nationalism, War and Gender**

Men and women 'perform' gendered roles in the patriarchal discourse of nationalism. Men embody the traditional attributes of masculinity, such as bravery and physical strength to fight in battles. Exercising masculinity by dying in a war has often been considered as a duty, sometimes even a privilege, of male citizenship in many societies. In "Selfhood, War and Masculinity" Genevieve Lloyd (1987) explores the connection between war and gender in Western society. She argues that sacrificing one's life in battle is a sign of masculinity. On the other hand, women become the caring females, the healers who stay at home taking care of the family, producing more offspring for the nation, and mourning the dead.

John Ruskin, social thinker and prominent Victorian, voiced his opinion on war and women's role in war in 1894 which shows, in a nutshell, the discourse of patriarchy:

There is not a war in the world, no, nor an injustice, but you women are answerable for it; not in that you have provoked, but in that you have not

hindered. Men, by their nature, are prone to fight; they will fight for any cause, or for none. It is for you to choose their cause for them, and to forbid them when there is no cause. There is no suffering, no justice, no misery in the earth, but the guilt of it lies with you (Ruskin 1894: 171).

According to Ruskin, women are responsible for all the wars being fought. They do not go to the battlefield themselves but it is their fault for not preventing the battle. He justifies men's attitude by acknowledging that they are warriors by nature, which makes the women wholly responsible for the armed disputes that are fought in the world. If this were the case, as Ruskin suggests, all the crime and violence society and people suffer under are due to the inability of women to prevent them. Although this quote dates from the end of the nineteenth century, some of these ideas still prevail within the patriarchal system.

A different perspective is the one offered by Virginia Woolf in *Three Guineas* (1938), a book of "brave and unwelcomed reflections on the roots of war", as Susan Sontag labels it (2003: 3). Woolf wrote this critical essay on how to prevent war just before the breakout of WWII, while rapt and horrified by the advances of the Spanish fascism. She argues that men make war and that most men like war. Unlike women, they experiment some kind of glory, necessity and satisfaction when fighting. According to Woolf, there are three reasons that lead men to fight wars: "war is a profession; a source of happiness and excitement; and it is also an outlet for manly qualities, without which men would deteriorate" (1938: 10). Not all men, however, believe this, as Virginia Woolf remarks. She adds that war is also fought because of patriotism. She thinks that a positive contribution to prevent war is through granting women the chance to get higher education.

The role of women within the armed forces is indeed a controversial debate in modern states. It is only recently that women have been allowed to join the army, but some countries still forbid it. The common (but not less patriarchal) assumption is that women are physically weak or weaker than men and are thus better at helping and nursing, morally supporting the men who fight for the nation, taking care of the home and the children or giving pleasure. As Friedrich Nietzsche once stated "Man shall be trained for war, and woman for the recreation of the warrior: all else is folly" (1885). The ultimate sacrifice women can make for the nation is to have offspring that will serve the nation's purpose of regenerating the nation.

Women have always been involved in wars, directly or indirectly, and they have always helped in the formation of nations, but until today many armies in the world are composed exclusively of men, young men and boys. Jeff Hearn argues that this fact, however, “should not obscure the significance of women’s military activity in particular times and particular places” (2003: xi). Although there is a male predominance in many armies or military institutions around the globe, women soldiers are recruited for servicing or administrative positions within the armed forces. The Falklands War is no exception to this, for although no women took part in the British task force as soldiers, many were the ones who helped in other civilian and military roles, such as nurses, helpers, and clerks, as Jean Carr accounts in her 1984 book *Another Story: Women and the Falklands War*. It goes without saying that the British Prime Minister who made the decision to engage in war was a woman. However, while some women were actively involved in the war, others were busy trying to prevent them. Such is the case of the Greenham Common Women’s Peace Camp, where a group of British women and children became very active during the 1980s against the storing of missiles and nuclear weapons.

In the case of Argentina, the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* blamed the dictatorial government for the disappearance of their sons and daughters in the so-called Dirty War (La Guerra Sucia). During the war, their slogan was: “Las Malvinas son argentinas, pero los desaparecidos también” (quoted in Guber 2001: 45) [The Malvinas Islands are Argentine, but so are the missing people] (*my translation*). They peacefully protested from within patriotic discourse to lament their children who were missing. They were certainly clever in many of their strategies but most important was, as Debra B. Bergoffen (2004) suggests, that they entered the public arena as “mothers” rather than as citizens:

Motherhood, traditionally identified with the values of submission, care, and unending endurance, can, as the silent protests of the Madres demonstrated, become the site of a demand for justice and accountability which refuses to endure a reign of terror that lacerates the maternal body. In their public silence these women assaulted the state that would confine them to the passivity of the mother. They also caught the authoritarian regime off guard by playing the patriarchal card. How can a state threaten women who, in the name of the patriarchal ideal of motherhood, silently mark the disappearance of their children, their husbands, their brothers, their sisters? In their silence these mothers, observing the patriarchal rule that bars mothers from public speech, cried out



against the taboos that allow a mother to mourn but not protest the abuse, the disappearance, the death, of her child (2004: 166).

As the dictatorial regime was extremely patriarchal, these women believed they could be heard in their role as mothers. The patriarchal system idealises the woman in her role as mother, wife and housekeeper. After all, what they were doing was what any “good” mother would do: taking care of the children and worrying about them.

Women, war and gender politics come under discussion in Marcia Kovitz’s article “The Roots of Military Masculinity” (2003) in which she states that women are given marginal jobs in the armies since military organizations are still identified and represented as masculine, despite the long-standing presence of women in the armed forces. The myths about men’s innate aggressiveness have made combat the last bastion for men. Kovitz sustains that those who question women’s presence in the military service resort to arguments which challenge their capacity to fight in battle due to claims such as “women’s innate physiological inferiority to men in strength, stature, speed, metabolism and the incapacities due to menstruation and childbirth” (2003: 2). These ‘constraints’ make women less operationally effective than men, according to some. Further impediments for women are domestic responsibilities and child rearing. The integration of women into the armed forces is still a controversial issue. Men, on the other hand, remain unchallenged in their privileged positions, as Paul Higate argues in *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*. He observes that the role of women in the armed forces is particularly within the context of specific missions such as peace-making (Higate 2003: 205).

According to Zoe Anderson in “Empire’s Fetish: Sexualised nationalism and gendering of the Falklands War” (2011), the media perpetuated the nationalist sentiment during the Falklands War by placing sexuality as central to the nationalist project in which British women were positioned as symbols of national pride. Anderson argues that women occupied three main representations in the tabloid media during the conflict; they were: national boundary markers; good girlfriends/wives/mothers; and participants in the war effort through sexualised patriotism (2011: 194). Anderson believes that the typically traditional narrative of the suffering mothers or wives was very common in the popular press during wartime and denoted a nuclear heterosexual unit which is a traditional way to perceive nations. As my analysis will also show later

in this chapter, it is the narrative of the suffering widow in the anniversary discourse that reflects the standards of the conservative heterosexual family unit. By relying on gender differences and enabling men's heroism, these widows bring about the true spirit of patriotism.

Moreover, Margaret Thatcher herself played a key role in constructing the image of the traditional family. In *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* (1987) Chris Weedon states that in patriarchal discourse women are supposed to be *by nature* unaggressive, emotional and lacking in self-confidence, humble, caring and tactful, with a strong need for security; their place being in the patriarchal family taking care of the children and the household (1987: 84). Taking Margaret Thatcher as an example, one could say that none of these adjectives apply to her. She was frequently regarded as aggressive, authoritarian and ambitious in politics; always showing a high degree of self-confidence.

As regards her role as mother and housekeeper, although devoting most of her time to politics, Thatcher was very careful to offer a family image of union and caring, as if she wanted to demonstrate that she was perfectly capable of maintaining both a career and managing a home. By showing this image of the stable family she avoided criticism from the general public but especially from her own Conservative Party. Thatcher's entry into politics was made with determination and resolve. She became the first woman Prime Minister in Britain and had to prove her competence in a position historically occupied by men. She stepped into the role with pleasure and was shown by the media as a woman who could do a man's job. Although she was tough, she was also vulnerable in some points; her vulnerability corresponded to two aspects. First, in the fact that her origins were lower middle-class while most of the other women politicians came from upper-class backgrounds. This meant that she had to make supreme efforts to get to the top. Secondly, and according to Anneke Ribberink (2010), her main weakness was precisely connected to gender issues since she was a woman trying to make a career in a male and masculine environment. Hard and tough she might have been but she was able to exploit her sex by playing different gender roles and she succeeded in doing so. All things considered, "Mrs Thatcher exemplified a battle over gender", as Patricia Holland states. Holland notes that the media celebrated Thatcher's determination during the war: "[...] the national war, the assertive, masculine nation that we have seen

constructed in the pages of the newspapers [...] had to have a leader, and Margaret Thatcher was determined to fulfil that role” (Holland 1984: 22). A united nation as well as a united family was at the centre of Thatcherism. Anderson believes that the Thatcherite reification of the nuclear family stood as a shield and as a solution to the social problems of the time as the Prime Minister’s words demonstrate: “[We] could only get to the roots of crime and much else besides by concentrating on strengthening the traditional family” (quoted in Anderson 2012: 191).

Kevin Foster, in “To serve and protect: Textualizing the Falklands conflict” (1997), argues that Thatcherism was embodied in a narrative framework of epic account of a heroic vision of the nation and a return to Victorian values. When the Prime Minister came into power in 1979 she was determined to halt Britain’s decline and to restore the nation’s pride. According to Foster, Thatcher believed that the role of the task force in the defeat of Argentina was a direct consequence of the application of Victorian values and national greatness: “She identified the primary cause of Britain’s victory in the South Atlantic with the same rigid hierarchies of rank, class, race and gender that has provided the functional and ideological focus of the empire” (1997: 236).

Close analysis on the press and parliamentary debates leads Anderson to argue that the invasion of the Falklands Islands embodied much more than the occupation of a mass of land, “it was a rape, where the national body has been taken against its will, its boundaries violated” (2012: 196). The British nation found itself again in battle and its strength was reborn. According to this line of thought, Sara Ahmed claims that there is often a general demand for nations to be strong rather than soft or weak, since the nation should be hard and tough to seal itself off from others and to avoid penetration. These are gendered attributes: “the soft national body is a feminized body, which is penetrated or invaded by others” (Ahmed 2004:2).

In her 1996 work *Mass-Observation, Gender and Nationhood: Britain in the Falklands War*, Lucy Noakes argues that

The Falklands War was a war in which gender divisions were seen in very sharp relief. Men went away to battle whilst women waited at home. The male soldiers seen in the media and spoken of in Parliament were active, fighting for their country; the women at home were seen as relatively passive, able to do little except wait for news of their men (1996: 1).

As Noakes suggests, “the [Falklands] war threw existing gender roles into sharp relief, placing women as private, passive and protected, and men as active, public and aggressive”(Ibid: 7). Noakes adds that men were portrayed as victorious, whose masculinity, and death, ensure their place as national heroes, while “women appeared in the press largely as wives, mothers and girlfriends, waving tearful goodbyes at the quayside, waiting at home for news of their men, and then either welcoming them home or grieving for them” (Ibid.: 6).

Patricia Holland’s research on the representation of gender in tabloids during the war suggests that women’s femininity existed as a complementation of men’s masculinity and at the service of it. She points out that the images of women appearing half naked in the papers could be taken as a way of offering their support to men and as a way of showing their commitment to the national campaign. The tabloids were eager to report those girlfriends or wives who proudly showed their breasts to greet the returning troops. Women were also the bearers of emotions as many pictures showed mothers or wives crying out of fear or loss of a loved one. Holland believes that the way the war was narrated in the newspapers constituted soap opera-like narratives, a drama reported in daily instalments; the English white woman being the star protagonist. She argues that the most prominent wife in this drama was Sara Jones, widow of ‘H’. The portrayal of Sara Jones by the 2012 newspaper discourses will be developed below.

The gender representation in the 2012 press discourse does not differ considerably from what the literature reveals in the analysis of the 1982 media. As has been shown in Chapter 6, the men who fought in the war were considered heroes, securing their places in the national discourse of heroism. The women are represented, mainly, as the widows of their dead husbands whose heroic deaths enabled their wives to become protagonists in the ceremonies of remembering and honouring. Therefore, women’s main task for the anniversary is to remind the nation of the heroic deeds of their male companions. However, it could also be argued that thanks to these widows and their primary role in the commemorations, the memory of the dead heroes is kept alive.

### 3. Widows and Commemoration

War widows are iconic figures in the creation of national folklore. Their purpose is to serve family and nation: they signify the sacrifice of their dead husbands for the honour of the nation. The Black Widows of Chechnya, for instance, are an extreme case of widows and nationalist claims, since these women literally give their lives to the cause of their dead husbands and to avenge their deaths.

According to Sarah Chambers (2010) the national memories of war are gendered: “brave, masculine heroes shed their blood [for the nation], while the memory of their deeds would live on through their widows and mothers” (2010: 344). She adds that widows and mothers deserve public recognition as they are the bearer of the memory of the brave. Commemorative events related to wars, such as religious services or ceremonies, are also marked by gender divisions and gender roles. It is generally the dead heroes’ mothers or widows who have a leading role in the services. As Kurt Piehler argues,

The commemoration of the fallen serves to exemplify the willingness of males to serve and die for their country. [...] The role granted to women in commemorating past wars rests on the premise that combat remains a masculine endeavour. Most women during the conflict had encouraged men to fight while they kept the home fires burning. When the war ended, women ensured that their sons, husbands and ancestors would be mourned and remembered (1994: 169-170).

The commemorative activities that took place for the thirtieth anniversary of the Falklands War comply with Piehler’s description: women took an active part in the ceremonies, granting their men the honours they deserved for their heroic deeds in battle. In Chapter 6 of this dissertation I mentioned the commemorative acts that took place to honour the heroes and the way they were narrated by the press. In this section, I will focus on the women who took part in those ceremonies, the two main women protagonists being Margaret Allen and Sara Jones, both of them widows who lost their husbands in battle.

Most of the articles in the newspapers under study provide similar information about these two Falklands War widows and show similar pictures in what was regarded as a simple but deeply moving service of remembrance in the Millennium Chapel at the

National Memorial Arboretum on 2 April 2012. For quality reasons, the photos of the *Daily Mail* were chosen here:



**Image 34: *Daily Mail*, 3 Apr. 2012: 10-11**

Margaret Allen appears in two pictures. In the larger one she is wiping away a tear from her cheek while in the smaller one she is lighting a candle in remembrance of the dead. Sara Jones is shown touching her husband's name on a memorial plaque, with a gloomy look on her face. The images are touching as they show women crying or on the verge of doing so for their lost husbands who died as heroes. Below the pictures of the women there are two insets with Able Seaman Boldy and Colonel Jones. The whole group is almost symmetrical in design and they are divided in contrasting pairs: women/men, wives/husbands, alive/dead, present/past, older/younger, sad/happy, and plain/military clothes are some of the binary opposites that mark the sharp divisions. It may be argued whether some of the binary oppositions in the picture have been altered from patriarchal discourse, such as the fact that women are placed at the top and men at the bottom. Behind the cross of the Millennium Chapel altar the following inscription is visible: "Raise up a living nation / A single sword to thee" which comes from the

hymn, 'O God of Earth and Altar, Bow down and hear our cry' by the poet G. K. Chesterton.

Binary oppositions are useful paradigms for signification. Joan Scott points out that oppositions rest on metaphors and cross-references, drawing on sexual difference in patriarchal discourse, such as the contrast between masculine and feminine (1988: 37). Fixed oppositions conceal the interdependency of the opposing elements; the meaning of each individual part derives from a particular established contrast rather than from inherent features. There is an established hierarchy in the order the terms are presented: the leading term is dominant while the second occupies a subordinate position. Deconstruction is the process by which these binary oppositions are displaced and reversed in order to reveal the underlying power structures which construct the oppositions as something given and unchangeable.

The *Daily Telegraph* shows Margaret Allen touching her husband's name on the memorial plaque. The article includes a small picture of her husband. The title is catching and sentimental: "Widow lights a candle to the fallen, and remembers the pain that never leaves".

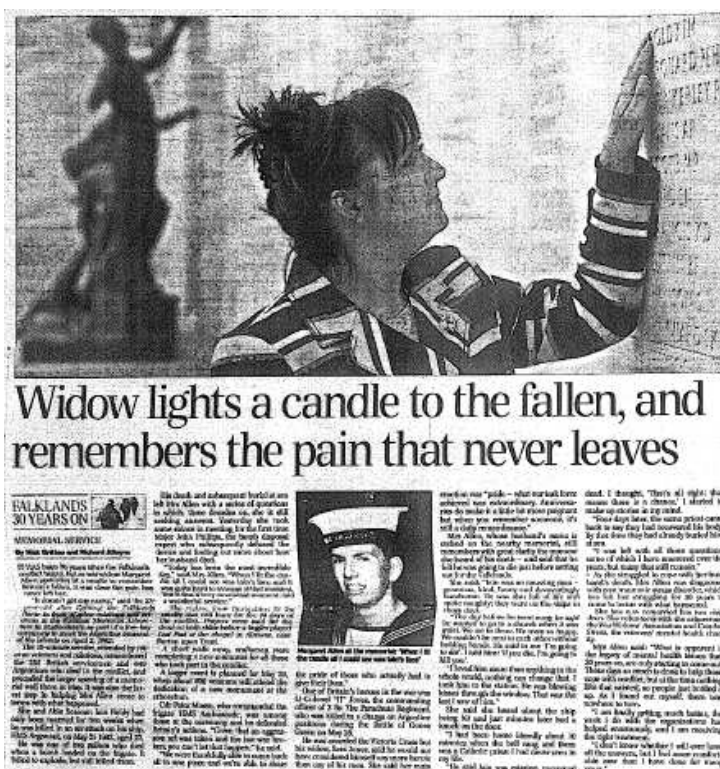


Image 35: *Daily Telegraph*, 3 Apr. 2012: 4

Colonel H's widow, Sara Jones, is given special focus by the *Daily Telegraph* (2 Apr. 2012) by the publication of two articles: a front page article (which continues on page 2) and an interview on page 25, in the *Features* section. The article on the front page is written by Duncan Gardham and titled "I hope we would do it all again if we had to, says widow of Col H", which reveals Sara Jones' patriotism and commitment to the war and to the deeds of her dead husband. The article includes a large photo of the widow standing by her two dogs and it includes a small inset of Colonel H. The article is another instance of the narrative of the heroism of H; Sara Jones' pride in her husband; how fiercely British the Islanders feel and the reiteration of the speech by David Cameron assuring the citizens that the UK will continue defending the Islands and their inhabitants.





Image 36: Daily Telegraph, 2 Apr. 2012: 1

The second article is based on Elizabeth Grice's interview with the widow. The headline "I didn't need therapy – I had a close family" may be debatable by many therapists since one thing does not exclude the other. In other words, Mrs Jones is choosing the close support of her family in opposition to doing therapy. While the title of the article places emphasis on her family, Sara Jones appears in the picture with her two dogs again, and not with her family members, such as children or grandchildren. She looks elegant and refined, and even her dogs seem to be pedigree dogs. She is described as slender, attractive and energetic for her 70 years of age. Elizabeth Grice, the author of the article, mentions that Sara Jones has not remarried because she has not

met the right person, hesitating to clarify that “it is not exaggerated loyalty to H’s memory that keeps her single”. Readers are also given information about her hobbies: she skis and goes on riding holidays abroad, thereby marking her class and social status.

The article opens by acknowledging the widow and Margaret Thatcher as two women who stand for symbols of the war:

Two women dominate the story of the Falklands War. One is Margaret Thatcher, for her resolution in sending the British task force to the other end of the world [...]. The other is Sara Jones, thrust into very public widowhood when her husband [...] was shot dead [...]. Left with two teenage boys to bring up alone, her resolution was of a different kind. She became – and still is – a symbol of dignity in loss for the whole nation (Grice, *Daily Telegraph* 2 Apr. 2012: 25).

As a widow, she is actively involved in the legacy of war as chairwoman of the Falklands Families Association and the Royal British Legion poppy factory and she is also a member of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Apart from showing pride in her late husband, she keeps his memory alive by planting a tree in her house garden on each anniversary of his death, 28 May. Some of her five grandchildren help her in this endeavour. She has two sons who followed their father’s footsteps and chose a military career. She claims that “the family is close – as is the family of Falklands widows” and thus establishes a parallelism between her own private family and the families of the other war veterans, attaching the same values and standards to both, linking at the same time the private with the public and the ‘family’ with the ‘nation’. As previously explained in Chapter 4, the *Daily Telegraph* is recognised as a conservative newspaper; consequently, the representation of Sara Jones’ family is based on following a traditional approach to family, nation and hero-worshipping: the respectful and loving wife who has given up her husband to the national cause. In this manner she becomes distinguished and dignified in the public arena, a family of true British patriots.



Image 37: Daily Telegraph, 2 Apr. 2012: 25

Social class and race are two aspects which are important for any analysis. As has already been mentioned, Sara Jones and her family are white upper class citizens like all the women who were widely reported in the press. Although one Gurkha died during the war (Lance Corporal Budhaparsad Limbu), there is no information about him or his family in the newspapers. Despite the fact that the 1st Battalion of the Seventh Duke of Edinburgh's Own Gurkha Rifles took part in the British task force, "their role has largely been absent from media accounts of the conflict" as correspondent Diego Laje sustains for *CNN Asia* (Laje, *CNN* 14 Jun. 2013).

#### 4. Heroism and Military Masculinity

There is a close link between British nationalism and military-masculinity culture. As some authors suggest, military masculinities are embedded into discourses of nationalism (Higate 2003: 209; Shaw 1991: 10; Dawson 1994: 235). Graham Dawson believes that the soldier hero has become one of the most durable and powerful forms of masculinity in the Western world: "Military virtues such as aggression, strength,

courage and endurance have repeatedly been defined as the natural inherent qualities of manhood, whose apogee is attainable only in battle” (1994: 1). Dawson argues that the nation is conceived as a gendered entity in nationalist discourse since martial masculinity is complemented by domestic femininity.

John Hockey describes how masculinity is constructed and perceived by ordinary soldiers in the British Infantry and the great emphasis that soldiers place on heterosexual virility. He recalls the popular saying that entering into the British Army “makes a man of you” and that the army “turns boys into men” (2003: 15). Arnold Van Gennep was the first to regard the entry into a military institution as a *rite de passage* to masculinity (1960). This notion applied to the Falklands War since “the Task Force was marked out as specifically masculine. Fighting appeared as a masculine rite-of-passage which had to be experienced before the ‘boys’ of the Task Force could emerge as ‘men’” (*Portsmouth Evening News* 6/4/82, cited in Noakes 1996: 6). In *Squaddies: Portrait of a Subculture* (1986) Hockey explains how the process of military training becomes a rite of passage to manhood and he illustrates this process with examples. The transformation begins with a change in physical appearance: on the second day of training the recruit’s civilian clothes are taken away from him and replaced by the military uniform and the appropriate equipment, followed by the cropped haircut. As a result, the new look of the recruits becomes collectively identical and anonymous; changing not only from civilian to soldier but also from being an individually characterized boy to being a man (Hockey 1986: 24-34). The new conscripts are then faced with physically tough activities which constitute a primary indicator of manhood: straight from the beginning, there is a stress on aggression since it is believed that only the violent ones will survive the encounter with the enemy. As Hockey explains in his article titled “No More Heroes: Masculinity in the Infantry”, the Infantry is a corps that destroys the enemy at close range; consequently, adequate doses of aggression as well as courage and determination in dangerous situations are highly valued characteristics. Alternatively, a “lack of aggression is correlated to femininity” (Hockey 2003: 17). Hockey expands on his ideas by adding that “if recruits display endurance, toughness, aggression and skill they are then soldiers and by definition thoroughly masculine [On the other hand,] poor performance is often equated with being feminine” (Hockey 1986: 34-35). Another expected behaviour also associated with masculinity has to do with

group bonding and comradeship. Hockey argues that “instilling loyalty to one’s peers, or in soldierly argot, ‘one’s mates’ or ‘the lads’ is a crucial component of the infantry socialization process [...] this is presented as a masculine conduct, if one is a real man, one protects one’s mates even at the expense of sacrifice” (Ibid.: 18).

In “Locating Military Masculinities: Space, Place, and the Formation of Gender Identity in the British Army” Rachel Woodward (2003) affirms that gender is central to the construction of soldiering since the process of becoming a soldier involves the creation, negotiation, and reproduction of gender identities. She uses the example of Falklands’ veteran Ken Lukowiak to prove her point: “the identification of a certain type of masculinity with the soldier was a prime motivator to his [Lukowiak’s] joining in [the Army] to become a ‘real man’” (2003: 43). Woodward argues that military masculinities encompass several features such as physical skill, aggressive heterosexuality and homophobia. The transformation of civilians into soldiers is expressed through body and clothes for it is the uniformed body that is trained to become a soldier. Woodward points out that the ‘squaddie’ or ‘squaddy’ (military slang for ordinary soldier) is the British cultural stereotype that embodies military masculinity. Woodward predicts a change in the armed forces basing her arguments in the fact that the Ministry of Defence is aware of the need for different gendered models for soldiers due to the current crisis in recruitment.

Robert McGregor traces the beginning of the creation of the British soldier as essentially masculine in his article “The popular press and the creation of military masculinities in Georgian Britain”, published in the volume edited by Paul Higate *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State* (2003). McGregor believes that wars in the 18<sup>th</sup> century had an immense impact on British society: “frequent involvement in warfare created and reinforced a masculine ideology based upon the ideals of heroism, honour, self-effacement, modesty, and jingoistic patriotism” (2003: 143). He identifies the ‘Jack Tar’, the seamen of the Royal Navy during the creation of the British Empire, as the embodiment of conventional masculinity. McGregor stresses that the British popular press was indeed relevant in the creation of the myth of the masculine soldier and the hero, involving military, family and national honour. Paul Higate adds that

Constructions of Englishness or Britishness, evoking past victories and resonating with the imperial and colonial trajectories of the UK, have remained tenacious for

both the military and its host society. 'Our boys' belong to us and not to 'the (foreign) other' and military service identity is constructed around this sharp dichotomy (2003: 209).

Moreover, the fact that many soldiers are deployed to participate in overseas missions increases the difference between 'our soldiers' and 'the others'. John Hockey reflects on the issue of alcohol drinking as a way of expressing national masculinity. He makes reference to junior ranks usually embarking on drinking binges while on missions abroad. This manly ritual of drinking may bring about nasty quarrels with the locals. Hockey expresses this idea in the following words:

The self-image the privates hold is a particular masculine one, so they like 'playing hard'. Their focal leisure activities centre on collective drinking and the eager pursuit of female company, which sometimes result in public fracas. After all, this is what real men do: drink, pursue women and fight (1986: 112).

Higate believes that this reputation of the squaddies celebrating the masculinised ritual of high alcohol consumption is unlikely to disappear given the fact that military and civilian society continue to reinforce this 'lad culture'. Apart from the alcohol consumption and the consequent riots that may arise, the presence of troops has a high impact on the local sex industry. Higate sustains that since the movement of British troops overseas will continue, so will the exporting of "the worst kind of colonial and misogynist attitudes to cultures considered inferior to their own" (2003: 210).

In *Soldiering On: an Unofficial Portrait of the British Army* Dennis Barker (1983) writes that the army has somehow adjusted to the fact that Britain is no longer a colonial power. He points out that there are three recent concepts introduced in the army: soldiers are more professional nowadays; the SAS (Special Air Service) has developed into a long range penetration group; and women are allowed to carry guns for personal defence (1983: 322-323). Although several aspects have improved in the army, many others remain the same. As an example, Barker suggests that the British army still tries to "implant the idea 'our regiment is the best' because of its conviction that men will still fight better for a 'family' than for a large impersonal organization" such as the state, the nation or the homeland. The author concludes that "it could hardly be acclaimed that the British army reflects the whole of present day society" (Ibid.).

In *Military Man, Family Man: Crown Property?* Ruth Jolly (1992) offers her reflections on the British army and its role in society nowadays by declaring:

The British military keeps its distance from the rest of the society; it is apolitical, traditionalist, self-contained. These were very important characteristics in the days of the empire, when a majority of men served overseas and had to maintain communities in far-flung foreign lands. Keeping a strong sense of identity, pride and purpose was essential, and to do so a military garrison was obliged to look inwards and draw strength from its sense of separateness. Nowadays, with the military based firmly in the UK, this ‘us and them’ attitude which still prevails is fairly ridiculous and harmful to the military (1992: 162).

Robert Hamilton’s article “‘When the Seas are Empty, so are the Words’: Representations of the Task Force” (1992) explores the media representations of the Falklands Task Force. Hamilton shows, through several examples from the press, how the narrative of the Task Force was embedded in sexual metaphors. The author describes the departure of the Task Force as especially masculine: abundant photographs of wives and girlfriends waving a tearful goodbye spread across the pages of the newspapers. The women left on shore while the men venturing to sea “mapped out the old familiar tale of men going off to war and the women who worriedly wait at home”, Hamilton believes (1992: 133). Likewise, the welcoming of the heroes back home was loaded with sexual connotations. Newspapers were eager to reproduce the pictures of one woman who showed her breasts on the arrival of the warships at the port. Hamilton analyses this sexual innuendo of the return. As he argues, “the breast has often been represented as both promise of and reward for heroic deeds. With the Task Force returning, the report of women baring their breasts acted as symbols of reward” (1992: 137). He defines both the embarkation and disembarkation stages as masculine rites-of-passage for men into manhood.

On analysing the media representation of masculinity in the corpus under study, there is an iconic figure which repeatedly appears and represents the British soldiers in the Falklands War: the ‘Yomper’. The image derives from an original picture taken from behind showing a group of Royal Marines marching in the frozen fields of the Islands after the British victory was announced. The Union Jack hangs on the backpack of the last marine, who later on becomes the prototypical figure for the soldier of the Falklands War. The original photograph, which was spontaneous, was taken by the Commando Forces Photographer, Officer Peter Holdgate in June 1982 when the Royal Marines yomped along Moody Brook track towards Port Stanley. The identity of the soldier remained anonymous for many years, until 2007 when it was finally known that

the Yomper was the then 24-year-old Corporal Peter Robinson (Rees, *Daily Mail*, 21 Apr. 2007; Newton-Dunn, *Sun* 4 Oct. 2007). He placed the Union Flag on his backpack when he heard about the surrender of the Argentine forces. ‘Yomp’, which is an acronym for *Your Own Marching Pace*, is a slang term used by the Royal Marines that describes a fully-equipped long-distance march. The British equivalent is ‘tab’, which stands for *Tactical Advance Battle*.

The well-known image inspired a statue that adorns the entrance of the Royal Marines Museum in Portsmouth. The sculpture was unveiled by Margaret Thatcher on 8 July 1992 for the tenth anniversary of the conflict (Memorials and Monuments in Portsmouth webpage).



**Image 38: ‘The Yomper’, Royal Marines Museum, Portsmouth**

Lucy Noakes states that the statue represents the gendering of warfare, since “in its physical appearance the ‘Yomper’ is a very active, heroic, masculine representation of war and of soldiering” (1996: 1). She adds: “Facing forwards and looking into the distance, the ‘Yomper’ symbolises determination and courage in wartime; both of the nation and of the individual combat” (1998: 103).



Both the tabloids and quality papers under study produced variations on the figure of the Yomper. The *Daily Star*, for instance, uses the picture on the front page to announce an article on page 9:

## Falklands: We would do it again



**BRITAIN** paid tribute to our Falklands heroes on the 30th anniversary of the war yesterday as veterans vowed they would "do it all again". The 265 Brit servicemen who lost their lives fighting the 1982 Argentinian invasion were remembered in memorials.

Full story: Page 9

Image 39: *Daily Star*, 3 Apr. 2012: 1

The *Daily Express* places a medium size picture of the Yomper in the middle of the page with an inset of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's photograph at the bottom right hand corner of the text shaking her fist:

## We'll defend Falklands vows PM as Argentina threatens a trade war

By **Patrick Flanagan**

DAVID Cameron last night said Britain is the better off for the Falklands War and vowed to defend the island against any future aggression.

In a statement released from Downing Street to mark today's 30th anniversary of the conflict in the South Atlantic, the Prime Minister said: "Britain remains steadfastly committed to defending the rights of the Falkland Islanders and of the United Kingdom as a whole."

"That was the fundamental message that was sent 30 years ago and that is the message which we reiterate today."

However, Argentina stated its opposition to the 1982 invasion by threatening a trade war with Britain.

Prime Minister Cameron said: "We will defend the Falklands and we will stand with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland."

He said: "The Falklands are an integral part of the United Kingdom and we will defend them against any aggression."

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Image 40: *Daily Express*, 2 Apr. 2012: 15

The Yomper also appears next to or at the beginning of some articles in the *Times* and the *Daily Telegraph*, together with the phrase “The Falklands Conflict, 30 Years on”, having become a recognisable logo.



Image 41: *Times*, 2 Apr. 2012: 14 and 3 Apr. 2012: 8

In Chapter 6, this dissertation has described how heroes were portrayed in the newspapers. All the subjects that were regarded as national heroes were men. The large majority of these ‘manly’ men were described as models of the masculine qualities required for male heroism: physical strength, courage, sacrifice for the group and strong role models. Chapter 6 also showed that the dictionary definitions of hero indicate that the act of heroism means taking risks for the sake of others. In other words, a hero is the one who acts selflessly in order to benefit others. As the dictionary entry also shows, heroism has always been associated with men and masculinity in society. In *The Hero: Manhood and Power*, John Lash affirms that “the hero is undeniably he, the male of the human species” (1995: 5; quoted in Rankin and Eagly, 2008: 414). Most of the activities usually associated with heroism involve physical strength which gives further advantage to men over women who are still framed as the ‘weaker sex’. Menstruation, child-bearing and lactation can be considered as further physical constraints for the tasks that are usually involved in heroism.

In their article “The heroism of women and men” (2004), Becker and Eagly argue that risk taking is stereotypically associated with men, while the feeling of empathy and concern for the other’s well-being is a feature normally attached to women. For these reasons, heroism is a compound of masculine and feminine tendencies, which could be seen as culturally androgynous. Becker and Eagly’s research showed that women behave heroically in situations that involve a risk to them and a benefit to others. In

their article “Is his heroism hailed and hers hidden? Women, Men, and the Social Construction of Heroism” (2008) Rankin and Eagly share the findings of two case studies in which participants were asked to name public and private heroes. Their results show that participants reported more male than female public heroes, but an equal number of male and female private heroes. This may lead to the interpretation that heroism as a social construct places men at the centre of the public arena, while heroines remain within the private sphere. This correlates to the cultural and historical (but not less patriarchal) assumption for gender roles: men go out to work while women stay at home raising the family.

In “In These Times When Men Walk Tall: The Popular Press and the Falklands Conflict” (1984) Patricia Holland observed a sharp division between the ways male and female identities were reported in the popular press. She argues that the image of the soldier, the heroic fighting man, appears in control of the situation, exemplifying legitimate and righteous aggression. She describes how tabloid newspapers celebrate their hardiness and aggressiveness in language and pictures, praising the masculine toughness and stamina, admiring their strength and valuing their masculinity. According to Holland, the fighting men are presented as unified in their maleness and their nationhood, testing Britain’s masculinity. Thus, nationalism seems to be a masculine quality, she adds.

Some instances of gendered and sexist language were also noticed in the 2012 newspapers. War hero Captain Lawrence describes the battles he took part in: “It was extreme. It was like a concert cranked up to maximum volume and we were on the front row. War is a young man’s sport. We all ran up the mountain with no body armour, no helmet and no promise of any compensation if we got hurt” (Willets, *Sun*, 2 Apr. 2012: 22-23). Not only is he praising his and his troop’s reckless courage, but he is also affirming that young men like fighting wars, a gendered assumption that is supposed to be a masculine attribute. Swearing is associated with masculinity and sexist language. Veteran Rick Cross says: “It would have been a piece of p\*\*\* to defend [Sic!]” (Palmer, *Daily Mirror* 14 June 2012: 30-31). Further cursing of the veteran reveals sexism and connects nervousity with femininity: “We were giggling like little girls”. Constantino Davidoff, the Argentine merchant who is blamed for a misunderstanding that began the occupation, links British mothers with their Argentine counterparts in a language of

sorrow: “[...] the poor British mothers who lost their sons [...] in Argentina and in Britain mothers laugh and cry in the same language” (Strange, *Times* 3 Apr. 2012: 9). It is an interesting comment which diverges from the usual side-taking.

## **5. Chapter Summary**

This chapter explores gender issues in connection with the representation of men and women in the newspaper articles studied for this thesis. The chapter also explores how gendered depictions helped in the process of nation formation by calling on an emotional response from the readers. The main issues discussed are nationalism, war and gender; the use of widows in the commemorative events and military masculinity in connection with the male heroes.

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

TRACKING THE DISCOURSE OF NATIONALISM: THE FALKLANDS WAR ANNIVERSARY IN THE BRITISH PRESS

Andrea Roxana Bellot

Dipòsit Legal: T 826-2015

## Chapter 9: Conclusions

The aim of this chapter is to present the main conclusions and findings from the dissertation. The first observation that can be made is that, as it has been shown in the numerous examples provided, there is a strong tendency in the newspaper discourse of 2012 to recall arguments that justify the British involvement in the Falklands War. The main justifications are the ones connected with the sovereignty of the national territory, self-defence, moral obligation and the right of self-determination for the islanders.

The former Conservative leader Margaret Thatcher, as well as her decision to engage in war, are repeatedly analysed in the newspapers. Many defend her resolution and believe she did the right thing; other voices are more critical by questioning the former Prime Minister and the war itself. Some would also agree that the war was useless in the sense that the Falklands conflict is still unsolved. The islanders are greatly praised for their financial and social advancement since the end of the war, as well as their resolution to stay British and fight against the constant pressure from Argentina.

Although there seems to be a general agreement about the war being the right thing to do and worth fighting for, some critical voices question the issue of proportionality. Similarly, while current politicians claim a total commitment for the present and future defence of the Falklands, some journalists wonder if the UK would nowadays have the equipment and resources to launch a new military adventure, given the present substantial cuts in defence. Even though the war took place 30 years before, it still needs to be justified in 2012 to promote national(ist) identities. If the war had been discredited or forgotten, then the *Britishness* of the enterprise would have failed. Besides, and this is a crucial point, the justification of this war is still relevant in the light of the recent conflicts with Argentina about the on-going claims of sovereignty. The war is over but the conflicts and tensions are not, and they were conveniently revived for the anniversary. National rights over the sovereignty of the territory, together with the islanders' wish to self-determination, have become aims that are strongly defended nowadays.

Moreover, the Falklands War proved to be a highly successful war experience for the British since it was a war that was won in a short time and the war had very clear

objectives from the beginning: to expel the invaders from the national territory. A war like the Falklands needs to be remembered and idealised in anniversary dates; it feeds the pride of being British and is beneficial for raising the national spirit. Besides, the war resulted in prosperity to the territory in the form of economic progress.

Concerning heroes and heroism, extensively analysed in Chapter 6, the newspaper discourse mainly conforms to the prototypical patterns of the war hero. This Falklands hero is portrayed as physically and mentally strong (able to cope with limit situations), brave and courageous in battle, skilled soldiers who were able to win the war notwithstanding the difficulties such as the lack of arms, a well-equipped enemy and freezing temperatures. These soldiers were to be above all, obedient to the nation, proud of their mission and committed to the cause. They believed in the justification of the war and most of them would repeat the odyssey if necessary, in spite of all the suffering they went through. These national figures also possess high moral standards and are examples to follow in many aspects: they are generous comrades, family men with supportive and committed wives. Apart from this appraisal, there are, however, a few instances that could be interpreted as a challenge to the norm. These are the examples that portrayed the soldiers who suffered from PTSD and who were left to deal with their own traumas after the war.

The pictures of the heroes included in the newspaper articles are of two kinds. Some of them show the hero in their military uniform, especially the pictures of the dead heroes, evoking a feeling of professionalism. Recent images from veterans, such as the ones who return to the Islands for Liberation Day, show a closer type of man, wearing civilian clothes and with an informal look. These pictures search for an effect in which the reader can identify the hero as one of them, and, at the same time, they dismantle the prototypical image of the soldier.

Heroic memories of war have been revived. Veterans, family and politicians paid tribute to the heroes in the form of religious ceremonies and commemorative events, in which a profound respect and admiration was professed to the ones who fought to safeguard the national honour. This idea is summarised in the following quote: “The nation remains justifiably proud of the soldiers, sailors and airmen who took part in this action – and remember especially the 255 who lost their lives” (*Daily Telegraph*, 14 Jun. 2012: 25).

It is interesting to observe that the Gurkhas, the Nepalese soldiers in the British Army who provoked terror among the Argentine forces for their reputation as fierce, brave and merciless, are not even mentioned in the press, even though they had a key role in the war. We can then assume that nationality (Britishness) is essential for the construction of heroism. Moreover, it could also be noted that heroism is regarded as an intrinsic characteristic in men but not in women. Three female civilian Falkland Islanders accidentally died in the war: Dorren Bonner, Mary Goodwin and Susan Whitley. The solely information about them is a mention in the memorial service that took place in Stanley. Women in their roles of widows do take an active position in the services of remembering, they act as the enablers and promoters of masculine heroism.

For the war to be justified and validated in the present, readers should be remembered of the nature of the enemy that provoked the war: a murderous Junta, a fascist and brutal military dictatorship. Galtieri, the military president, is portrayed as an obstinate drunkard. In 2012 the enemy is no longer the Dictator General Galtieri, but is now Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, who is the President of a democratic republic. Nevertheless, according to the discourse in the press, although she is not a dictator, she behaves like one since she continues bullying and hectoring the islanders. CFK is also described as strident and hysterical. This new political enemy at the time of the anniversary is a woman embodying many of the characteristics of Margaret Thatcher, the woman who had led the nation to war with the following character traits: a masculine style, courage, a powerful rhetoric and a decisive character. To summarise, the President of Argentina (the political enemy) has been represented in the following three ways:

- (1) She is mainly addressed as ‘Mrs. Fernández’, ‘Cristina Fernández de Kirchner’, ‘Cristina Kirchner’;
- (2) Her policies are regarded as ‘stunts’ and ‘sabre-rattling’;
- (3) Her character is described as ‘hysterical’ and ‘strident’.

This portrayal of the President is highly disrespectful. She does not exist in her own right but only through the added reference of her husband’s surname and reputation. This reinforces sexist stereotypes (hysterical, attention-seeking, vacuous) as no value is given to her actions (stunts) or to her words (sabre-rattling).



As for the military enemy, the Argentine Armed Forces are considered to be powerful and tough during the war, but they are losing force nowadays. In turn, the Argentine people in general are shown as problematic, disrespectful and uncivilised, in the sense that they cause riots in Buenos Aires by burning the Union Jack and the effigy of Prince William and demonstrating at the British Embassy in Buenos Aires. All in all, as the Falklands conflict is not yet resolved, enough justification has to be found to support the Islands remaining British. One way of doing so is by attributing negative characteristics to the 'Other'. Moreover, the concept of the outside enemy is necessary for uniting the nation, as it is a time of political, financial and social crisis in the UK.

If the representation of men and women in the press during the Falklands War was gendered (Noakes 1996, 1998; Anderson 2011; Holland 1984, Hamilton 1992), the press discourse on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the war is likewise so, helping in the polarization of gender roles. The women are portrayed as the caring, loyal wives who are still paying tribute to their dead husbands after 30 years. Pictures of women in tears for the dead veterans still proved useful items for news value by adding the human and emotional touch in the articles.

The men, on the other hand, are the strongly masculine and thereby presumably heterosexual heroes who bravely sacrificed their lives for the defence of the nation; heteronormativity being assumed as the norm within the Task Force. Gender roles comply with the patriarchal pattern as most of the narrative is reduced to the patriarchal dichotomy between the male hero (active, masculine) and the wives (supportive, passive). The women are the ones who mourn for their lost ones, and men are the heroes who fought for the nation, receiving the honours nowadays. Military rank as well as social class accounts for a difference among the men and their widows. It could be questioned up to what point these distinctions are levelled by death and patriotism, which should make all human beings equal in the eyes of the nation.

The narrative of the suffering widow in the press discourse of the war anniversary brings about the notions of the united family, the British families joined in remembrance, celebration and mourning. The press transforms these widows into national symbols of remembrance; they are the societal mourners whose primary role in the family and in the nation is to keep the memory of the hero alive. They become public as widows for the heroism and death of their husbands but, at the same time, it is

through these widows that masculine heroism is performed. That is to say, the widows are the enablers of manly pride; they have become essential for the further construction of masculinity and patriotism. Class, race, femininity and nationality interweave in the representation of women, who symbolizes both private and collective grief.

As a general reflection, it can be argued that newspapers scarcely reflect plurality of opinion. They usually offer one interpretation of a multi-dimensional reality. They seek to create an opinion on the readers, by creating one type of reality. Busy, distracted or non-critical readers would just accept the reality they are offered on the pages. The majority of the newspaper articles analysed for the thesis whip up a sense of triumphalism over the war, which is depicted as a war worthy of support, admiration and praise. Apart from the standard differences in register and style between popular and quality press, it has been noticed that tabloid newspapers over-simplify the topic, offering a one-way simplistic approach to a rather complex matter. They concentrate solely on a British patriotic point of view, leaving aside other perspectives and shades of meaning. Throughout the thesis, texts have been treated as places where space and time meet to provide social and political meaning. For instance, when analysing the portrayal of the Falklands veterans as heroes in the media, it could be argued that heroism is not always an intentional act but a social construction reflecting the ideology of many parts: newspapers, readers, family members. The same applies for the construction of the figure of the enemy.

As it has been discussed in Chapter 3, within anniversary journalism, commemorative stories in news reports usually have a variety of social events attached, such as wreath laying, re-enactments, speeches at memorial sites, which constitute useful material for the development of the news story. The newspaper articles analysed for this dissertation contain all these elements. Within the different chapters it has been discussed and even illustrated in pictures how the different commemorative activities were reported, such as the remembering masses, official speeches, and military parades. The type of story within the commemoration type make the past live again, creating an emotional connection between the past and the present, by recalling touching moments of the past. In this case study, it is the recalling of the heroic acts of the veterans or dead soldiers that are brought into the present through the reproduction of details of the battles; and also by the narration of the tragic moments the family of the dead or injured

soldier endured. Besides, war commemoration recalls past experiences of suffering but at the same time of resistance. That is why mnemonic battles, such as the battle of Goose Green in the Falklands, move to the front stage in news reports, occupying a central position in the narratives of war. Another function these news stories of battles play is bring hopes of recovery from the traumas of war, such as the encouraging accounts of the soldiers who recovered from PTSD.

As previously explained in the theoretical framework, Ruth Wodak (2006: 19) suggests that the discourses about nations and national identities rely on four types of discursive macro-strategies: constructive, preservative, transformative and destructive strategies. I believe that the preservative, also called justificatory strategies apply to the type of discourse employed by the 2012 anniversary press, since it aims at the conservation and reproduction of national identities and narratives of identities. All in all, the press discourse for 2012 helps in the construction of the narrative of self-affirmation of the British national values, reinforcing the national myths associated with the war. The anniversary of the Falklands War, together with the coverage of the commemorative celebrations, received considerable attention by the British press. By means of a detailed analysis of the corpus, it has been demonstrated that the discourse of the anniversary resembles that of the war period regarding the justification of war, the exaltation of the national hero, the construction of the figure of the enemy and the role of gender.

As regards my future line of research, my intention is to apply this method of analysis to the anniversaries of the war in the Argentine press in order to establish a comparison between the two countries. Some of the categories would clearly have to be adapted to adjust to specific cases. I also hope that my research proves useful for other scholars interested in the topic.

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